

THE
INDIAN ANTIQUARY,
A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

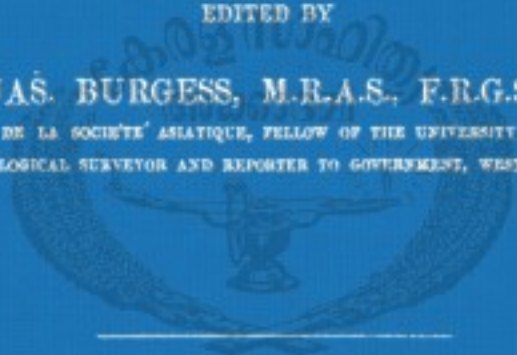
IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, HISTORY, LITERATURE, LANGUAGES, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, FOLKLORE.
&c., &c., &c.

EDITED BY

JAS. BURGESS, M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.,

MEMBRE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE, FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY,
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEYOR AND REPORTER TO GOVERNMENT, WESTERN INDIA.



VOL. IX.—1880.

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ERRATA IN VOL. IX.

- p. 73a, note ², last line, for *l* read *l*
- p. 81a, l. 38, for *Sivasūtras* read *Sivasūtras*.
- p. 81b, last line, for *ll* read *ll*.
- " note, " " " "
- p. 87a, l. 8, for *on authoritative* read *unauthoritative*.
- p. 97, transcription l. 4, for *uśta*, read *uśta*.
- p. 100a, l. 22, insert a comma after *Pallava*.
- p. 101, transcription l. 7, for *dēva-ku laṣā*, read *dēva-kulassa*.
- p. 118b, l. 30, for *pāraṇakambha* read *pārṇakumbha*.
- p. 119a, note ¹, l. 2, for *Bhadrakāti* read *Bhadrakāli*.
- " note ¹, l. 6, for *Bakshira* read *Dakshina*.
- p. 131a, note ², for *da(ḥa)kkā*, read *da(ḥa)kkā*.
- p. 145, l. 2, the Chinese letter is printed sideways; it should be thus 𑖀
- p. 145a, l. 13, for *(phalaṇ)* read *(phalaṇ)*.
- p. 147a, last line, for *(kheṇā)* read *(kheṇā)*.
- p. 147b, l. 2, for *(jagjā)* read *(jagjā)*.
- " l. 8, for *(sīṭaṇa)* read *(sīṭaṇa or sīṭaṇa)*.
- p. 148b, l. 30, for *Sīṭaṇa* read *Sīṭaṇa*.
- " last l., for *Śrāvastī* read *Śrāvastī*.
- p. 149a, l. 19, for *Mahāloṇa* read *Mahāloṇa*.
- " l. 24, for *Mahatyaga* read *Mahātyāga*.
- p. 149b, l. 14, for *Mahirakula* read *Mihirakula*.
- p. 150a, l. 15, for *Chandani* read *Chandani*.
- " ll. 30 and 43 for *Lambādies* read *Lambādīs*.
- " l. 33, for *Kampalamma* read *Kampalammā*.
- " l. 38, for *Kavēripuram* read *Kāvēripuram*.
- " l. 45, for whether of the same read whether they are of the same.
- p. 150b, l. 34, for *Dindigul* read *Dindigul*.
- p. 151a, l. 34, for recent work *Turkistan*, read recent work on *Turkistan*.
- " l. 37, for ramshorns read ram's horns.
- p. 151b, note ², for *Taiyuanfu*, read *Tai-yuan-fu*.
- p. 153b, l. 28, for *Kouli* and *Tchikislar* read *Kūli* and *Chikislar*.
- p. 192a, l. 29, for *Matasendranātha* read *Matasyendranātha*.
- p. 194a, l. 14, from bottom, for *Prithvinaragana*, read *Prithvinārāgana*.
- " l. 6, from bot. for *Gīrvāṇyuddhavikrama* read *Gīrvāṇyuddhavikrama*.
- p. 231a, l. 2, for *Persian Gulf accumulated* read *Persian Gulf, accumulated*.
- " l. 32, for *Guptas he regards as dated* from *read* *Guptas, he regards as dating from*.
- " l. 34, for *Hans whom* read *Hans, whom*.
- " l. 38, for *follows and* read *follows, and*.
- " l. 44, for *Hontem* read *Hontum*.
- p. 231b, l. 47, for *Ruhistan* read *Kuhistan*.
- p. 232a, ll. 42 and 43, for *trained philologist by the scientific method and—read* *philologist trained by the scientific method, and*
- p. 232b, l. 3, from bottom insert, after *Gajapati*
- p. 233a, l. 8, for *Marāṭhi* read *Marāṭhī*.
- " l. 12, for *its* read *their*.
- p. 236a, l. 2, for *known that* read *known, that*.
- p. 254a, note ², for *16° 28' N. long. 55° 26' E. read* *24° 55' N. long. 49° 11' E. (see p. 308)*.
- p. 286b, note ², l. 1, for *from* read *form*.
- " " l. 4, for *Jaar tell* read *Jaartell*.
- " 287b, note ², l. 4, for *i.e.* read *i.e.*
- p. 288a, l. 7, for *pīṭaka* read *pīṭaka*.
- " l. 14, for *atthakathā*, it read *atthakathā*. It
- p. 289a, l. 10, for *Agas* read *Agas*.
- " l. 13, for *Brāhmanas* read *Brāhmanas*.
- " l. 23, add commas after *Brāhmanas* and after *Brāhmanas*.
- " l. 36, for *applies, as* read *applies. As*
- " l. 49, for *ayuttara-ukhiya* read *ayuttara-nikhiya*.
- p. 289b, l. 6, for *Gātaka* read *Jātaka*.
- p. 290a, l. 12, for *Vaiṣṇava* read *Vaiṣṇava*.
- " l. 14, for *Mahatsāha* read *mahatsāha*.
- p. 296b, note ², l. 5, for *Arahas* read *Arahats*.

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

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BENGALI FOLKLORE LEGENDS FROM DINAGEPORE.

BY THE LATE G. H. DAMANT, M.A.

1. *The Brāhmaṇ and the Merchant.*

IN a certain village lived a poor Brāhmaṇ who by begging all day collected half a seer of rice; whether he begged at ten houses or at one, or whether he remained at home, he still had half a seer of rice and nothing more, and he and his wife used to eat it. At the extremity of the village was a temple of Gaṇeśa where he used to worship Śiva and Durgā. One day Śiva and Durgā came down from heaven, and after visiting many places went to the temple of Gaṇeśa.

Durgā said to Śiva, "This poor Brāhmaṇ has been worshipping you for a long time, show him a little favour to-day and free him from his poverty." Śiva hearing this said, "Gaṇeśa, the day after to-morrow before sunset give the poor Brāhmaṇ two lakhs of rupees." Gaṇeśa said he would do so, but the poor Brāhmaṇ heard nothing about it. In the village lived a very wealthy man who had that day lost one of his cows, and gone to look for it; a storm of rain happened to come on, and he went into the temple of Gaṇeśa, and overheard everything that Śiva and Durgā said from the beginning to the end. When he came out he thought that he might as well buy the Brāhmaṇ's chance of receiving anything on the next day but one, so he went to the Brāhmaṇ's house and said, "Sir, will you sell me the chance of what you may receive the day after to-morrow?" The Brāhmaṇ considered that he only received half

a seer of rice daily and nothing more. So he agreed to sell his chance, and asked the merchant what he would give for it; the merchant said he could afford to give Rs. 15,000. The Brāhmaṇ then went to consult his wife, and she told him not to take less than a lakh. He then informed the merchant, who being under the impression that he would still gain a lakh agreed to give it him. Early the next morning the merchant weighed out the rupees, and sent men with them to the Brāhmaṇ's house, and he then went to the temple of Gaṇeśa. The whole day passed, but he received no money, and thought, "Do Śiva and Durgā speak falsely, or is Gaṇeśa acting treacherously?" Thinking this he became very angry, and gave a kick at the temple door, and his foot went through, so that he could not extricate it. Some time after the merchant was caught in this way, Śiva and Durgā came, and asked Gaṇeśa, "Has the Brāhmaṇ we spoke of received the two lakhs of rupees; have you paid him or not?" Gaṇeśa answered, "One lakh has been paid him this morning, the remaining lakh has not been paid, but the defaulter's foot is held fast in the door." The merchant hearing this thought that he had already paid the Brāhmaṇ one lakh, and would be obliged to give him another, or his foot would not be released, so he ordered some of the people who lived with him to take another lakh to the Brāhmaṇ's house. His foot was then released. The Brāhmaṇ took his two lakhs of rupees, and lived in wealth and

happiness. If God wishes to give a man anything, no one can tell in what way he will give it.

2. *Adi's Wife.*

In a certain country there lived a gentleman's son named Adi; when his father died he left him a large sum of money, but Adi spent the whole of the money and sold his house. He then said to his wife, "There is nothing more left, what are we to do? I have not a single two-anna piece, I must go and take service in some country far away; as it will be mean service my relations will not see me there, and so I shall not be ashamed. I am now going to look for work, but must first tell you how you are to manage matters while I am away. In the first place you will have to buy back all the gardens, houses, and other things which belonged to my father; and in the next place a son must be born to me." With these words Adi departed.

Now Adi's father had borrowed some money from a man for the expenses of his marriage, so the man came to Adi's wife, and said, "Where is Adi? His father, who is dead, borrowed some money of me for his marriage; produce Adi that he may pay me." Adi's wife answered that he had gone to another country, and she knew nothing about the money. Now she was extremely beautiful, and the man thought if he could get her he would want no more money, so he determined to lay a complaint that very day before the Kotwal, saying that Adi's father had borrowed money of him to marry his son, and that Adi had gone away, so there was no one left but his wife, and as Adi's father had spent the money on the marriage of his son, he was entitled to the son's wife. The Kotwal replied, he was entitled to her, and she should be summoned to appear before him, so he sent a pyada with orders to bring Adi's wife. The pyada went to her, and said, "A complaint has been made against you, and the Kotwal has summoned you." So Adi's wife dressed her hair, and put on her clothes, and went in a palki to the Kotwal's Court, but she ordered the palki to be put down at a little distance from it, and sent word to the Kotwal, that she did not appear in public, and could not come into Court, so she would be obliged by his coming to her, and talking over the case. When the Kotwal received her message, he went to the palki and said, "Open the screen of the palki, and tell me

what you have to say." Then she opened the screen, and when the Kotwal saw Adi's wife, he determined he would drive away the man, and keep her as his own wife. So he said to the man: "Go to the person to whom you lent the money, and get it from him; who ever heard of getting a woman instead of money? go, you scoundrel, you will have nothing here."

So he drove the man away, and came and invited Adi's wife to go home with him. She said, "I have no other friend but you; give me 200 rupees, and when I have paid all my debts, I will come to your house. When I send for you, or you receive any letter from me, you must come to my house." She then took the two hundred rupees from the Kotwal, and went home, and gave orders that her father's ruined house should be rebuilt.

In the meantime the man laid another complaint before the Nazir, and the Nazir summoned Adi's wife. She put on finer clothes than before, and went in a palki to the Nazir's Court, and when the Nazir saw her beauty, he was astonished. She said to him, "Sir, I belong to you since my husband has gone away; you are my only friend." When the Nazir heard this, he went and drove away the man, and then invited Adi's wife to come to his house, but she answered, "My husband has incurred some debts, lend me 500 rupees, and when I have paid everything, I will come; but whenever I send you word, you must come to my house." Then she took the money and went home. After this, the man, thinking it was useless trying again in that place, laid a complaint before the Wazir of the country. The Wazir summoned Adi's wife, and the moment he saw her face he became senseless with wonder. Then he determined to make her his wife, so he first drove away the man, and then told her he wished to marry her. She replied, "My husband has gone to another country leaving some debts unpaid; if you will give me 1000 rupees, I will pay them, and then I can come to your house." So she took the money, and as she was going away, she said, "Come to my house whenever I send you word."

The man finding there was no hope of redress from the Wazir, laid a complaint before the King, who also summoned Adi's wife. She put on her very best clothes, and went to the King, and when he saw her astonishing beauty, he

determined to make her his queen. He then ordered the man to be driven from the country, and went to Adi's wife, and said, "I wish to marry you, do you agree?" She replied, "I am very much honoured by your wishing to marry me, and make me your queen, but I am acting as agent for my husband, and if you will give me 2000 rupees, I will pay off my debts, and then come to your house." So the King gave the money, and she went home, and had a wardrobe made by a carpenter with four compartments, which she put in her house. She then invited the Kotwal, the Nazir, the Wazir and the King, and told the Kotwal to come at midnight, the Nazir at one o'clock, the Wazir at two o'clock, and the King at three o'clock. So the Kotwal came at midnight, and Adi's wife treated him very politely, and they were talking together, when the Nazir sent word to say he was coming; the Kotwal was alarmed at that, and said "What am I to do? where can I go?" She replied, "I have no place to hide you unless you can get into this wardrobe." The Kotwal said: "Very well, that is the best place, fasten me up quick." So Adi's wife fastened him in, and the Nazir arrived and sat down till two o'clock, when the Wazir came and knocked at the door. The Nazir recognized his voice, and exclaimed: "Find some place to save me from this misfortune." She said she would hide him, but there was no place except the wardrobe, so the Nazir agreed, and she fastened him up in the second compartment. She then invited the Wazir to enter, and made him sit down.

Nearly an hour passed while she was preparing something to eat, when the King came, and as the Wazir was very much alarmed, she concealed him in the third compartment of the wardrobe, and then received the King with great respect. While she was preparing some food for him, she went out of the room, and told one of her servants to put on her husband's clothes, and after a short time to come and knock at the door. The servant did as he was told, and the King hearing the knock enquired who it was, when the woman replied it was her husband. The King said: "I must conceal myself." Adi's wife answered—"I will hide you, but there is no place except this wardrobe, whatever is done must be done quickly." So the King was put into the wardrobe, and Adi's wife placed a purdah over it, and put out the candle, and went to sleep.

The next day everybody was much surprised that the King, Wazir, Nazir, and Kotwal did not come to court at the usual time. In the meanwhile Adi's wife sent her servants with the wardrobe into the bazaar to offer it for sale for four lakhs of rupees. Now the sons of the King, Wazir, Nazir, and Kotwal were wandering about the city, each in search of his father, and when they reached the bazaar, they heard a man crying—"A wardrobe to be sold for four lakhs of rupees." The King's son said—"What is the meaning of this? Nobody can buy it but ourselves, so send for the money and take it." They did so, and one of them took the key, and opened one compartment, and found his father, and the three others did the same, so they all felt very much ashamed, and went home.

Adi's wife then took a band of singers, and wandered from country to country, till she came to a place where her husband was a servant in the King's palace. The singers were invited to the palace, but Adi's wife remained at home to take care of her property while all the others went away to perform a *sâch*. As she was alone, they requested the King to send a trustworthy servant to guard the property. Now, the King had no other trustworthy servant but Adi, so he sent him, and he went and kept guard in the usual way. His wife recognised him, and asked, "Where do you live, and whose son are you?" So he told her, and she was sure he was her husband, but he did not recognize her. Then she called him in, and the next morning gave him two hundred rupees, and told him she had no further need of his services. After this, she left that country, and went home, and some time after a son was born. Now when Adi was with her, he had put a ring on her finger, and about a year afterwards he returned home, and found all his father's property had increased fourfold, and a son had been born, at which he was very angry. His wife was much distressed, and said, "Sir, why are you angry? I have done what should please you." Adi replied: "It is a very wonderful thing: I have been out of the country, and a son has been born!" Then she told him—"He is your son," and showed him the ring.

3. The Prince and his two Wives.

There was once a king named Dharmasîla, who was nearly forty years old, but he had neither son nor daughter. One night he said

to his wife, queen Sukhāvatī, "Up to the present time, God has given us no son who might take care of our kingdom and perform our funeral rites when we are dead." So thinking all their kingdom and wealth were worthless to them, they invited all the Brāhmanas and beggars from every country, and gave them handsome presents, and sent them away. From that time forth the king and queen began to worship Mahādēv. After a while the queen had a son, and the king was so rejoiced that he gave almost all his remaining wealth to the Brāhmanas. When the ceremony of giving his son the first rice had been performed, the king began to bring him up with the greatest care, and when he was eight years old, he married him to the daughter of another king. Then, in order that he might not be deficient in learning, the king sent his son to a school, which was distant about ten or twelve days' journey. While the son was studying at the school, it happened one day that the king and queen both died. The son's wife performed their funeral ceremonies, and ordered the diwan to let the king's son know the ill tidings, in order that he might come and rule his kingdom. The diwan said, "Yes, I will send him a letter immediately"; but he merely spoke with his lips, and did not write the letter. After three or four years, when he had ruined the kingdom and wasted the treasure, the diwan said to the prince's wife, "I am continually writing letters to your husband telling him to come and rule his kingdom, but he does not mind me, and by this time the kingdom is ruined, and the treasure spent; so now I ask you to let me go to some other king, and support myself." Then the diwan and the other amlah left the capital, and went each to their own home. The princess continued to live there for some time, and supported herself by selling her ornaments and house, and when they were all gone, she built a thatched hut, and began to live by begging. At last she could no longer endure such hardships, and having given up all hope of her husband's return, she left the place, and begging as she went along, in two or three months' time reached her father's house. Then she told him that her father-in-law and mother-in-law and husband were all dead; and when her father and mother heard it, they wept exceedingly in sorrow for their son-in-law. The princess put

on a widow's dress, and continued to live in her father's house.

After some time the prince having finished his education, returned to his own country, and found that the king's palace had utterly disappeared, and there was nothing to be seen but a thatched hut. Then he enquired of the people of the town, and when he learnt what had happened, he began to cry. After a little while he stopped crying, and determined to go to his father-in-law's house, and see how his wife was, and whether she would remember him or not. So he cut a stick, and supported himself by begging on the journey, and, after two or three months, arrived at his father-in-law's kingdom. Then he sold his stick, and gave up begging, and gained his living by collecting fruits and other things in the forest, and selling them. The prince had undergone so much hardship that no one could recognize him. It happened one day that he had brought some plums from the forest, and was selling them in the bazaar, when one of the princess' servants bought, and took them to the princess. The princess having eaten them, thought them so good that she ordered her servant to bring some more of the same sort on the following day. The prince went early the next morning to the plum tree, and having taken a branch from it, was on his way to sell it in the bazaar, when the servant of the princess called to him, and said, "The princess praised your plums very much yesterday, so come now to the side door, and bring your plums, and you will be well paid for them." So the prince took up his plums, and followed the servant to the side door, and the servant agreed she would give four annas for them; so she took them, and went away.

Now the princess was in love with the kōtval of the town, and he used to come to her house and return home, and no one knew anything about it; so the princess having eaten some of the plums herself, put some aside for her friend the kōtval. When the kōtval came in the evening as usual, he ate the plums, and then said to the princess, "I am very thirsty, give me some water to drink." The princess replied, "Where can I find water at this time? There is however a cocoanut tree near the house door, if you could get a young cocoanut from it, you could quench your thirst,

but I cannot find any one to fetch it now." After some time she remembered that she had never paid the plum-seller, and he was still standing at the side-door; then she sent her servant to call him and tell him that he would receive four annas for his plums, and four annas more if he would get a young cocoanut from the tree, and that he was to come for the eight annas early the next morning. So the prince agreed and fetched the young cocoanut from the tree, and the city kôtwal drank its water and quenched his thirst. After this, the princess was disturbed in her sleep by a leg of the bed breaking, so she thought, "If the plum-seller will come and sit under the bed and support it like a leg, I will give him another four annas; so that he will receive twelve annas in the morning." She sent a message to him by her servant, and he agreed and came into the princess' house, and sat under the bed like a leg. Then he began to reproach himself, saying, "Good God! it is written in my ill fate that I am to sit under this bed and support it like a leg while my wife sleeps on it." So he was much troubled in his mind. When the morning came the plum-seller thought, "If I stop here for my money, the princess will recognize me, so I will conceal myself and see what she will do;" then he went away.

That day the king's diwân met him, and when he saw his appearance he thought that he must be the son of some great person, and being much pleased with his conversation, he said to him, "Come and live in my house and I will support you," so the prince went to the diwân's house and lived there. Now the diwân had neither son nor daughter, so he treated the plum-seller as if he were his own son. After some time the diwân said to him, "You can read and write very well, you must come with me every day to the king's court and write in my office." From that day forward he went to the office, and wrote; but one day, after the office was closed, the prince was going home with the diwân, when the princess saw him from the top of the house and knew that he was her husband, so she was very much disturbed and began to reflect on what she should do; but being in love with the kôtwal, she had no mercy on her husband, and determined to have him killed and his body thrown away, that she might live with the kôtwal without annoyance. When she had

determined on this, she called her servant and said to her, "The boy who was walking behind the diwân came in front of the house, and looked and winked his eye at me. Now, go and tell my father all about it, and say that he must cut the boy in pieces and send his blood to me, and if he will not do so, I will kill myself." So the servant went and told the king, and when the king heard of it, he sent a messenger to seize the diwân and the boy. The messenger went quickly as he was ordered by the king, and seized the diwân and the boy, and the king told them what he had heard from the princess' servant. Then the prince began to cry, and the king seeing this, felt pity for him, and he remembered that the princess had only wished to see his blood and did not ask for his head, so she would be satisfied if the blood of some animal were shown her, and the boy might be banished to another country. He determined on doing this, and calling a messenger, gave him his instructions privately. Then the messenger took the boy down to the ghât where bodies were burnt and said to him, "The princess' life will be saved if you are cut in pieces and your blood given to her, and she has given orders that this is to be done, but I will save you; you must fly from this kingdom, and I will kill a dog and give its blood to the princess." So saying, the messenger let the boy go, and killed a dog and put its blood in a pot and gave it to the princess. When she saw it, she was very much pleased and said laughing, "I was always sending you letters to come to me and you never came, and now you have paid the penalty for all the trouble you caused me. How do you feel now? I will have your blood given to a crow." She then ordered a servant to give it to a crow, and when the crow had drunk it, her anger was appeased, and she lived at ease with the kôtwal. In the meantime the king's son left the kingdom in tears, and gained his livelihood by begging. At last he went back to his own country, and lived in the thatched hut, and when he laid down and fell asleep, his father appeared to him in a dream, and said, "My son, why do you suffer such hardships? Whilst I was alive, I lent your father-in-law seven crores of rupees, and he gave me a bond engraved on a copper plate. I put this bond into a tin box and buried it under a champak tree; go and dig it up and obtain the money." When he had said this, he departed.

In a little while the prince woke up, and believing in what had been told him in the dream, he borrowed a spade from a neighbour and began to dig under the champak tree. After digging for some time he found the tin box, and inside was the bond for seven crores of rupees; he read it through, and saw that it was all correct. He then took the bond to the house of his diwān and showed it to him, telling him to provide 500 sepoy and 500 carts, that they might take the bond to his father-in-law's house and bring back seven crores of rupees, and if he would not give the money, the sepoy were to take him prisoner. When the diwān saw the bond he was very much pleased, and provided sepoy and carts and sent them to the king's palace with a letter and the bond; and after they had shown it him, they said, "If you do not give us the money, we will seize you and take you away." When the king saw the letter and the bond, he thought a little, and then went to the queen and showed them to her, and calling his daughter he said to her, "Child, why did you tell me your husband was dead? He has just written to me, and sent for seven crores of rupees. Why did you give this false account of his death?" Both the king and queen began to abuse her, and when the princess learnt her husband was alive and heard all the abuse which was bestowed on her, she was very much troubled, and began to think the man who had been cut in pieces and whose blood she had given to the crow, could not have been her husband but some one else. So the princess kept thinking over the best thing to be done. At last the king with a great deal of trouble collected four crores of rupees and gave them to the sepoy, and promised to give the other three crores in a month's time. After some persuasion the sepoy took the four crores and an answer to the letter, and gave them to the prince. The prince then restored the old diwān to his office, and ordered him to buy a kingdom and palace like the former ones. According to the orders he received the diwān, in a month's time, bought a palace and estate, and they began to rule the kingdom happily. In the course of a month the sepoy brought the remaining three crores of rupees, and the prince bought a still larger estate than before.

Some time after this, the prince thought he would like to be married, so he told the diwān

of his intention, and ordered him to take care of the kingdom while he was away, and he further ordered him to kill a jackal and give it to him. The diwān ordered the sepoy to bring a jackal, and they went into the wood and brought one and gave it to the prince, who sent for a skinner, who took out the inside and dried the skin in the sun. Then the prince put inside the jackal's skin many kinds of gold, pearls, and jewelled ornaments, and a beautifully embroidered dress, and sewed it up. He then gave the diwān authority to manage his kingdom, and taking the jackal's skin, some elephants, and horses, and many soldiers with much treasure, he started to find a wife. He went from the court of one king to the court of another, till at last he reached the country of a king who had a very beautiful daughter. She was twelve years old and unmarried; this he learnt from the talk of the people, and he determined on staying there. At the same time he thought if he appeared at the king's court in such state, the princess could not refuse to marry him, so, in order that he might discover whether she were virtuous or good for nothing, he determined to put her to the test before marrying her. He then concealed his soldiers, elephants, and horses, and rubbed ashes on his body, putting on only a small piece of cloth and the jackal skin on his shoulders, and wore the dress of a madman. He ordered his soldiers to come and protect him whenever he should call out and say "Forward," and having made these arrangements, he went away, and began to wander about like a madman. After wandering in this state for two or three days, the people of the city began to say, "Whence has this madman come?" and the rumour reached the ears of the king. Now the people of that country had never seen a madman before, so the king wished to look at him, and ordered a messenger to go and bring him into his presence. When he was come, the king heard what he had to say, and the king and all his court began to laugh at him. Then the madman did still more mad things, and began to joke with the king; and the servants saw him and told the princess about him, so that she became very anxious to see him. At noon when the king came into the palace to eat his breakfast, she began to cry, and said she wanted to see the madman. The

king thought, "How can I bring the madman inside the palace, and yet I must, for the child is crying for him." So he ordered a servant to promise the madman some good things to eat, and to bring him inside. The servant went to the madman and said, "Come in with me and I will give you good things to eat," and enticed him in several ways, so that at last he came; and when he saw the princess he did more mad things, so that she could not stop laughing. Then the princess called the madman into her own part of the house, and told him to stop there and she would give him some sweetmeats; but he said, "What are sweetmeats, how shall I eat them?" and did more mad things. At night he lay down at the door of the princess' room, and slept there till the next morning. When the princess had bathed, she took husked rice, plantains, sugar, and flowers in her hand, and was going to worship Śiva, but the madman was lying at the door, so she could not pass out. She told him to go away from the door, but he told her to step over his body; the princess tried to persuade him to go away from the door, but he only did mad things, and in the meanwhile the time for worshipping Śiva was passing by. The princess began to consider what she should do, when the madman said, "If you will promise to give me whatever I ask, I will go away from the door." The princess without thinking promised three times to give him whatever he asked, so he went away. Then the princess went into the temple to worship Śiva, and when she had finished, she came back and called for the madman and said to him, "Now, tell me what you want." He replied, "Will you really give me what I ask?" and she promised to do so. Then he did more mad things, and laughing, said, "Princess, you must marry me." When she heard that she beat her forehead with her hand and began to cry, and crying a great deal she said, "God has written a mad husband on my forehead, and although I have worshipped Śiva constantly till now, yet he has given me a mad husband," so saying, she fell on the bed insensible and went to sleep. Then the image of Śiva appeared to her in a dream and said, "Princess, I have given you the best of husbands, he is no madman, but has put on a madman's dress to prove you, he is a king's

son, you must not dislike him, and you will presently know his real condition." When the princess had heard this, she woke up and told the madman that she would take him for her husband. As soon as the king and queen knew it, they were very much troubled, and the queen, weeping and beating her head with her hands, said, "It was always my greatest wish that our daughter should marry a king's son, and have a prince for a son, and be the mother of a king, but God has made my hope of no avail." Then the princess came and said, "I have obtained what was written in my fate, now bid me farewell for I must go with the madman." She saluted her father and mother, tied up her ornaments in a bundle, and put them under her arm, and started with the madman. He put the dried jackal's skin on his shoulder, and went in front, and the princess followed behind. After they had gone some distance, the madman asked her what was in the bundle under her arm, and she said it was her jewellery, so the madman said, "If you wish to go with me, you must throw away all your clothes and ornaments and come naked, otherwise go back to your father." The princess would not take off her clothes and ornaments, but continued to follow the madman; presently he turned round, and saw that she had not thrown away her dress and ornaments, so he began to beat her with the jackal's skin. A labourer saw him and went and told the king, so the king ordered a messenger to take some soldiers, and drive the madman away and bring his daughter home. The soldiers went as quick as they could, but the madman saw them from afar, and called out, "Where are my soldiers and elephants and horses? Come forward." When they heard this, all his army and elephants and horses came, and beat the king's soldiers, and drove them away; then the madman tore open the jackal's skin, and made the princess wear his ornaments and dress. He also took off the madman's dress, and put on a king's robe, and went with his army to his own kingdom, where he lived with the princess.

One day the king laughed, and said to the princess, "I have another wife, who is the daughter of a certain king, and still lives in her father's house." Then the princess said to her husband, "I am alone in the house and have no one to talk and walk with, send off a paliki

and bearers to-morrow morning, and bring her here, then we shall be able to talk together and live happily." So the king wrote a letter to his father-in-law, and sent off the paliki and bearers. When they arrived at the king's palace, they gave the letter to the king; he read it and went in and told the queen, and they agreed that their daughter must be sent, so they took leave of her. While in the paliki the princess began to think that if the prince had heard of her bad conduct he would kill her as soon as she arrived; but afterwards she grew more bold, and thought he could not possibly know anything about it. So she came to her journey's end, and the two wives were introduced to each other. The eldest wife lived in one house and the youngest in another; but the king always used to sit with the youngest, and not only would not sit with the eldest, but would not even look at her. One day the second wife said to the king, "You have been to sit with me every day for nearly a month, and you have never been once to see your first wife; what is the cause of this?" The king replied, "I have a reason for it which I will tell you afterwards." Some time passed when one night the second wife said to the king, "To-morrow is the day for bathing in the Ganges; I and the other wife wish to go and bathe, so you must give us 100 rupees each." The king promised to do so, and put up in two bags 100 rupees for the second wife, and 100 rupees less twelve annas for the first wife, and giving the bags to a servant, he told her to take the first bag to the second wife and the other to the first wife. When the second wife opened her bag she counted the money and found there was 100 rupees, but the other wife found there was twelve annas short of 100 rupees in her bag. The

second wife said "He has given me 100 rupees, he must have given you twelve annas short by mistake; the king will give you the other twelve annas when he comes in at noon to breakfast." After the two queens had bathed, the second went to cook for the king, and the other went on the roof of the house to dry her hair in the sun. When the cooking was finished, the king came and had his breakfast, and whilst the second wife was giving him his betelnut, she asked him why he had given the other wife twelve annas short of 100 rupees. The king said, "She owes me twelve annas, so I have deducted it." The queen enquired how that could be, and the king answered, "When the queen was in her father's house I was a plum seller, and she bought four annas worth of plums from me but did not pay for them, and in the evening, because the city kôtwal was thirsty, I climbed a cocoanut tree and brought down a young cocoanut, and for that she promised me another four annas; and again, when she was sleeping in the night, it happened that one of the legs of the bed broke, so I sat underneath and supported it with my head, and for this I was promised another four annas, twelve annas altogether; this sum I have deducted from what I gave her." When the first queen heard what was said, she jumped from off the top of the house, and was killed.

The second queen was running to pick her up, but the king forbid her, saying, "It is not your business to pick up that wretch." Nevertheless the queen went and found she was dead. Then the king called her relations, and had the first queen burnt, and her funeral ceremonies performed, and began to rule happily over the kingdom with the second queen.⁴

REPORT ON THE ANCIENT INSCRIPTIONS IN THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCE OF CEYLON.

BY DR. E. MÜLLER, ARCHEOLOGICAL SURVEYOR.

The inscriptions in the North-Western Province belong, with a few exceptions, to the first four centuries of the Christian era; they are nearly all engraved on rocks and written in the square or so-called Nāgarī character, which is

only a slight modification of the Aśoka alphabet. They are dispersed all over the province, sometimes in places very little known, and I am therefore very doubtful about the completeness of my collection.

⁴ Mr. Chyhorn Henry Dumant, M.A., B.C.S., late Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, came out to India in 1863. He has been a valuable contributor to this Journal ever

since its commencement. Immediately after sending us the above three legends, to our great regret, he was killed by the rebel Mowana Naga, in Mowana, 11th October 1870.

According to tradition, the first settlement of the Gangetic tribes was at Tambapanni Nuwara or Tammanna Nuwara, seven miles from Puttalam. Wijaya is said to have landed there, and to have taken his way from there to Anurādhapura. The ruins, however, that are to be found at Tammanna Nuwara are undoubtedly of a much later date, and the whole story of Wijaya, as given in the *Mahāvamsa*, being more mythological than historical, I do not believe that the mere coincidence of name proves anything.

Tambapanni, or **Tāmraparāṇi** in Sanskrit, was originally the name of a river in Tinnevely, Southern India (conf. Lassen *de Taphro- bane insula veleribus cognita*, p. 6; Caldwell, *Comp. Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, Introd. p. 120), and was most probably also applied to a river by the immigrants when they first came over from the continent to Ceylon. Which river that was, is difficult to say, but I do not think that it can have been the Mī-oya nor any other river that is to the south of Anurādhapura. According to the *Mahāvamsa* p. 50, the first settlements of the followers of Wijaya were Anurādhapura, Upatissa Nuwara (the modern Tantrimale), Wijitapura near the Kalawewa tank, and Urūwela, of which the position cannot be made out with certainty. Now, Anurādhapura and Upatissa Nuwara are both on the Kadamba river (Malwatta-oya), and Upatissa Nuwara was the seat of Government before Anurādhapura, so that it seems most likely that the immigrants came up this river from the sea coast. I therefore believe that if the ruins of Tammanna Nuwara are ever to be found, they will be found a considerable distance to the north of Puttalam.

I now proceed to the inscriptions. The oldest that I found here, as elsewhere, were the cave inscriptions. In a historical sense they offer no peculiar interest; the names that occur are nearly always the same, mostly Abhaya and Tisa, which I have found more than a hundred times in inscriptions of this province, they do not contain any other name that, with our present knowledge of old Sinhalese history, we can identify. For philological purposes, however, these names are of great interest, and therefore I give here a few specimens of the cave inscriptions:—

(1.) Wirandagoda, five miles to the

north of the road from Puttalam to Anurādhapura, turning off at the 17th mile-post. There are four inscriptions close to a temple which, according to tradition, was built by prince Sāli Kumāra, the son of Dutthagāmiṇi, about 137 B. C. To judge from the inscriptions, I do not think that this can be correct, as they contain blunders which generally do not occur in inscriptions older than the 2nd century A. D.

I put in brackets and italics the words or letters that are missing:—

I. Jotiteraha [*putaka*] mahāsudāsane nṛpaśaka Tisaya teraha nagalene—

‘The large and beautiful rock cave of the *thera* Tisa, son of *thera* Joti.’

Upasaka, ‘lay-devotee,’ which I have omitted in the translation, is the contrary of *thera*, and therefore cannot be applied to the same person; one or the other must stand by mistake.

II. Parumaka Sumana pataha Chūḍa Sumana cha bāta Tisagutaha cha [*taḍisa*] lene sagasa—

‘The cave of Tisaguta, son of the Brahman Sumana, brother of Chūḍasumana [*is given*] to the priesthood of the four quarters.’

Chūḍasumana is a name similar to Chūḍanaga (*Mah.* 225) given to distinguish him from his grandfather, Mahallaka Nāga.

The two remaining inscriptions are of no peculiar interest.

(2.) Gallena wihāra, four miles to the west from Mahāgalkūḍawala on the road from Padoniya to Anurādhapura. There I found five inscriptions very much alike as to their contents, but of which one is at least two centuries older than the others. It runs as follows:

Dewānapiya mahārāja Gāmaṇi Abhayaśaṇa putā Tisayasa mahālene agata [*a*]nagata chatadisa agasa—

‘The great cave of Tisa, the son of the great king, beloved of the gods, Gāmaṇi Abhaya, [*is given*] to the priesthood of the four quarters, present and absent.’

These names seem to be easy enough to identify, but unfortunately neither Dutthagāmiṇi nor Amadagāmiṇi nor Gajabāhu had a son of the name of Tisa. To judge from the shape of the letters the inscription must belong to the first century B. C. The other four shew a remarkable difference in the language, as they write throughout *a* instead of *ā* and *ā* instead of *ā*; that is to say, they must have been engraved at a time when the long vowels and aspirated

consonants had entirely disappeared from the language.

(3.) *Paramakanda*, one mile from Tonigala on the road from Puttalam to Kurunegala (*cf. Journal Ceylon Asiatic Society*, 1853, p. 181 *ff.*):—

Parumaka Abaya puta paramaka Tisala
Dutaka . . . [Tisa].

'The cave of the brahmin Tisa Dutaka. . . son of the Brahman Abhaya.'

This most probably refers to *Dutthagāmiṇi*, and is, as far as I know, the only inscription in which he is called by his full name. It might be objected that the relationship is not given correctly, as, according to the *Mahāvamsa*, *Dutthagāmiṇi* was the son of [Kākawanna] Tisa and grandson of [Gola] Abhaya, but these inaccuracies occur frequently in inscriptions, as I have shewn in my last report, *Iud. Ant.* vol. VIII. p. 226.

Inscriptions similar to these are to be found at Mailāwa and Giribāwa, five miles from Gallena wihāra; at Galwewa wihāra, two miles from Wāriyapola; at Mulagama and Labugala, six miles from Anamadawa (*cf. Journal Ceylon Asiatic Society*, 1853, p. 82); at Picchhandiyāwa, two miles from Mulagama; at Gallawa wihāra near Mediyāwa; at Ganekande wihāra near Mahānukawewa; at Nagolla wihāra, Peṭiyagala, Kabeḷḷalana, all three near Rambawwa on the road from Kurunegala to Anurādhapura; and at Patahamulla near Hiripitiya on the same road.

Besides these short cave inscriptions, there is one of some length engraved flat on the rock, which doubtless belongs to the same period, as it bears the name of *Dutthagāmiṇi*. It is that at Tonigala, about fourteen miles from Puttalam on the road to Kurunegala (*cf. Journal Ceylon Asiatic Society*, 1853, p. 81). As far as I know, this is the only inscription in the Island which can be proved with certainty to be previous to the Christian era; for that at Rukam (*Battikāloa*) which was published in the proceedings of the *Ceylon Asiatic Society*, 1870-1, p. xxviii., although it bears the name of *Dutthagāmiṇi's* grandfather [Gola] Abhaya, the son of *Yaṭṭhalaka Tisa*, shews by the shape of its letters that it must be of later date.

The inscription at Tonigala has two different versions, of which one is engraved near

the tank *Kuḍawewa*, the other in the jungle a quarter of a mile off:—

(a) *Parumaka Abaya puta paramaka Tisala wapi Achagirika Tisa pawatahi agata anagata chatudisa sagasa dine—Dewanapi maharaja Gamiṇi Abaye niyate Achanagaraka cha [Tasi]-rikiya nagaraka cha paramaka Abaya puta paramaka Tisa niyata pite rajala agata anagata chatudisa sagasa.*

'The tank of [*Kūḍawewa*] Tisa, the son of *Abhaya*, at the mountain of *Achagirika Tisa*, is given to the priesthood of the four quarters present and absent. The great king, beloved of the gods, *Gāmiṇi Abhaya*, ordered: *Achanagara* and *Tawirikiyanagara*, which have been established by my father king *Tisa*, son of king *Abhaya*, [are given] to the priesthood of the four quarters, present and absent.'

(b) *Parumaka Abaya puta paramaka Tisa niyate Ima wapi Achagirika Tisa pawatahi agata anagata chatudisa sagasa—Dewanapi maharaja Gamiṇi Abaye niyate Achanagaraka cha Tawirikiyanagaraka cha Achagirika Tisa pawatahi agata anagata chatudisa sagasa—Paramaka Abaya puta paramaka Tisala wisara niyate pite.*

'King *Tisa*, son of king *Abhaya*, ordered: This tank at the *Achagirika Tisa* mountain is given to the priesthood of the four quarters present and absent. The great king, beloved of the gods, *Gāmiṇi Abhaya*, ordered: *Achanagara* and *Tawirikiyanagara* [are given] to the priesthood in the four quarters present and absent. The tank of king *Tisa*, son of king *Abhaya*, is established by my father.'

The contents of the inscription are not quite clear, although the words cannot easily be mistaken. As far as we learn from the *Mahāvamsa*, *Kākawanna Tisa* was only king of Māgama, and never entered the northern kingdom, which was then governed by a Tamil sovereign. We therefore cannot but assume that this inscription was engraved by his son *Dutthagāmiṇi* at the time when he conquered the north, instead of a monument for his dead father, and that the names in the inscription do not at all refer to the locality where it is. The tank mentioned is most probably the *Dūratissa* tank in Rohana mentioned several times in the *Mahāvamsa*, but not yet identified. About the other names I cannot yet venture to express an opinion.

The alphabet in which this inscription is

written is the oldest form of the Aśoka character, only for *s* we always find the Greek digamma, as described in Goldschmidt's report, *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 318. I however believe that this is quite accidental, and that there is no difference of sound between the two *s*'s, as in other inscriptions equally old—for instance, that at Gallena—we find the round form throughout.

Regarding the language of this inscription, we find in (6) several instances of the ancient Māgadhi nominative in *e* as *raje*, *pīte*, *niyate*; this termination is also used for the feminine gender in *supi*.....*āsi*. *Niyate* I have translated first by 'ordered,' afterwards by 'established,' according to the context. It has the same meaning in Pāli; for instance, "*parāmarājaniyatam paññakamman*," 'meritorious practices established by former kings.' (*Mah.* 213.) *Wisara* in the last line of (6) stands probably for *wisāra* or *wasāra*, which occurs frequently in later inscriptions.

We now proceed to the inscriptions of the first centuries of the Christian era. They are much more numerous than the oldest, but as the letters are not cut very deep, some of them are much damaged by rain, and besides they are full of mistakes and clerical errors of all kinds.

The alphabet in which they are written is that of the Western caves, as given in Prinsep's *Essays*, but in addition to this I found several letters which apparently do not occur in India. It is to this period that the inscriptions belong of Hābāra and Tissamahārāma (now in the Colombo Museum), which were published by Dr. Goldschmidt in his last report, but none of the inscriptions in the North-Western Province are so well preserved as these. Also the large inscription at Mihintale is of the same date—not that which is alluded to in Alwis's *Introduction to the Sidatnagarāwa*, p. xxxvi., and translated by Armour in the *Ceylon Almanac* for 1834, and which is much later, but that which was published by Captain Chapman in 1850. Goldschmidt ascribed this inscription to Gajabāhu Gāmiṇi (*cf.* his *Report*, *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 319), but I think it belongs to Meghawaṇṇa Abhaya (A.D. 248), not only because the king mentioned is said to be the grandson of king Tisa, which alone would not be conclusive, but because it is stated that he repaired the abode of Mahādatara and Badusālatara at

Mihintale, just as we find it related concerning Meghawaṇṇa Abhaya in *Mahāvaṃsa*, p. 232.

The finest specimen of these inscriptions is that from the Ruwanwæli dāgoba, Anurādhapura, now in the Colombo Museum, of which I annex a copy and translation, as it has never been published:—

(1) Sīdha Wāhāra rajāha manumaraka T[is]sa maharajāha puti maharaja

(2) Gayabāhu Gāmiṇi Abaye Dakṣiṇi Abaya arāha wihāra karaya wa rakawīya

(3) bajika patisawanak tiri koṭu papa(?) takarāhiya Jina paṭisatara

(4) Koṭu dīne dakapāti bikusagāha āyaya chatari paceni paribujanak koṭu dīne.

'Hail! The great king Gajabāhu Gāmiṇi Abhaya, grandson of king Wāhāra, son of king Tisa, having built (or restored) the Dakṣiṇa Abhaya and other wihāras, and having protected them, made them inhabited (?), having strengthened the faith, having made obeisance to the faultless Jina, after having given [the wihāras], he gave to the priesthood the enjoyment of the four pratyayas.'

According to *Mah.* p. 206, the Dakṣiṇa and Abhaya[gi] wihāras were already built under the reign of Waṭṭagāmiṇi, A.C. 89, so that we must either assume that Gajabāhu was also one of the names of Waṭṭagāmiṇi, or that *karaya* is to be translated 'restored,' not 'built.' The latter seems more probable, as the names of Gajabāhu's father and grandfather are given, and from the whole appearance of the inscription in general.

Among the inscriptions in the North-Western Province, one of the oldest is at Pūjāgala three miles from Hiripitiya (on the road from Kurunegala to Anurādhapura) on the top of a rock. It bears the name of a son of the minister Mahānāga, but there are too many words and letters effaced to allow of a translation. One letter in this inscription is of peculiar interest, as I have found it nowhere else; it is very much like the modern Tamil *z*, but I could not yet make out the meaning of it.

Nearly as old as this is the inscription at Ridi wihāra (Ambaṭhakola lēna) between Kurunegala and Matale. This wihāra was built by king Amandagāmiṇi (21–30 A.D.), but I do not think that the inscription is quite as old. It begins: *Siddhisaddhānake siri*. . . . After this comes most probably the name of the

king, which is not quite legible on the stone, and in the second line I believe I have deciphered a part of the ancient name of the place—*Abattha-kola*.

There are several inscriptions of the same age, which all refer to the construction and dedication of tanks, a favourite subject also in the North-Central Province and in the district of Hambantota. Unfortunately we know so little about the ancient geography of Ceylon that we only seldom can identify the names given in these inscriptions. Celebrated tanks like the Padiwilkulam and Kantalai tank are not at all mentioned in the earlier part of the *Malāwāsā*, which should give us an account of their construction, and so there is little hope to learn from thence anything about minor tanks as they exist in the North-Western Province. Still more difficulty of course prevails about the names of the paddy fields which are served by these tanks, and so there remains but very little matter to discuss in inscriptions like the following from *Alutgalwihāra*:

Siddha mahārājaha bikawawīya chetakarīhi
sagawīya chetakarīhi talatarawiketahi chetakarīhi

(2) uliwawīya chetakarīhi punagamakawawīya
chetakarīhi wiharaketahi chetakarīhi

(3) pariwataketahi chetakarīhi talawīyaketahi
chetakarīhi.

(4) Tisa teraha kalahi likitaka.

We have here four tanks and four corresponding paddy-fields:

bikawawīya	talatarawiketa
saga[wa]wīya	wiharaketa
uliwawīya	pariwataketa
punagamakawawīya	talawīyaketa

The only word to explain is *chetakarīhi*, of which the second part *karīhi* is equal to the Pāli *karika*; *cheta* is most probably a numeral, which indicates the extent of paddy-land that was served by each tank, but I cannot trace the etymology of the word.

The concluding sentence—"This is written at the time of the thera Tisa"—helps us just as little in finding out the date of the inscription as the mere title "*mahārāja*" ('great king') in the first line.

One of the oldest and best preserved inscriptions is on a rock near *Galgamuwa* tank on the road from *Padeniya* to *Anurādhapura*. It runs as follows:

Raja Abayisa puti Waddamāna gama mahama
bariha sagasa wawī chā.

[Under this is a line of smaller characters, which are not so clear.]

'Waddhamāna, the son of king Abaya, gave the village . . . and the tank to the priesthood.'

The words left blank may be names, but I am not sure about it. *Galgamuwa* tank was built by king *Mahāsena*, the son of *Meghawāṇa Abhaya*, according to the *Rājatarāṅkari* (Upham, *Sacred and Historical Books*, II. 60, III. 237), and to him I think the inscription must be ascribed. Whether *Waddhamāna* was really a name or only a title, must remain undecided at present. (Cf. *Journal Ceylon Asiatic Society*, 1879, p. 7.)

Another equally well preserved inscription is at *Dewagiriya wihāra*, three miles from *Galgamuwa* :—

Sisitawanaka wiharāhi nawahagamaketahi
chetahi karīhi kubare—

'In the *Sisitawanaka wihāra* on the *Nawahagama* field the paddy land [extends] over . . . karishas.'

Similar inscriptions concerning tanks are to be found at *Yapahu* (*Subhāparwatā*), six miles from *Balalli*, and at *Galwewa* near *Wāriyapola*.

All the inscriptions mentioned until now are not later than the beginning of the 4th century A.D. At this time we notice a change in the alphabet; the square character begins to go over gradually into the round form, and sometimes we find the same letter in two or three different forms in the same inscription.

I only came across one cave inscription written in this mixed character at *Ganekande wihāra* near *Mahānikawewa*, on the road from *Kurunmāla* to *Anurādhapura*. I give it here as it is of some interest:—

Sidawīya pukapālene chatudisika sagasa
Chuḍa(?) tisa jējaka Baranaka anajīwi.

'The tank cave of *Siddhawīya* (?) [is given] to the priesthood in the four quarters. *Chuḍa* [is] the chief, and *Baranaka* his bondsman.'

Pukapa is the old form for the modern *pukūpa*, Sanskrit *pūṣkariṇī*.

There are two short inscriptions of this kind at *Kadigala* near the *Kalū-oya* river, and two long ones at *Meḍiyāwa* (*Ratgallegāma wihāra*), of which one is hopelessly destroyed by burn-

ing. The other one, as well as a very fine inscription at Rajāngane, three miles from Mahāgalkadewala, treat both about the building of dining halls for the priest (*danasala*) and the offering of water-strainers (*palissacasa*) to them, a practice that is known from *Mahāvaṃsa*, p. 220. I reserve a full transcript and translation of these for a later occasion. The alphabet in which they are written is very difficult to decipher, and some characters can only be found out by conjecture, as we have nothing like them in any of the Indian alphabets that are given in Prinsep's *Essays* and Burnell's *South-Indian Palaeography*.

As in the North-Central Province, there are here also no inscriptions between the 5th and 11th centuries, and so we go on at once to the reign of Kassaṇṇapō V. (937—954.) There is a fine pillar of this king at Ingirimitiya, eight miles from Anamaduma, discovered by Mr. Parker, the irrigation officer of the district. The king styles himself, as usual, *Siri Sanga Bo*, and it would be difficult to say which king of this name it is, if not for the name of a minister (*Mahale-mahālekha*) *Seṇa*, which must be the same mentioned in *Mahāvamsa* ch. 52, 53, as the founder of *Mahālekhaṣabbatawihāra*. It contains a grant to a temple, the name of which is not clear on the stone. I give the first lines and a part from the middle of the inscription:—

A.—(1) Swasti

(2) *Siri Sanga Bo*

(3) *ma purmukā*

(4) *sawanaga pu-*

(5) *ridase hima*

(6) *ta puradisa*

(7) *wak dawasa*

(8) *ma*

(9) *hāpāṇa*

(10) *wahanse*

(11) *wadāleyi*—

'Hail! *Siri Sanga Bo*, the king in the . . . 4th year of his reign, on the 10th day in the bright half of the month *Himata*. . . the great sage declared.'

Sawanaga must serve to indicate the year of the king's reign in which this order was given; generally we find a numeral instead, as *pūṇṇasāyana* in the inscription of *Mahākalanāwera*.

C.—(1) *su-*

(2) *sama me ga-*

(3) *m no wad-*

(4) *nā koṭ i-*

(5) *sā gēl mi-*

(6) *wun wariya-*

(7) *n gam ge-*

(8) *no ganna*

(9) *koṭ isā*

(10) *atapiṇ nepanna*

(11) *koṭ isā.*

'Having ordered that noblemen shall not enter the place, that enemies shall not take the cart buffaloes from the village, and having made them independent.'

Atapiṇ nepanna I think stands for *Pāli or-tanā nippenna*—'dependent upon themselves.'

Inscriptions of this king and of his successor, Kassaṇṇapō VI., are to be found at *Makulāwā wihāra*, seven miles from Kurunegala, on a large rock close to the dīgoba, and on pillars at *Mēdagama* and *Segeleṇa wihāra*, nine miles from Kurunegala on the Kandy road, and at *Yakdessa Gala*, two miles to the east of the road to Puttalam.

Of king *Parākramabāhu I.*, I only found two inscriptions: one on a pillar which stands now before the Assistant Government Agent's house in Puttalam; the other one on a stone tablet at *Galasne Malāwana*, eight miles from Kurunegala, near the road to Anurādhapura. The pillar was formerly at *Paliakulam*, ten miles from Chilaw, where it was discovered by Mr. Brodie, who gave a very rough and imperfect transcript of it in the *Journal of the Ceylon Asiatic Society*, 1855, p. 181 ff. The contents seem not to differ greatly from those in his other numerous inscriptions all over the Island.

Last of all, I mention three Tamil inscriptions on two pillars and one large slab at *Bdā-muttā wā wihāra* near *Nikaweratiya*. The character is very much the same as the present Tamil, but there are two or three letters which have disappeared now from the alphabet. Unfortunately I am not well enough acquainted with Tamil to be able to give a translation of these inscriptions; they bear the name of the son of a *Kalinga* king ('*Kalika nakan*'), and date, without doubt, from the time of the great Tamil invasion of Ceylon, 1013—1153 A.D.

These are the inscriptions I found, partly by inquiring from the natives, partly with the help of the Government archaeological returns; but I am convinced that if a systematic search

were made by Government in all the temples of this province, a great many more would be found, which perhaps might give us some valuable in-

formation in addition to what we know from books on the ancient history of Ceylon.

Colombo, 3rd June 1879.

THIEN-CHU—INDIA.

EXTRACT FROM MA-TWAN-LIN, BOOK CCCXXXVIII FOL. 14.

Translated from the French of M. Stanislas Julien.¹

The following notice of India by Ma-twan-lin, being made up of fragments from the great Chinese historians, not one of whom probably was acquainted with the languages of India, we may expect to find in it a great many words disfigured, first by the original writers, and afterwards by the various editors of the *Wen-hien-thong-keno*. Thus we find *Ki-li-chi* and *Tao-li* for 'Kshattrya' (a man of the warlike caste), *So-tu* for 'Stupa' (a tomb), *Shi-lo-y-to* for Śīlāditya (name of a king), *Kin-seo-lo* for Kapila (a town). I have removed these alterations in the case of words the correct form of which I have learned from other sources, but what could I do, in the case of Indian words of which I could find no trace in my Buddhist accounts, and also in the case of names of foreign countries, which perhaps appear only once in the solitary fragment from which Ma-twan-lin has taken them? I believe I have taken the only plan which I could prudently have done. If, in a particular case I have attempted a transcription I have placed it between parentheses, followed by a note of interrogation, or else I have limited myself to simply transcribing the Chinese sounds, hoping that others, more fortunate or better acquainted with Sanskrit than I am, may succeed in re-establishing the original spelling.

As for the Chinese proper names, which appear to me evidently drawn from the Sanskrit, I have taken the liberty of giving the translation of them, not according to any dictionary, but by

making use of Indian words already to my knowledge employed by Buddhist writers in translating the same words into Chinese; and, as the Sanskrit language often offers several translations of a given word, I have always placed a note of interrogation (?) after the word proposed, even in cases in which I am almost certain of having found the correct one.

I cannot conclude these remarks without adding that the fragment from Ma-twan-lin here given, has presented to me, as much on account of the names of foreign products and Indian names as of passages altered by the editors, difficulties which one is not accustomed to meet with in Chinese historians. I have been obliged in order to correct the text to search patiently for the original notices extracted by the author, and although in more than one place this species of investigation has succeeded, I have not in every instance recovered the passage at which he must have been looking, or else I have found even it spoiled by mistakes.

It was under the later Han dynasty that China came into relations with Thien-chu.² This name is the same as Shin-tu employed in the time of the Han dynasty.

First, Ma-twan-lin remarks in a note³ that the General Chang-kien being sent⁴ on a mission to Ta-hia (Baktria) saw cunes of the *Khiung*

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, IVme Sér. tome X. (1847) pp. 81—121. The following extract first appeared in the *Asiatic Journal* for July and August 1836 without any translator's name. It was reprinted with additional notes by Prinsep in the *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VI. (Jan. 1837) pp. 61—75. The same extract is included in M. Pauthier's *Examen Méthodique des faits qui concernent le Thien-tou ou l'Inde* published in the *Journal Asiatique*, IIIe Sér. 1839, pp. 257—409, and also separately, Paris: 1840. This work also includes 43 pages of "Considérations Générales" drawn from the *Yu-thong Si-yu-ki* of Hsien Tsung. M. Julien alludes to neither of the versions that preceded his own, but M. Pauthier mentions (p. 273) that the English version was due to himself. Some notes from Prinsep's reprint, together with others, are added here.

² According to the Buddhist work *Leng-yeu-tai-ku* (tk. I. fol. 2) the word Thien-chu signifies moon (in Sanskrit चंद्र). From this etymology we discover that both syllables of this word have been altered, and one wonders how this corrupted spelling should be preserved to the present time by Chinese writers. Let us see the origin of this change.

In the dictionary *Ching-tseu-thong* under the word *chu* we find that, in *Shi-to*, the same word as Thien-chu, the word *ts* ought to be pronounced as *ts* (sh). Now the

sound of *shin-tu* has been changed into *thien-tu*, because the word *ts* (sh) has been abridged into *ts* (Khang-hi mentions this abbreviation under the word *ts*); finally the abbreviation *ts* has received the sound of *chu*. According to the historian See-ma-thsien (the *Ching-tseu-thong* adds), the character *shin* should be pronounced *yen* (a word which in Khang-hi is also sounded *yen*, a sound very close to *yu* or *ts*).

From this we understand how the word for India, which according to Hsien-Tsung, should be written *tsu* (*tsu*), the phonetic transcription of the Sanskrit *india* (*moon*), has come to be written (Conf. *Pan-tsiang-pi-shi*, tk. vii, fol. 8 and *Khang-hi*) by Chinese travellers ignorant of its derivation, as Thien-tu, Shin-tu and *Shi-to*, *Yen-tu*, *Hien-tu* (the latter representing the sound of *ts*), and lastly Thien-chu,—in consequence of the alteration of the two syllables of this Sanskrit word (चंद्र) *tsu*, the moon.

³ Pauthier's *Examen*, p. 4.

⁴ According to the historian See-ma-thsien, the country of Ta-hia is situated about 200 leagues to the south-west of Ta-wan (now Tashkent, in Arabic, Tashkend; according to the universal geography *Tha-thsing-i-tong-chi*; Khokand, according to the *Thi-tseu-thu-chi*), is south of the river Wei (in Sanskrit Vash), the Oxus.

reed and cloth of *Sku*. 'Whence have you got these things?' asked he of the people of *Ta-hia*. 'Our merchants,' they said, 'are sent to buy them in *Shin-tu*, which is the same country as *Thien-chu* (India). Some call it *Mo-kie-tho* (Magadha) and others *Po-lo-men* (*kue*) *Brāh-ma-gar-dah-fra*, 'the kingdom of the Brahmans.' It is to the south of the *Tsong-ling* mountains and is many thousand *li* to the south-east of the *Yuei-chi*. This country extends 30,000 *li* (3,000 leagues); it is divided into five *Thien-chu* (Indies), viz.: middle *Thien-chu*, eastern *Thien-chu*, southern *Thien-chu*, western *Thien-chu*, and northern *Thien-chu*, each division measures many thousand *li*, and contains many cities large and small.

Southern India is bounded by a great sea, the northern extends to the snowy mountains (*Sin-e-han*,² the *Himālayas*). On all sides are mountains which form a sort of wall. Towards the south is a valley by which one might enter, and which is reckoned as the gate of that part of India.

'Eastern India is bounded on the east by a great sea, it is near *Fu-nan*³ (*Siam*) and *Li-ni* (*Tsiampa*), it is only separated by a narrow sea.

'Western India touches *Kipin* (*Kābul*) and *Po-sse* (*Parsa*, *Persia*).

'Central India is situated in the middle of the other four divisions of India.

'All the countries of India are governed by kings. In the times of the *Hans*, there still existed the kingdom of *Yuen-tu*⁴ which was 9800 *li* from the city of *Chang-an*, and 2800 *li*

from the residence of *Tu-hu* (the Chinese generalissimo of the *Si-yu*). On the south it touches the *Tsong-ling* mountains, on the north it is bounded by the country of the *U-sun*.⁵ The inhabitants dressed like the *U-sun*; like them, also, they were a pastoral people. They belonged to the ancient race of the *Sāi*. We are informed by *Yen-se-ku* that the word *Yuen-tu* is the same as *Shin-tu*. The expression *Sai-chong* is the same as *Shi-chong*, the race of *Sākya*, or children of *Sākya* (the tribe to which belonged the founder of the Buddhist religion, surnamed *Sākya muni* or the monk of the *Sākya* family). We have here, the commentator adds, a slight alteration of sound, namely, *Sāi* instead of *Sāi*.⁶

All the countries, continues *Ma-twan-lin*, which extend from the south-west of the *Yuei-chi* and the kingdom of *Kao-fu*⁷ (*Kabul*) to the western sea (*si-hai*), and on the east to *Pan-khi*, (or as it is sometimes written *Pan-yuei*), belong to *Shin-tu* (India). Many towns are subject to powerful chiefs; there are also many separate kingdoms which are governed by kings. Although these kingdoms differ a little from one another, they are all comprehended under the name *Shin-tu* (or India).

The capital is near the river *Heng-ho* (*Gaṅgā*), which is also called *Kia-pi-li-ho*, or the river of *Kapila*.

The Vulture mountain *Ling-tsie ū-shan*, is called in the language of the barbarians *Ki-tu-kue-shan* (*Grīdhra-kūṭa*). It is formed of blue stones, and its summit resembles the

² *Sin-shan*, an exact translation of the Sanskrit *Himālaya*, 'abode of snow,' or rather *Himālaya*, 'mountain whereon the snow rests.'—*J. A. S. B.*, vol. VI, p. 61.

³ We read in the history of the kingdom of *Fu-nan* (*Siam*) the kingdom of *Shi-wei* (*Śrāvastī*) is a dependency of India, the kingdom of *Kia-shi* (*Kāśī*), is also called *Po-lo-nai* (*Varanasi*, *Benares*), and *Shi-po-lo-nai* (*Śatavāṇa*, the glorious kingdom of *Benares*). It is said in the work entitled *Chau-fu-wei-Fo-kuo-li*, or *Memoirs of the Buddhist kingdoms*, by the *Saman Chiu-wei* (in Sanskrit *Dharmapāla*) The kingdom of *Po-lo-nai* (*Varanasi*, *Benares*) is situated 1480 *li* south of the kingdom of *Kia-wei-lo-yuei* (*Kapilavastu*, *Kapila*). The law of *Sākya* flourishes there (Author's note).

Ma-twan-lin then relates a fact, taken from the work *Li-kuo-chu*, extraordinary and doubtless imaginary, about a species of ox of the same country, which is called *Shao-ko-ned*, which means the ox whose flesh is cut by dogs. 'It is black and has slender horns four feet long. Every ten days, they cut a portion of its flesh; without this precaution, it falls ill or dies. Those who drink its blood, and indeed generally the inhabitants of this kingdom, live to a very advanced age. This species of ox lives as long as the men. The present king (says the author of the *Li-kuo-chu*) is a hundred years of age; his kingdom forms part of *Thien-chu*, that is to say India.'

⁴ The author of the *Han annals*, from which work

Ma-twan-lin makes extracts, has not observed that the kingdom called by mistake *Yuen-tu* is identical with the one which he has before spoken of under the name of *Shin-tu*, he is also wrong in comparing the Indians to the *U-sun*, a nomadic race, who, in their continual migrations, look for water and pasturage. The first error is rectified further on by *Yen-se-ku*, commentator on the *Han annals*.

⁵ This division of India must include the modern *Kashmir*, the description of which, by *Masudi*, the Arabian historian, coincides in a striking manner with that of the Chinese author: 'The kingdom of *Kashmir*,' he says, 'which forms part of India, is surrounded with very high mountains; it contains a prodigious number of towns and villages; it can be entered only by a single pass, which is closed by a gate.'—*J. A. S. B.*, ut sup.

⁶ The following account of this kingdom is given by *Ma-twan-lin* elsewhere (*loc. cit.* xxxiii, f. 27): 'The kingdom of *Kao-fu* was known in the time of the *Hans*. It is situated to the south-east of the great *Yuei-chi*. It is likewise a considerable state. Their manners resemble those of the inhabitants of India, and they are gentle and humane. They carry on much commerce with India, *Kashmir*, and the country of *Assam*, are three kingdoms which are conquered by force and lost by weakness,' the latter expressions are borrowed from the *Tsun-shi-king* of *Laou-tse*.—*J. A. S. B.*, u. c. p. 62.

Tsien bird (*griffon*, vulture).¹⁰ At this period all these kingdoms belonged to the Yüei-chi.¹¹

The Yüei-chi slew the kings of these kingdoms, and filled their places with generals, to whom they gave the governorship. The people practise Buddhism (*Fo-t'ao-tao*), which forbids the taking of the life of any living creature and the drinking of wine. This prohibition soon passed into the customs of the people. The soil is low and damp, and the climate is extremely warm.

This kingdom is near (that is to say watered by) a large river. The soldiers fight mounted on elephants. The inhabitants of the country are not so strong as the Yüei-chi.

The emperor Wu-ti, of the Han dynasty, (which reigned from 140 to 85 a. c.), sent officers twelve times out of China by the south-west, to try to effect an entrance into Shin-tu (India), but they were stopped by the Kuen-min-g, and none of them succeeded in penetrating into the country.¹²

India several times paid tribute to the emperor Ho-ti, (who belonged to the later Han dynasty, and reigned from 89 to 105 a. d.) but soon after, this homage¹³ was interrupted by the revolt of the Si-yü people.

In the second year of the Yüei-chi period during the reign of the emperor Hwan-ti (155—159 a. d.), Indian ambassadors passed the boundaries of Jin-an (the present Tonquin), and paid tribute to the emperor of China.

Tradition relates that the emperor Ming-ti (of the later Han dynasty, who reigned from

58 to 76 a. d.) saw in a dream a tall man of the colour of gold, from whose head a flame of fire issued. He questioned his officers for the subject, and one of them said to him—"In the West there is a god called Fo (Buddha), he is six chi high, and yellow like gold."¹⁴

Upon hearing this the emperor sent messengers to Thien-chu to learn the doctrine of Fo (Buddha), and soon after images and statues of Fo were scattered throughout China. Ying, king of T'ien, was the first who put faith in Buddhism. His conversion led to a great number of people in China embracing the new religion.

In course of time, the emperor Hwan-ti,¹⁵ who was strongly addicted to the worship of spirits, began often to offer sacrifices to Fên-t'hu (Buddha) and Lao-t'sen. By degrees people embraced the Buddhist religion, and soon after it began to flourish. Under the Wei and Ts'in dynasties (220 to 419 a. d.) the relations between China and India were broken up, and were not renewed for a long time.¹⁶ Only under the U¹⁷ dynasty (222—227 a. d.) Fan-chun, king of Fu-nan (Siam), sent a relation of his called Su-wen on an embassy to India. Once out of Fu-nan, he set sail from the mouth of the river Ten-ku-li, and coasted along till he came to a large gulf on the north-west. He travelled through several kingdoms situated on the coast of the gulf, and at the end of a year, arrived at the mouth of the river of Thien-chu (of India). He followed the course of the river for about 7,000 li (700 leagues), and arrived at his destination.

¹⁰ It is situated south of Mo-ko-ti (摩訶提), a kingdom which also forms a part of Thien-chu. (*Chün-fu-wei-fu-kuei-ki*.)

¹¹ This important epoch in the history may be fixed with precision by means of Chinese historians; and it is not one of the least advantages derivable from the study of the writers of this nation. Ma-tuan-lin, in his account of the great Yü-chi, or Indo-Skythians (book cxxxviii, fol. 2), states that the Chinese General Chang-hien was sent as an ambassador to the Yü-chi by the Emperor Wu-ti (a. c. 130), and that, about 100 years after, a prince of this nation, who possessed one of the five governments of the country of Dahou, subjected the tribes in Khoten, and that Thien-chu, or India, was again subjugated by the Yü-chi. This other conquest of India by the Skythians must be placed, therefore, about the year a. c. 230. Ma-tuan-lin adds, that these Yü-chi having become rich and powerful (by these conquests), remained in this state till the time of the latter Hans, who began to reign a. d. 222. It results from hence that the Skythians (or Yü-chi) must have been masters of Western India from about a. c. 20 till a. d. 222, that is, for a space of 242 years. The first invasion of India by the Yü-chi, or Skythians, must have taken place before the reign of Vikramaditya, whose celebrated era, which begins fifty-six years before ours, originated from the complete defeat of the Skythian armies by this Indian prince; an event which deserved to be thus immortalized: see Colebrooke's *Indian Algebra*, (preface p. 43) and Lassen's *De Postupatzen*

Indies Commentatio, p. 36. The first of these cites an ancient scholar on Varāha Mihira, who thus explains the word *Saka* employed by this astronomer to denote the Sakas: "epoch when the barbarian kings named Saka (the Sakas) were defeated by Vikramaditya."—*J. A. S. B.* n. s. p. 68.

¹² This same emperor gained some trifling particulars respecting Saka-tu, or India, by his General Chang-hien, whom he had sent to the Yü-chi, which are preserved by the historian Sse-ma-t'ien, in his *Sze-ki* (book cxxiii, fol. 6 and 7), where it is stated that Saka-tu is situated to the east of Ta-hia, the capital of which was the city of Laushu.—*J. A. S. B.* n. s. p. 61.

¹³ At this period, China was still considered as the paramount state of all the half-civilized nations inhabiting Central Asia. It is not, therefore, surprising that the chiefs of India, subject to the Yü-chi, or Skythians, should have thought of sending ambassadors to China, in search of means of delivering their country from barbarians, by the aid of the Chinese armies, which could oblige their revolted subjects to return to their duty. Thus we may easily explain facts apparently so improbable.—*J. A. S. B.* n. s.

¹⁴ *Pauthier's Examen*, p. 11.

¹⁵ a. d. 147—*Pauthier's Examen*, p. 12.

¹⁶ *Pauthier's Examen*, p. 27.

¹⁷ Or Wu, one of the three dynasties which reigned simultaneously over three divisions of the Chinese empire: it subsisted from a. d. 222 to 280.—*J. A. S. B.* n. s. p. 64.

The king of India was filled with astonishment, and cried out—What! there still exist such men on the shores of the most distant seas? Thereupon he invited them to visit the interior of his kingdom.

In the suite of this ambassador, he sent two officers, Chin-song and another, to present Fan-chen and Su-we with four horses from the Yuei-chi country, as a token of recognition. They arrived only at the end of four years. At this time, the emperor of the U dynasty had sent Khang-thai, with the title of Chong-lang, on a mission to the kingdom of Fu-nan. Upon meeting with Chin-song and his companion, he questioned them about the customs of India. It is, they replied, a country where the Buddhist law flourishes. The people are upright and honest, and the soil is very fertile. The king's name is Mou-lun¹²; and the capital in which he resides is surrounded by walls. The rivers and streams are divided into a great number of smaller streams which run in canals and ditches and fall into a large river. The palaces are decorated with beautiful carved work¹³; in the streets and the public places, the houses, the pavilions, and raised galleries is heard the sound of little bells or of the drum and melodious songs, one sees rich clothing, and breathes the perfume of flowers.

Merchants arrive there by land and sea, and gather in great numbers offering, according to the public taste, skilfully wrought vessels and curiosities of very great value.

Right and left are sixteen large kingdoms,

namely Kia-wei (Kapila), She-wei (Śrāvastī) Y e-p o, etc.

Several kingdoms, although two or three thousand *li* from Thien-chu, yield obedience to it, because they consider that this kingdom is situated in the middle of the universe.

In the fifth year of the Yuen-kia period in the reign of Wen-ti, of the Song dynasty (in the year 428 A. D.), Yu ei'-ai (that is to say 'loved by the moon,' in Sanskrit—Chandrapriya), king of Kia-pi-li (Kapila) in Thien-chu,¹⁴ sent an ambassador to present a letter to the emperor, and to offer him a ring set with diamonds, a bracelet of pure gold, along with other valuable articles, and two parrots, one red and the other white.

In the second year of the Thai-shi period, in the reign of Ming-ti (466 A. D.), he sent again an ambassador to pay tribute. The emperor conferred on him the title of Kien-wei-tsiang-kien (literally 'the general who establishes authority').¹⁵

At the beginning of the Thien-kien period, in the reign of Wu-ti of the Liang dynasty (502 A. D.), K i o t o, (Gupta,) king of India, sent Chu-lo-ta, with the title of Chang-shi, to present the emperor with a letter,¹⁶ a spoon of *Heu-li* (*vaśīṣṭya*, lapis lazuli), different kinds of perfumes, stuffs of *kis-pai* (*carpāsa*, cotton), etc. His kingdom was near a large river called Sin-tha-o¹⁷ (Sindh), which rises in the Kwan-lun¹⁸ (Ananta) mountains, and divides into five rivers, of which the collective name is H e n g s h u i (the river Heng or Ganges). At the bot-

¹² This title must be the Chinese transcription of *Mokṣa*, there can be no doubt in respect to the first syllable *mokṣa* (in composition) 'great'; but the Sanskrit word represented by *lun* (or *run*, *run*) is less certain. At all events this must be a king of India whose reign corresponded with this date, between A. D. 222 and 280.—*J. A. S. B. v. s. p. 65.*

¹³ This is the case at Banfem, where many of the houses have seven or eight storeys; and the numerous temples and public edifices are covered with sculptures and bas-reliefs.—*J. A. S. B. v. s.*

¹⁴ The name of this kingdom is not found in the excellent history of Hien-tsang, and I have not met with it elsewhere; it appears to me to have been altered.

¹⁵ Conf. *Pauthier's Recueil*, p. 17.

¹⁶ In the eighteenth year of the Yuen-kia period (441 A. D.), the king of Su-mo-li sent an ambassador to offer some of the products of his country. In the second year of the Hien-kien period, in the reign of Hiao-wu (455 A. D.), the king of K i n - t h o - l i sent an officer with the title of *Chang-shi* to offer precious vases of gold and silver. Still later, in the first year of the Yuen-kia period in the reign of Pei-ti (real Tung-wang, the year 473 A. D.), the kingdom of P o - l i paid tribute. These kingdoms believed in the doctrine of Buddha. (Note of Ma-tuan-lin.)

Are the Kin-tho-li the Gandari of Herodotus and Strabo? In Sanskrit *Gandhārī* or *Gandhara*.—*J. A. S. B. v. s.*

¹⁷ For the letter see *Pauthier*, v. s. pp. 30-33.

¹⁸ These curious details, the exactitude of which may excite surprise, prove that the Chinese historians were better informed than might have been expected of facts and circumstances concerning Central and Western Asia. We are indebted to Colchbrooke for the means of ascertaining the accuracy of the Chinese writers. In fact the Chinese words *Sin-tha-o* are but the transcription of the Sanskrit word *Sindhu*, the name of one of the sources of the Ganges. In a memoir on the sources of this river, this scholar cites the following passage from the astronomer Bhāskara Achārya:—"The holy stream which escapes from the foot of Vishnu descends from the abode of Vishnu on mount Meru (the Kwan-lun), whence it divides into four currents, and passing through the air, it reaches the lakes on the summit of the mountains which sustain them. Under the name of *Sindhu*, this river joins the Hindukush; as the *Alaknandā*, it enters *Bhāmatavarsa* (Hindustan); as the *Chakshu*, it proceeds to Ketumala, and as the *Bhadrā*, it goes to Kura of the north."—*Siddhāntasāra*, wani; *Bhāmatavarsa*, 37 and 38.—*J. A. S. B. v. s. p. 66.*

¹⁹ Mount Meru. "The Hindus say that the Ganges falls from heaven upon its summit, and thence descends in four currents: the southern branch is the Ganges, the eastern branch is the *Sita*, and the western is the *Chakshu* or *Orus*."—Wilson, *Sanskrit Dict.*, 2nd ed. Art. *meru*—the name *Meru* is the *Meper* of the Greeks.—*J. A. S. B. v. s.*

to the west of China), sent Fei-tu to induce⁴⁰ the Si-fan⁴¹ (Tibetans) and other people to pay homage to him. Many princes responded to his appeal; those of India being the only ones who refused to enter into relations with him. Their refusal irritated him very much.

The Kings of India are of the Ki-li-chi family, called also Tsa-li (Kshatryās). For centuries they have held the throne without once acquiring it either by usurpation or murder.

There are four crops of rice in the year; the greatest of cereals is called *mo-to-tho*.⁴²

The women wear necklaces of gold, silver and pearls. The bones of the dead are burned and their ashes placed in a *so-tu* (Stūpa);⁴³ sometimes however they leave the dead in the middle of a desert, or throw them into a river; they serve then for food for birds and beasts of prey, fishes and turtles. There is no law to determine the duration of mourning. Those who have been guilty of treason or revolt are put to death in secret, those who have committed light offences may buy themselves off with money, and those who have failed in the duties of filial piety either suffer amputation of the hands or feet, nose or ears, or are banished to the frontiers.

The Indians have a written language, and they excel in astronomical calculations⁴⁴ and the science of the calendar. They use characters invented by the god Pan,⁴⁵ and write memorable things on leaves called *pei-to-ye*.⁴⁶ In all parts of India ancient traces of Fo (Buddha Śākya-muni)⁴⁷ are found. The people have faith in solemn oaths, and transmit magical formulas which they say can bring dragons and call down rain.

In the Wu-te period (in the reign of Kao-

tsu) of the T'hang dynasty (618-627) serious disturbances broke out in India. King Shi-lo-y-to (Śīlāditya)⁴⁸ raised a great army, and fought with irresistible valour. The men neither took off their own armour nor the elephants their housings. He punished the kings of four parts of India, so that they all with their faces turned towards the north acknowledged his superiority.

At this time, a Buddhist monk called Hi wen-thsang came to the kingdom of Śīlāditya; the king invited him to come and see him, and said to him,—"In your country a very pious monarch appeared, and a war-song was composed to celebrate the conquests of the emperor of China; try, I pray you, to teach it to me."

Hi wen-thsang told him briefly how Thai-tsong had, by his divine valour, quieted the misfortunes and troubles of the empire, and brought the foreign peoples⁴⁹ into subjection. Choang-wang (in Sanskrit Śīlāditya) was delighted at these words, and cried out—"It becomes me to turn towards the east and to do homage to him." In the fifteenth year of the Ching-kuan period (641), Śīlāditya assumed the title of king of Mo-kie-tho (Magadha), and sent an ambassador with a letter to the emperor. This monarch ordered Liang-hoai-king, under the title of Yun-ki-wei, to go to him furnished with an imperial brevet, and to invite him to submission.

Śīlāditya full of astonishment asked his officers whether an ambassador had ever come from Mo-ho-shin-tan before? "Never," they simultaneously replied. In the language of the barbarians (that is of these people) the author adds, the middle kingdom (China) is called Mo-ho-shin-tan, (in Sanskrit Mahāchinasthāna).

⁴⁰ In Chinese, 'to go before.'

⁴¹ 'Western Barbarians,' see Bretschneider, u. s. p. 112. —Ed.

⁴² This word does not appear to be purely Indian, for the two last syllables mean in Chinese—camel. The character *mo* (𠂔) seems to be an abbreviation of a Sanskrit word. The word 'camel' is doubtless used in allusion to the extraordinary height of this cereal.

⁴³ Read *so-tu-po*. (Cf. *Pan-tsing-i-tai* book x. fol. 52). From this word stūpa, the word 'toge' has been formed. The text literally means "and a tomb was built for him."

⁴⁴ Ma-tuan-lin has omitted the word before (cf. *Pei-uen-yun-fu*, book lxxxv. fol. 191 r.).

⁴⁵ This word, Pan is an abbreviation of Pan-lan-wo, Brahmā (Cf. *Sau-t'hang-fu-su*, book xlv. fol. 3). It is usually written Pan-wo—Brahmā (Cf. *Pan-tsing-i-tai*, book x. fol. 11, line 4).

⁴⁶ This passage is already found in a foregoing extract, taken from the collection of annals. We preserve it, in order to give the text of Ma-tuan-lin in full.

⁴⁷ I think that he means here vestiges of ancient monu-

ments erected in places visited by Buddha. In Chinese the word *ku-tai* often means remains of ancient monuments (see the *T'ai-tsing-i-tai-chi*, in the section entitled *Ku-tai*).

⁴⁸ Harshavardhana—see ante vol. VII, pp. 196 ff.—Ed.

⁴⁹ Tsin is the name of the dynasty which reigned over China from a.c. 246 to 208, during which the Chinese power ceased itself to be known for the first time in Central and Western Asia, its conquests being extended to the Caspian sea and Bengal, in the reign of Tsin-shihuang-to, the celebrated Burner of the Books. The name of this dynasty has formed that of China, in Sanskrit China, which occurs in the *Laws of Manu* (book x. 41, 42), and therefore to a date anterior to the third century before our era, which may be easily explained in referring the name of China to the period of the foundation of the kingdom of Tsin in the western province of Shen-se, about a.c. 100.—J. A. S. B. u. s. p. 63.

⁵⁰ It is in Chinese *Szei*, the "four strangers," which means strangers from the four cardinal points—North, South, East, and West.

The king then went out, and bending on his knees thus received the imperial decree, and placed it on his head (in token of respect).

The Chinese envoy immediately after his return went to the palace, and Li-i, under the title of Wei-wei-ching, was ordered to carry to the king of Magadha the reply of the emperor.

Great officers went before him, outside the town, and the inhabitants of the capital and the neighbouring towns flocked out to see him, and to burn perfumes on his path. Śīlāditya came himself at the head of his ministers, and received the imperial decree with his face turned to the east. He again presented laminar mica (*ho-tsi*), a perfume called *yo-hin*, and a tree called *pu-ti-shu*²¹ (in Sanskrit *bodhidruma*,—the tree of knowledge, *ficus religiosa*).

In the twentieth year of the *Ching-kuan* period (646), the emperor sent Wang-hiwen-tse, under the title of Yeu-wei-so-fu-chang-shi,²² on an embassy to the kingdom of Magadha, he associated with him Tsiang-shi-jin.²³ Before he arrived King Śīlāditya died, and his kingdom fell into a state of anarchy. One of his ministers named Na-fo-ti-a-lu-na-shun (Nava . . . ?) usurped the supreme power, and sent soldiers to oppose Wang-hiwen-tse. At this time his suite consisted only of a few dozens of cavaliers, who struggled without success, and were all taken prisoners. Soon after the usurper used violence to make other kingdoms pay him tribute.

Hiwen-tse resolved upon action, and retired to a town on the western frontier of Tu-fan, from which he called the neighbouring kingdoms to arms.²⁴ The king of Tu-fan came

with a thousand soldiers, and the king of Nê-pal²⁵ with seven thousand cavaliers. Hiwen-tse divided them into several bodies, and marched against the town of Ta-pô-ho-lo,²⁶ which he took by storm at the end of three days. He beheaded three thousand people, and ten thousand more were drowned. A-lu-na-shun abandoned his kingdom and fled; then he collected his scattered troops, and attempted a fresh fight, but the general Jin (or Tsiang-shi-jin) took him alive, he also captured and beheaded a thousand men. The remains of the hostile army obeying the orders of the queen, tried to stop the way upon the banks of the river Khien-to-wei (Gandhara)²⁷; but Tsiang-shi-jin gave them battle and defeated them. He took the queen and the king's son prisoners, captured twelve thousand men and women, and twenty thousand head of cattle, and subdued five hundred and eighty towns, large and small.

Shi-ki-u-ma (Śaikumāra?) king of eastern India, sent him thirty thousand oxen and horses, and provisions for all his army; to which he added bows, scimitars, and collars of great value. The king of Kiu-mo-lo²⁸ gave him some rare articles, a map of his states²⁹ and several statues of Lao-tsun.

Hiwen-tse took A-lu-na-shun, and presented him at the gate of the palace. The magistrates proclaimed the victory in the ancestral temple, and the emperor raised him to the rank of Ch'ao-san-ta-fu (a sort of public councillor).

He had met a magician named Na-lo-mi-po-so-mo (Nārdevasvāmin?), who said he was two hundred years old, and pretended that he possessed the art of procuring immortality. The

²¹ The words *pu-ti* are probably the transcription of the name of a tree in Sanskrit, perhaps the *ashoka*, a sacred tree employed in religious ceremonies, and of which mention is often made in Sanskrit poetry. What confirms this conjecture is the following passage in Kang-ho's dictionary, under the character *pu*: "*pu-ti* is the name of a tree which grows in the kingdom of Mo-ko-to (Magadha)."—*J. A. S. B. u. s.* p. 60.

²² The *Encyclopædia Pa-yuen-shu-lin* (book cxx.) gives him the title of Ch'ao-san-ta-fu, a sort of public councillor; a title which we shall see further on was conferred on him after he had completed his travels. Unfortunately the history which he composed in twelve books has not come down to us.

²³ Panthier, *u. s.* p. 53.

²⁴ This authoritative demand, if it be not introduced here, as the facts, indeed, show, to gratify Chinese vanity, would denote that, at this period, Tibet was already dependent on the Chinese empire as well as several other neighbouring kingdoms.—*J. A. S. B. u. s.*

²⁵ Nepāl: see the account given by Ma-tuan-lin (book cccxxv., fol. 14) in the translation by M. Bémusat. *Nouv. Mém. Asiat. t. I.* p. 193.

²⁶ The name of this town, which should be pronounced Davahara (?), is not found in any other Chinese work.

Panthier reads *Tu-pu-ho-lo*. *Tu* (the first character) may be read *cho* or *tsu*. If it be read *cho*, the pronunciation of the epoch in question *Cho-pu-ho-lo* would be an exact transcription of Champaran, a city placed by Alex^d Ford in Belûr, the ancient kingdom of Magadha—and probably the same as Chuprâ, on the Ganges higher up than Pâtua; for Chuprâ is but a variation of Champaran, as the latter is likewise of Champaranagara.—*J. A. S. B. u. s.*

²⁷ The Godâvarî is suggested in the *J. A. S. B. u. s.* p. 63.

²⁸ Another author writes in the same place *Kiu-pi-li* (Kapila). Cf. *Pien-t'ien* book lviii.

²⁹ This kingdom must be that of Kāma-rûpa, mentioned in the Sanskrit inscription on the column of Alukabad, and which formed the western part of the kingdom of Assam, on the frontiers of Tibet. The syllable *ka* is well represented by *ka*, as *ma* is by *mo*, and *ru* by *lu*; the last syllable *pa* is not transcribed. It is worthy of remark that it is a general law of transcription from Sanskrit into Chinese, that the short *a* should be represented in the latter by *u*.—*J. A. S. B. u. s.* p. 70.

emperor⁶⁰ being attacked by a mortal malady ordered him to prepare his marvellous remedy. Tshui-tun-li, chief minister of war, was ordered to protect and watch over his emissaries, who would be obliged to travel through all the empire to collect medicinal plants of extraordinary virtue, and very rare minerals, some of them even went into all the kingdoms of the Po-lo-men (Brahmans). According to him, the river called Pan-da-fa⁶¹ flows out of a stone trough, and is guarded by men hewn out of stone. It has seven kinds of waters: some are hot and others cold: the former dissolve rapidly plants, herbs and metals. If any one plunges his hand into it, he finds it cooked and dissolved the same moment. This water is drawn with the skull of a camel, and poured into a calabash.

"There is a tree called *ta-jai-la*, the leaves of which resemble those of the *li* (a kind of ebony): it grows on the rugged sides of a perpendicularly shaped mountain, the approach to which is guarded by a serpent hidden in a cave. Those who wish to obtain the leaves, knock them down by shooting arrows with four cornered points against the branches, but they are soon carried off by the birds, they shoot more arrows, and at last obtain the leaves." Such were the fables which this quack narrated. But at last, his magical science having remained ineffectual, the emperor permitted him to return; but before he had time to set out he died at Chang'an.⁶²

While the Emperor Kao-tsung, (who mounted the throne in 650 A.D.) was reigning, Lu-

kia-y-to⁶³ (Lokûditya), a native of U-ta,⁶⁴ obtained an interview with him by aid of his (pretended) knowledge of magic. He received the title of Hoi-hon-ta-tsiang-kien.

In the third year⁶⁵ of the *Khien-feng* period (668 A. D.), the kings of the five Indias all came to do homage to the emperor.

In the *Khai-yuen* period (713—714) ambassadors came three times from Central India, and once an envoy came from Southern India. They brought a bird which could speak, and whose plumage was of five colours. They asked troops to punish the Ta-shi⁶⁶ (the Tâzi—Arabs)⁶⁷ and the Tu-fan (Tibetans), and desired the emperor to give their army an honorary name. Hiwen-tsung passed a decree, in which he gave it the name Hoi-to-kien (the army which cherishes virtue).

"Foreigners," the ambassador said, "think themselves honoured only when they receive a cloak and a girdle; upon which the emperor made him a present of a brocaded cloak, a leathern girdle enriched with gold, a satchel ornamented with fishes," and seven other valuable articles.

The king of Northern India came once to do homage to the emperor.

Towards the end of the *Khien-yuen* period (668—670), China having lost the country of H o-l o-n g, the kings of India ceased from that time to come to court. In the third year of the *Kuang-shun* period (953 A.D.) sixteen Samanians from Western India, Sa-man-to (*Samanata*) and others, brought some very fine horses as tribute.

⁶⁰ Tao-tsung, who reigned from A.D. 626 to 649.—*J. A. S. B.* v. 1.

⁶¹ This is a very exact transcription of the Persian word پنجا *Panjâh*, the 'five waters,' or 'five rivers' (in Sanskrit *Panchanada*). The last syllable *fa* in the Chinese transcription represents the more faithfully the syllable *dh*, inasmuch as the consonants composing it are two labials very often taken one for the other.—*J. A. S. B.* v. 1. p. 71.

⁶² The Capital of China at that time.—Pauthier, v. 1. p. 58.

⁶³ That is, Lokûditya, or follower of the atheistical system of philosophy founded by Chûrwika, entitled Lokûdya (see Mr. Colebrooke's *Essays on the Philosophy of the Hindus*). The suffix *ka*, which forms collective names in Sanskrit, is represented in Chinese by the character *ka*, which serves in like manner to form adjectives and collective names in Chinese.—*J. A. S. B.* v. 1. p. 71.

⁶⁴ Nio-to is the word in the text; it is a mistake for Uta (Odra, now Orissa). Pauthier, however, says it was also called Kiwan-yu-mo, where were many stupas, &c.—*Essays*, p. 59 n.

⁶⁵ The other account has the second year (667 A. D.)—Pauthier, v. 1. p. 59.

⁶⁶ See D'Obson, *Hist. des Mongols*, tom. I. p. 217; Bretschneider's *Medieval Geog. and Hist.* pp. 42 ff.—En.

⁶⁷ Ta-shi 'great enters,' (rather *biad*, Arabians) is the name by which the Chinese designate the Arabs. This

curious passage throws great light on this obscure period of Indian history, and confirms a fact hitherto scarcely noticed, but which has been asserted by two Arabian authors Almakî and Abû'l Feda, namely the invasion of India by the Arabs at the beginning of the eighth century. "Muhammad ben Kâim," says the former, in his *History of the Sarrasins*, "took India; he obtained possession of the countries adjoining the Sind (Indus), gave battle to Dahir, who was king of them, vanquished him, made him prisoner, and put him to death." The other, in his *Musalmân Annals*, translated by Reiske, says "Muhammad ben Kâim overran India as conqueror." But the following is a passage, curious in another respect, concerning the same fact; it is taken from the *History of the Empire of the Khalifa*, translated from Tabari (Turkish edition), for a knowledge of which we are indebted to M. Reinaud:—"This same year 87 (A.D. 700) was gloriously terminated by the defeat of 200,000 barbarians, who had entered the country of the Musalmâns, commanded by Bughaban, nephew of the emperor of China. The Musalmâns confessed that they owed this important victory to the protection of God."—*J. A. S. B.* vol. VI. p. 71.

On the Tashî, see Bretschneider, *On the knowledge possessed by the Ancient Chinese of the Arabs*, &c. (Tribner, London 1871).—En.

⁶⁸ We see in the Tang annals, that these fishes were sometimes made of jade, and sometimes carved in gold or silver.

In the third year of the *Khien-te* period of the Song (965 A.D.) Tao-yuen, a Buddhist monk of Tsang-chou, returned from the Si-yu (Western countries). Having obtained a portion of the *sha-li* (Śārinī) or relics of Buddha, namely, a vase of rock crystal and forty bundles of Indian books written on palm leaves, he came to offer them in homage to the emperor.

Tao-yuen had gone to visit the Si-yu in the *Thien-fa* period (947 A.D.), and had travelled for twelve years. He had resided for six years in the five Indias. By the five Indias Thien-chu is meant. On his way back he passed through Yü-thien⁶⁶ (Khotan), and arrived at the same time as the ambassadors (of the emperor). Thai-tsu called him to the palace and questioned him on the customs, mountains, rivers and itinerary of the countries through which he had travelled. To all of these questions he gave answers.

In the fourth year of the *Khien-te* period (966 A.D.) the monk Hing-kin, followed by fifty-six companions, came to the gate of the palace, and told the emperor that he wished to go to the Si-yu (the Western countries) to obtain some Buddhist books. His request was granted.

They travelled through the districts of Khan-chen, Sha-chen, I-chen, Su-chen, etc. the kingdoms of Yen-ki (now Kharasmar), Kien-tse (Kuche),⁶⁷ Yü-thien (Khotan), Ko-lo (Kolou), etc. They passed also through the kingdoms of Pu-lu-sha (Purushapura, now Peshawar), Kia-shi-mi-lo (Kashmir), etc. and all the Princes passed decrees and issued orders to the inhabitants to be careful to guide and conduct them.

After the *Khai-pao* period (963—975) several⁷¹ Indian monks arrived without molestation, bringing with them Buddhist manuscripts to give to the emperor.

In the winter of the eighth year (976), Yang-kie-küan-gi-lo (others read Yang-kie-shue-lo, Afgnasvara?), son of the king of Eastern India, came to pay tribute and do homage to the emperor.

According to the laws of India, when a king dies, he is succeeded by his eldest son (Kumārī-rāja); the other sons leave the family and embrace a religious life, and they are no longer allowed to reside in their native kingdom.

The king of Eastern India had a son called Ma-n-chu-shi-li (Mañjuśrī), who arrived at the capital in the train of some Chinese monks. Thai-tsong (who mounted the throne in 976) ordered him to be lodged in the Siang-kü-ssu convent. He observed rigidly the Buddhist precepts, and won the esteem and admiration of the inhabitants of the capital. The emperor having loaded him with riches and favours, all the monks envied and hated him, and as he did not understand the Chinese language, they fabricated a false petition, in which they represented him as asking permission to go back to his own country. The emperor granted him permission.

When the decree was passed, Ma-n-chu-shi-li (Mañjuśrī) was at first filled with stupor and indignation. The monks told him that the decree was irrevocable. After some months he went away, announcing that he was going to the coasts of the Southern Sea on board a merchant vessel. It was never known to what country he went.

In the seventh year of the *Thai-p'ing-k'ing-lü* period (986 A.D.), Kuang-yüen, a monk of I-chen, went to India, and on his return brought the emperor a letter from the king of that country whose name was Mo-si-nang. The emperor ordered Shi-hu (Dānapāla?), an Indian monk, to translate it into Chinese. The following is the letter:—"Lately I have learned that there is in the kingdom of China a king as great as he is enlightened, perfectly holy, perfectly intelligent, and who by his majesty and power reigns supreme. Every day I think with confusion of my bad fortune, and lament that I cannot go in person to pay homage to you. From afar I look affectionately towards the capital of China and wish your holy person ten thousand felicities.

"On the arrival of Kuang-yüen, I had the honour to receive a holy statuette enriched with diamonds, representing Śakyamuni seated in the attitude of felicity and divine calm. I clothed myself in *kia-sha*, and made offerings to him.

"I humbly desire that the august emperor of China may obtain perfect felicity and understanding, that he may enjoy long life in order to guide every creature to happiness, and that

⁶⁶ Ho-t'an, Bretschneider, *ut. sup.* p. 151.—Ed.

⁶⁷ Bretschneider, *ut. sup.* p. 149.

⁷¹ Pauthier says 'one',—*u.s.* p. 76.

he may enable all those who are exposed to shipwreck, to sail over the immense sea of life and death. Now I have entrusted Kūng-yūn with some relics of Śākyamuni, that he may present to your majesty on my behalf."

Shi-hu (Dānāpāla?) also translated a letter from the monks of India as a body which in its style and thoughts resembled that of king Mo-si-nang.

According to the Samanean Shi-hu (Dānāpāla?) "the kingdom of U-tien-nang (Udyāna)" belongs to Northern India. After twelve days' travelling in a westerly direction, one arrives at the kingdom of Khien-tho-lo (Gandhāra); at the end of other twelve days, journeying in the same direction one comes to the kingdom of Nan-g-o-l-o-k-i-a-l-o (Nagarahāra); after journeying ten days more, still in the same direction, the kingdom of Lan-p'o (Lampa, Lamghān)⁷³ is reached, at the end of other ten days, still travelling towards the west, one arrives at the kingdom of G-o-j-e-n-n-g⁷⁴ (Gajana); continuing the journey towards the west the kingdom of Po-sse (Parsa, Persia) is at last reached; thence one can set sail on the western sea.

"The journey from Northern to Central India occupies a hundred and twenty days.

"From Central India travelling towards the west, after three halts A-la-w-ei (?) is reached; and if the journey is continued in the same direction for twelve days more, one comes⁷⁵ to Ka-ra-na-ki-ū-je (the second syllable is not required—Kanyakubja, Kanauj); at the end of other twelve days' travelling one arrives at the kingdom of Ma-la-w-ei; after a journey of twelve days more, still in a westerly direction, one reaches the kingdom of U-je-n-ni⁷⁶ (Ujjayini); if one continues journeying in the same direction for twenty-five days more the kingdom of Lo-lo (Lara?) is arrived at, and after other forty days one comes to the kingdom of Su-l-a-ta (Surāshtra).

"From Surāshtra to the Western Sea is a journey of eleven days.

"It generally takes three months to travel from Central to Southern India; thence after journeying eighty-six days towards the west one arrives at the kingdom of Kōng-kia-na (Konkanapūra),⁷⁷ from which another day's travelling in the same direction brings one to the sea.

"If one sets out from Southern India, and travels in a southerly direction, he will reach the southern sea at the end of six months."

Such were the itineraries which the monk Shi-hu (Dānāpāla?) made known."

In the eighth year (983 A.D.) a monk called Fa-yu, who had gone to India to search for Buddhist books, arrived on his way back to China at the kingdom of San-f-o-t-si (part of Sumatra), where he met an Indian monk called Me-i-m-o-l-o-s-h-i-li (Mīmāṃsāri?),⁷⁸ who after a short interview asked him to take charge of a letter in which he expressed a desire to go to the kingdom of China to explain the sacred books.

The emperor passed a friendly decree calling him to the capital.

Fa-yu set himself to beg, and caused a dais to be made ornamented with dragons and a *kia-sha* (a kind of religious dress, from the Sanskrit word *kashāya*, brown).

Being desirous of returning to India he asked imperial letters of recommendation to the foreign princes whose dominions he would have to travel through. He presented them to the king of San-f-o-t-si (Sumatra); whence he came after a long voyage to the Prince of A-ku-la and Kie-mang (Kāma?), steward of cavalry, chief of the kingdoms of Ko-lan and Tsa-n-ta-lo (Chandra) and king of Western India, whose son Mu-tho-sien (Mudhāsina?) gave him on his departure letters of recommendation.

In the Yong-hi period (984—988 A.D.) Thse-han, a monk from Wei-cheu, returning from the Si-yu (the western countries), with a foreign monk named Mi-tan-lo (Mitra), brought letters from the king of Northern India and Na-la-n-tho (Nalanda), who sat on a throne ornamented with diamonds (*Vajrasanam*).

⁷³ Conf. Stan. Julien *Vie de Hiouen Thsang*, p. 85; *Mém. sur les Conf. Occid.* t. I. pp. 181, 189; t. II. pp. 313 seqq.; Beal's *Fa-hien* (c. 8), p. 26.—Ed.

⁷⁴ *Vie de H. T.* pp. 73, 90, 264; *Mém.* t. I. p. 95; t. II. p. 309; Lampago in *Ptol. Geog. lib.* VII. c. 1. § 43.—Ed.

⁷⁵ *Glaxia, Bretschneider*, u. s. p. 171.

⁷⁶ In this passage, which is an extract from the Song annals, Ma-tuan-lin has omitted twenty-three words, of which the following is the meaning:—"We arrive at the

kingdom of Wei-nang-lo or Monang-lo (see it often written for ten; the latter spelling would give the sound Manam?). After travelling twelve days towards the west one arrives at Kanyakubja.

⁷⁷ There is a mistake in the text, where we read *nian* instead of *u*.

⁷⁸ *Vie de H. T.* p. 201; *Mém.* t. II. pp. 146, 400.—Ed.

⁷⁹ *Panthier*, u. s. p. 77.

⁸⁰ Pandit Bhagvanlal suggests *Vimalasri*.—Ed.

A Brahman called Yong-hi and a heretical sectarian from Persia called A-li-in also arrived at the capital. Yong-shi announced that his native kingdom was called Li-t'e, and that the king's name was Y a-l o-ü-t ê; and his surname A-j e-n-i-f o; he was clothed in yellow, and wore a golden headdress ornamented with the seven precious things.⁵⁰ When he went out he mounted an elephant, or was borne in a palanquin. His retinue was preceded by musicians who sang melodious songs accompanied by the sound of conch shells and cymbals. He often visited the Buddhist convents, and distributed abundant alms to the poor. The queen's name was M o-h o-ni (Mahāni ?); she wore a robe of red taffeta, enriched with thin plates of chased gold. She only went out once a year, when she distributed generous gifts for the relief of the unfortunate. If any one had an act of injustice or tyranny to complain of, he waited till the king or queen went out to walk; he then followed them, and laid open his grievances. There were four ministers of justice who directed the administration of the kingdom, and decided all affairs.

The different kinds of grain, the domestic animals and the different kinds of fruit were the same as in China. In the markets and for all commercial transactions they made use of copper coins.

The face and the back of these coins were distinguished as in China by different inscriptions or ornaments; they were round and of the same diameter as those of China; but the centre was full and not pierced by a hole for the purpose of stringing them on a cord.

After six months' travelling in an easterly direction from this kingdom one comes to the kingdom of the T a-s h i (Tāxi, Arabs); two months after to S i-c h e ü (Turfan, country of the Uigurs); and three months after that to H i-n-c h e ü.

A-li-in added that the king of his native country had taken the title of H e-i (which means 'clothed in black' ⁵¹); his family name was Chang, and his surname L i-l i-m o. He wore

clothing of brocaded silk of different colours. Every time that he went out to walk or hunt he was absent two or three days; he took a whole day to return. The administration of public affairs was entrusted to nine persons of the highest rank.

The inhabitants do not make use of coins in their commercial transactions; there are many different articles which they exchange for goods.

Six months' travelling in an Easterly direction from this country, brings one to the kingdom of the Brahman (India).⁵²

In the second year of the *Chi-tao* period (996 A. D.) an Indian monk came to China on board a merchant vessel. He brought a bell to the emperor, a clapper (of a bell) ornamented with little bells, a little copper bell, a statuette of Buddha, and a sacred book written on palm leaves. He did not understand the Chinese language.

In the third and fourth years of the *Thien-shing* period (1025—1026 A. D.) some Indian monks of Western India, 'A i-h i e-n-c h i (which means loving the knowledge which wise men possess, Prabhajñānapriya ?), S i-n-h u (i. e. protector of the faith, Pratyapālā ?), and others came to present Buddhist books written on palm leaves. The emperor gave each of them a violet cloak of a square shape, and a rich girdle.

In the second month of the fifth year (1027), five monks, namely: F a-k i e-t s i-a-n-g (which means happiness of the law, Dharmaśrī ?), and others came, bringing to the emperor Buddhist books; he gave each of them a violet mantle of a square shape.

In the first month of the third year of the *King-yü* period⁵³ (1034 A. D.), nine monks, namely: S h e-n-c h i-n-g (i. e. he who has a good reputation, Sūyāsa ?), etc., came to give the emperor some Buddhist books and relics of Buddha, and also a little statue of T o-n-g-y a-p u-s a (i. e. Bodhisattva with copper teeth, Tāmradantabodhisattva ?). The emperor gave them pieces of silk.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Namely: 1st, S o-f u-l o (*Suvārṣa*), gold; 2nd, A-l u-p a (*Rūpā*), silver; 3rd, L i-c h i-l i (*Vaidūrya*), lapis lazuli; 4th, P h o-l i (*Sphērika*) rock crystal; 5th, M e-n-s o-l o-k i-n-l u-p o (*Māśīrāgarbhā*), emerald; 6th, M o-l o-k i-n-l i, the agate; 7th, P o-m o-l o-k i-n (*Priyavāga*), the ruby; (Cf. *Ssu-t'ang-fu-shi*, book xxx. fol. 14).

⁵¹ This expression refers to the Abbāsid Khalīf. The

Khalīf who reigned in Persia about this time (974—991 A. D.) was Thuy Lillah; (see *L'art de vérifier les dates*, page 478).

⁵² Pauthier, u. s. pp. 79-82.

⁵³ Pauthier gives 1036 A. D.—*Ex. p. 83.*

⁵⁴ Pauthier's account comes down to A. D. 1439 (*Examen*, pp. 84—90).

THE HASTĀMALAKA.

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The poem, of which I give the text and translation below, is one which is very well known in India, but has never been printed in Europe. Most educated natives know it by heart, and it is universally considered as one of the best summaries of the Vedānta doctrines. Its authorship is uncertain; but there are two commentaries upon it, each of which curiously enough is ascribed to Śaṅkara Āchārya, the celebrated Vedāntist teacher of the eighth or ninth century. Dr. Hall in his *Bibliographical Index* ascribes the poem to Hastāmālaka. The twelfth stanza is quoted in the *Vedānta-sūtra* (the only quotation which I have noticed from the work), and Hastāmālaka is mentioned as the author in the *Vidya-manoranjini* Commentary on the *Vedānta-sūtra* by Rāmātirtha-yati. Hastāmālaka is celebrated as one of Śaṅkara's earliest disciples; and he is afterwards said to have founded a modified form of Vedāntism recognizing Viṣṇu as the supreme Brahman. It is probable, however, that the title of the poem has no reference to any author, as *hastāmālaka* may simply mean 'a myrobalan in the hand,' and thus be used metaphorically to signify something very plain and obvious, as the round fruit on the open palm. The phrase is thus used in the *Vajrasūchi Upaniṣad* (Weber's ed. p. 213, 10), where the true Brāhman is described as the 'contented man, free from desires and passions, who sees everything as visibly before him as a myrobalan on the palm of his hand' (*karatāḍasalakam iva*)¹; and this is the interpretation which one of my Paṇḍits in Calcutta gave to the title.

The ultimate identity of the individual and the supreme soul is the great tenet of the Vedānta. 'That art thou' (*tat tvam asi*) is the first lesson of the neophyte, and the last vision of the perfected mystic. The one supreme soul alone exists; all the separate consciousnesses of individuals are but the reflection of the one soul on the multitudinous 'internal organs' which are the creation of 'ignorance' or illusion. To reach reality we must strip off the successive

veils—the waking world first (where the soul is disguised by the gross effects) and the world of dreams next (where it is disguised by the subtle effects), till we reach that of sound sleep. Here for the time the individual soul does attain its real nature, but its inherent delusion remains latent, and is still capable of being called out into actuality. Only the knowledge of the highest truth, as taught in the Vedānta, can abolish ignorance, and so destroy personality in its germ.²

The soul's real nature, as identical with Brahman, is always described as 'essentially existent, intelligence, and joy'; but though defined as essentially intelligence, this intelligence is not exercised on any object, as all objects, as well as the internal organ or 'mind' which cognizes transient perceptions, are produced by 'ignorance' and therefore unreal. There is a striking verse of the *Yoga-vāśiṣṭha*³ :—

"As would be the pure nature of light if all that is illumined by it, as space, earth, and ether, were annihilated, such is the loneliness of the pure-essenced spectator (soul), when all objects, as I, thou, and the three worlds, have passed into non-existence."

"Kastvām āśiṣo kasya kuto 'si gantā
kiṁ nāma te tvam kuta āgato 'si |
etad vada tvam mama suprasiddham
matprāptaye prativivardhana 'si" || 1 ||
Nānam manushyo na cha devayakṣbo
na brāhmaṇakṣatriyavaiśyāśūdraḥ |
na brahmachārī na grhī vanastho
bhikṣur na chāhaṁ nijabodharūpaḥ || 2 ||
Nimittam manaschakṣurādipravrittān
nirastākhilopādhir ākāśarūpaḥ |
ravir lokacheshānimittam yathā yaḥ
sa nityopalabdhisvarūpo 'hamātmā || 3 ||
Yam agnyushṣavannityabodhasvarūpaḥ
manaschakṣurādīn abodhātmakāni |
pravartanta āśrītya nishkampaḥ ekam
sa nityopalabdhisvarūpo 'hamātmā || 4 ||
Mukhābhāsako darpag dyāyamāno
mukhatvāt prithaktvena naivāsti vanto |
chidābhāsako dvishu jīvo 'pi tadvat
sa nityopalabdhisvarūpo 'hamātmā || 5 ||

¹ Cf. also *Vijñāna-bhikṣu*, *Comm. on Śākhya Sūtra*, p. 95, 2 *infra*.

² There is a remarkable passage in Hippolytus' *Philosophumena* I. p. 29.—τοῦτο δὲ τὸ φῶς ὃ φασὶ λόγον τὸν θεόν, αὐτὸς μόνος εἶδεναι βραχμῶτα λέγουσι, διὰ

τὸ ἀπορίψαι μόνος τὸν ἀποδοξίαν, ὃ ἐστὶ χιρὸς τῆς ψυχῆς ἰσχυρὸς.

³ Quoted in *Vijñāna-bhikṣu's Comm. on Śākhya Sūtra*, p. 97.

Yathā darpaśūbhāva ābhāsahānau
 mukhaṁ vidyate kalpanābhānam ekam |
 tathā dhīvyoge nirūbhāsako yaḥ
 sa nityopalabdhisvarūpo 'hamātmā || 6 ||
 Manaśchakṣurāder vimuktaḥ svayaṁ yo
 manaśchakṣurāder manaśchakṣurūḍiḥ |
 manaśchakṣurāder agamyasvarūpaḥ
 sa nityopalabdhisvarūpo 'hamātmā || 7 ||
 Ya eko vibhāti svataḥ śuddhachetāḥ*
 prakāśasvarūpo 'pi nānena dhīshu |
 śarūvoda-kastho yathā bhāsur ekaḥ
 sa nityopalabdhisvarūpo 'hamātmā || 8 ||
 Yathānekachakṣuḥ prakāśo ravir na
 krameṇa prakāśīkaroti prakāśyam |
 anekā dhīyo yas tathāikaprabodhaḥ
 sa nityopalabdhisvarūpo 'hamātmā || 9 ||
 Vivasvatprabhātaṁ yathā rūpam akṣhaṁ
 pragrihṣāti nābhātām evaṁ vivasvān |
 tathā bhūta ābhāmyatyakṣham ekaḥ
 sa nityopalabdhisvarūpo 'hamātmā || 10 ||
 Yathā sūrya eko 'psv anekaschalāsu
 sthīrāśv apyananavagvibhāvyaśvarūpaḥ* |
 chalāsu prabhinnāsu dhīshveka evaṁ
 sa nityopalabdhisvarūpo 'hamātmā || 11 ||
 Ghanachchhannadīpīstīr ghanachchhannam ar-
 kām
 yathā nishprabhaṁ manyate chātīmudhāḥ |
 tathā buddhavad bhāti yo muḍhādīpīstīr
 sa nityopalabdhisvarūpo 'hamātmā || 12 ||
 samasteshu vastuṣhv anusyūtamekaṁ
 samastāni vastūni yaṁ na spṛśanti |
 viyadvaṁ sādā śuddham achchhasvarūpaṁ
 sa nityopalabdhisvarūpo 'hamātmā || 13 ||
 Upādhan yathā bhedatā sanuṣṭapinām
 tathā bhedatā buddhibhedeshu te 'pi |
 yathā chandrakānaṁ jāle chañchalatvaṁ
 tathā chañchalatvaṁ tavāpīha Viśho || 14 ||

1. 'Who art thou, my child, and whose, and whither goest thou? What is thy name, and whence art thou come? Tell me all this clearly to gladden me,—thou fillest my heart with gladness.'

2. 'I am not a man nor a god nor a demi-god, no Brāhman, Kshatriya, Vaiśya, nor Śūdra; no student, nor householder, nor anchorite, nor religious mendicant; innate Knowledge am I.'

3. 'That which is the cause of the action of mind, eye, and the rest, as the sun is the cause

of the movements of living beings, but which itself is void of all conditioning disguises, like the infinite ether,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.'

4. 'That which being itself one, unchangeable, and essentially eternal knowledge (as fire is essentially heat), is the substratum which bears, as they act, the mind, eye, and the rest, which are mere Ignorance*,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.'

5. 'The reflection of the face seen in the mirror is nothing in itself as separated from the face, so is the personal soul in itself nothing, the reflection of Intelligence on the internal organ,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.'

6. 'As the reflection vanishes when the mirror is not, and the face remains alone, apart from all delusion, so that Soul which remains without a reflection when the understanding is not,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.'

7. 'That which abiding aloof from mind, eye, and the rest, is itself mind, eye, and the rest to mind, eye, and the rest, and whose nature mind, eye, and the rest cannot reach,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.'

8. 'That which, being one, shines forth self-manifested, possessing pure intelligence, and itself essential light, and which yet appears as though variously modified in various internal organs, as the one sun shines reflected in the water of different vessels,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.'

9. 'As the sun, illumining countless eyes, illumines at the same moment the object to each, so that Soul, the one intelligence, which illumines countless internal organs,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.'

10. 'As the bodily sense illumined by the sun grasps the form of the object, but when unillumined grasps it not, so that by which the one sun must be itself illumined to illumine the sense,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.'

11. 'As the one sun seems many in the agitated waters, and even when reflected in still waters must be yet recognized as really separate, so that which, though really one,

ledge, is the substratum which bears as they act, the mind, eye and the rest, which are mere ignorance,—as the fire is the substratum that bears the heat,—that Soul, essentially, &c.'

* I. O. Lib. MS. reads śiddhachetāḥ.

* anasvay-pritāṅk. Comm.

* The MS. Comm. takes it differently:—"that which being itself one, unchangeable, and essentially eternal know-

MISCELLANEA.

ON SULASĀ.

To the Editor of the "Indian Antiquary."

In my translation of the Kuṣā Incriptions (*Ind. Ant.* VII. 254) I have identified Sulasā, in the name Sulasadata, with the modern Tulsī the Prakṛit name of which plant, viz. *Sulasā* and *Sulasomājari*, Dr. Bühler had pointed out to me. I have since met, in Śilānka's commentary on the *Achārāṅga Sūtra*, written in the Śāka year 798, with Sulasā as one of the *jagamātaras* or mothers of the world. She is there said to be the mother of all snake races. The name Sulasādatṭa is thus on the same line with three more snake-names occurring in the same inscriptions: Nāga in No. 11, Nāginikā in No. 2, and Sarpilā in Nos. 3 and 9.

The word *sulasa* for snake, is derived from the root *śas*, and means originally either the agile one or the shining one. What connection there is between the mother of the snake-races and the *Tulsī*, if there be any, I dare not decide.

The passage in question makes part of an account of the different opinions regarding the origin and nature of the universe (Calcutta edition vol. I. p. 348):

*Asid idam tamsāḥātam aprajñātam (sic) alak-
zheyam | apraterkyam avijñeyam prasuptam ita
sarvataḥ || (cf. Manu, I. 6) tasmin akāraṇatōhāte
nashite atōhārajanāgama | nashāmaranāre chāina
pranashātoragerdākhase || kevalam gahvaratōhāte mahā-
bhātaricārjite | achātyātmā vidhāte tatva śayāna
toppate tapah || tatva toya śayānasya nābhā
pānashā vivirgataḥ | taruvarari (read bādraka)
manḍalanābhāte hrīdyam bādhānākarjīkām || tasmin
pānne pashāgavāte dāṇḍe yojāparitāsānāguktāḥ
(read 'vīlakāḥ) | brāhmā tatvopānāsa teva jagamā-
tarāḥ vishāḥāḥ :*

*Aditiḥ surasāghāṭadīm Dīṭī asurdānā Manur
manushyadūḥ | Viṇatā rīkagāḍadām mātā vīsvpra-
kṛdāḍām || Kāśīnā sarvāpānāḥ Sulasā mātā ta
nāpājātāḥ | Surabhīḥ chātuspaṇḍadām Itā pashā
sarvāḍjīdām || ity adī.*

These *jagamātaras* remind us of the Greek goddesses called *μυρίαι*, a temple of which was, according to Plutarch (*Marc.*), in the old Sicilian town Engyon.

Professor HERMANN JACOBI.

Münster, Westphalia.

BUNDAHISH MSS.

A few months ago (in the *Academy* of May 3, 1879; see *ante*, vol. VIII. p. 292) I was able to announce the existence of a Pahlavi manuscript, in Bombay, containing a more complete text of the *Bundahish*

than that hitherto known; and I can now report the existence in Europe of a small fragment of what appears to have been a similar text.

When the late Professor Westergaard of Köpen. hagen returned from Persia in 1844, he brought with him two imperfect Pahlavi MSS., which he had obtained most probably at Kirmān. One of these he kindly lent me in 1878, when I found it had lost 71 folios at the beginning and some 35 at the end, but the remaining 181 folios contained the whole of the ninety-two questions and answers of the *Dāhistān-i Dīnā*, together with a considerable portion of the writings which usually precede and follow that Pahlavi text in the most complete MSS. This MS., which was probably written in A.D. 1572, was presented by Westergaard to the University Library at Köpenhagen a few hours before his death.

The other MS. appears to have commenced with the *Bundahish*, of which the first 129 folios are lost, leaving only the last page of the text followed by a colophon written in A.D. 1567; next comes the Pahlavi text of the *Mafrāk-i Kārd* written A.D. 1569; and after that some short texts, said to be of minor importance. I am indebted to Professor Hoffmann of Kiel for directing my attention to this small fragment of the *Bundahish*, and for kindly sending me a facsimile of it. It contains only the last few sentences of the last chapter, interspersed with some additional phrases, so as to form a text of similar character to that contained in the recently-reported MS. in Bombay. There has, as yet, been no opportunity of comparing it with the corresponding part of the Bombay MS., but, as the 129 missing folios would have been exactly sufficient to contain the remainder of the text existing in that MS., there can be very little doubt that Westergaard's MS. formerly contained the same more complete and extensive text of the *Bundahish*, amounting to nearly 30,000 words instead of the 13,000, which have hitherto been supposed to be the extent of the work.

That these manuscripts should have remained one-third of a century in Europe, before their exact character could be ascertained by comparison with other copies of the same texts, is surely an argument in favour of a searching examination of all Pārsi libraries, by some one thoroughly acquainted with all known Pahlavi and Avesta texts, to ascertain not only where the best copies exist, but also what fragments of unknown texts may yet survive. Such an examination must be of the most searching character to be of any use, so as to account for the text on every folio of every manuscript, and to ascertain the name and date of

every copyist. Unfortunately, the owners of such MSS. can rarely give much trustworthy information on these points, and are apt to have very erroneous ideas of the contents and importance of their books.

Munich, Nov. 26, 1879.

E. W. WEST.

METRICAL VERSIONS FROM THE
MAHABHARATA.

BY JOHN MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., &c.

(Continued from Vol. VIII. p. 339.)

EVILS OF INDECISION.

Maṇḍhārata, xii. 3814.

The dilatory men who let
The time for action pass away,
Though long they seek, can seldom get
Another opportunity.

HAIRY SPEECH.

Maṇḍhārata, i. 3559; v. 12667.

Of all men him most luckless deem
With thorns of speech who others tears,
Who on his lips, with taunts that teem,
Destruction's cursing Goddess bears.¹

THE CLAIMS AND DUTIES OF FRIENDSHIP.

Maṇḍhārata, v. 3317.

That mortal—sages heartless call
That does not help his friends in need,
Who does not kindly warn and lead
Where'er they seem about to fall.
He merits praise, who urged by care
His friend from folly back to hold,
Should use all means, and, waxing bold,
Should even seize him by the hair.

BOOK NOTICES.

INTRODUCTION to the SCIENCE of RELIGION. By F. Max Müller, M.A., et. Soc. London: Longmans & Co.

LECTURES on the ORIGIN and GROWTH of RELIGION as illustrated by the Religions of India. By F. Max Müller, M.A. London, 1878.

These are two interesting volumes, written with all the ease and elegance characteristic of one who is at once a master of his subject and the art of exposition and the language he employs. Professor Max Müller writes with singular grace, so adorns whatever he handles, and so illuminates it with the most felicitous illustrations that his abstrusest discussions flow and fascinate as if they were vivid historical narrations. In an age remarkable for the number of eminent men of science who are also eminent men of letters, he has the literary gift in so remarkable a degree that he not only has secured an audience for the sciences he specially cultivates, but may be said more than any other man who uses the English tongue to have created, in circles that usually fear and flee the dry and the recondite, something akin to an enthusiasm for the study of the languages and religions of the world. In doing this he has also done much more. He has helped to give India and England a new meaning to each other, to create between the two happier, because more intelligent, more moral and sympathetic relations. He has helped to make India feel that a European scholar may love and study her language and literature and religion with as much enthusiasm as any Native Pandit, and he has helped to make England feel that the Saxon and the Hindu are akin both in blood and spirit, that, as their languages have the same source, they have been concerned with similar problems, and have fallen on similar solutions, have

been indeed alike in their search after truth and in their desire to find it. He who succeeds, though but in a small degree in a work like this, achieves one of the greatest successes possible to man.

The volumes before us may be said to represent Professor Max Müller's more systematic and deliberate contributions to the Science of Religion. Their germs, indeed, may be said to lie scattered up and down his other writings. The questions discussed there involve more or less the questions discussed here. The questions as to the origin and nature of language, and as to the nature and growth of mythology, are essentially related to the question as to the genesis and development of religion; they may, indeed, be said in a sense to be one and the same. And so whether writing of Language or Mythology or Indian Literature, Professor Max Müller has never been able to escape from the problems that specially engage him here. But just because they specially engage him, we expect from him a discussion systematic and scientific in a degree impossible to the Lecturer on Language, to the writer of the *Chips* and to the historian of Sanskrit Literature. And in many respects our expectations are fulfilled. The hand of the writer has here all its old cunning, his speech has all its old charm, is now swift, genial, graphic, and now slow, ornate, elegant, holding us fascinated over sentences of linked sweetness and illustrations long drawn out. Yet we are more than doubtful as to whether these *Lectures* fulfil our expectations in other and higher respects. It may seem an ungracious thing to express the conviction that we are more grateful for the suggestive germs in the earlier writings than for the full and scien-

¹ Compare the expressions in Psalms li. 2; lv. 21; lvi. 4; and lxxv. 3, 4.

tific exposition in these; and yet we must confess to this conviction. We are sorry to have to say that Professor Max Müller's standpoint seems to us to have changed for the worse. He has indeed qualities that fit him in an exceptional degree to be an interpreter of ancient Hindu religion. He is a scholar, with a scholar's general love of truth and special love of his subject. He is a poet too, with the poet's penetrative insight, quick eye for all that is true and beautiful and good, with the poet's fine imaginative sympathy with the men and natures he would interpret, and his ability to represent their mind and meaning in his own and our speech. But behind the scholar and poet stands the thinker, and Professor Max Müller's philosophical standpoint is not what it once was. In his earlier works he was more or less in philosophy a disciple of Schelling, in his last he has fallen under the influence of Noë. And the influence has, to our mind, been anything but happy. Schelling, especially in his later days, was dreamy, fanciful, even phantastic, but in his ideas of spirit, of reason, of the nature and genesis of religion he was, as seems to us, on the whole essentially right. But Noë appears to us to represent one of the most reactionary and infertile schools of philosophy in the Germany of to-day. And we can only and deeply regret that a name so influential in connexion with the study which is now called "the science of religion" should have in any degree been open to the influence of such a system.

Each of the volumes now before us may be said to consist of two parts, a philosophic and a scientific, or a theoretical and historical. The philosophical and theoretical is concerned with the questions as to the origin and nature of religion; the scientific and historical with the interpretation of religion in its concrete forms, religious ideas and beliefs as expressed in the language, literature, customs and laws of given peoples. Yet these two parts are most intimately connected. A man always interprets facts of mind or spirit according to his theory of spirit. He studies religion and history by the light of his philosophy, and can see no more in them than his philosophy enables him to see. Hence the significance of Professor Max Müller's theoretical principles for his scientific criticism and historical presentation of religion. On this point we must say a word or two *a propos* of his Hibbert Lectures; the other work has been too long before the public to need any further notice here.¹ The first lecture, on "the Perception of the Infinite," discusses the philosophical question. It is to us the least satisfactory in the

book. The question is much too large to be treated within so narrow compass, and we believe Professor Max Müller, had he been left to himself, would not have attempted to discuss it under conditions so little equal to its claims. But passing by the critical parts,—which are but a series of brief, though searching, glances at two or three theories as to the nature of religion, with omission of all save the very slightest reference to the most rational and comprehensive theory of all—we come to our author's positive and constructive doctrine. He modifies the doctrine maintained in his earlier course of lectures, that religion is a mental faculty, which "independent of, nay, in spite of sense and reason, enables man to apprehend the Infinite under different names and varying disguises."² This as a piece of psychology was never very lucid. It is not very easy to understand how any mental faculty "that is independent of reason and can act in spite of" it can be a rational faculty. But as now modified it is still less satisfactory. "Religion, in its subjective sense of faith," is now made "simply a development of sensuous perception."³ And so he says, in answer to the question, how such a being as the primitive savage, with nothing but his five senses, ever comes to think or speak of anything not finite or infinite?—"It is the senses which give him the first impression of infinite things, and supply him in the end with an intimation of the infinite. Everything of which his senses cannot perceive a limit, is to a primitive savage, or to any man in an early stage of intellectual activity, unlimited or infinite. Man sees, he sees to a certain point; and there his eyesight breaks down. But exactly where his eyesight breaks down, there presses upon him, whether he likes it or not, the perception of the unlimited or infinite."⁴ Now throughout this statement two entirely distinct notions are confounded, the Indefinite and the Infinite. These are not only distinct, but opposite. The Indefinite is simply the undefined, what is without perceived limits; but the Infinite is the without-bounds, is what is not simply undefined, but cannot be defined. The one includes, the other excludes, the ideas of relation and limitation. The senses suggest the Indefinite because they perceive the definite; but the reason conceives the Infinite. Then in what sense can "the senses" be said "to perceive." They are not rational things; to them as senses reason does not belong; and the perception of any rational thing in history, or any reason or reasonable being in nature, is due to man's quality as a rational, not to his nature as a simply sensuous, being. A conception of "infinite things" is possible; "an im-

¹ This work has been translated into German, French, Italian, and Swedish.—Ed.

² *Science of Religion*, p. 17.

³ *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 26, 27.

⁴ *Ibid* p. 37.

pression of infinite things" or "a perception of the Infinite" is absurd. I frankly confess my inability to attach any meaning worthy of our author to such a sentence as "I maintain that before it (the Infinite) becomes a *noumenon*, it is an *aistheton*, though not a *phänomenon*." Whatever the senses perceive appears to the senses; the appearance is the objective side of the perception, the perception the subjective side of the appearance.

The influence of his empirico-transcendental philosophy pervades more or less the lectures; it is, indeed, hardly apparent in the second lecture with which we throughout cordially agree, or the third, which is an admirable account in our author's very best style of the place and value of the Vedas in the study of religions. But in the fourth, "on the Worship of Tangible, Semi-Tangible and Intangible Objects"—and in the fifth—"the Ideas of Infinity and Law"—its presence and action become very manifest. For one thing it makes in these and the next lecture the presentation of Vedic religion less ethical and more sensuous than it might have been. We could have wished that Professor Max Müller had analysed, verified and organized for us not simply the forms and characters and qualities of the deities that fill the Vedic Pantheon, but also the ethical ideas, the religious and spiritual beliefs that were at work in the heart of the Vedic society, not only creating the seeds of the philosophy that was afterwards to blossom into the *Upanishads*, but also laying the foundations of the sacerdotal polity that was afterwards to receive expression in the *Laws of Manu*. And this suggests another remark—the significance of India for religion does not end at the point where Professor Max Müller leaves us. In a sense it only begins there. We see Indian religion becoming at once more spiritual and more sensuous, entering upon one of the many phases through which it was destined to pass. Yet each of these phases—Brahmanism, Buddhism, Hinduism—was the logical and natural outcome of the other; and to exhibit them in their relations to each other and to the spirit of man is to exhibit one of the most wonderful processes of evolution in religion the history of the world has to show.

It is not possible, within our limits, to give any adequate notice of this book; or any illustrations of the learning, the true and felicitous reflexions, the vigorous and searching criticism with which it abounds, or of the generous and catholic spirit which everywhere penetrates and illumines it.

In these respects it is worthy of Professor Max Müller and the subject; and to say this is the highest possible praise.

A. M. FAIRBAIRN.

A CLASSICAL DICTIONARY OF HINDU MYTHOLOGY AND RELIGION, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, AND LITERATURE. By JOHN DOWSON, M.R.A.S., late Professor of Hindustani, Staff College (8vo. pp. xix and 411). London: Trübner & Co. 1879.

Many students will hail with pleasure Mr. Dowson's handy volume (which forms the sixth of Trübner's Oriental Series) as a book that is much wanted. It is scarcely eight years yet since its only English predecessor appeared—Mr. J. Garrett's *Classical Dictionary*—published at Madras; and though there were serious slips in it, and it was too largely composed of mere extracts, it is often very useful, and is much fuller than that now before us. Mr. Dowson has not dealt so much in extracts as his predecessor; none of his articles are long; and he has condensed in each the information he has drawn from his authorities with the intelligence of a man who knows his subject. He does not draw on original Sanskrit sources, but his authorities are among the best, viz. Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, H. H. Wilson's *Rig-veda*, and *Vishnu Purana* (Hall's Ed.), and the writings of Monier Williams, Max Müller, Roth, Böhtlingk, Lassen, Weber, Whitney, Wellheims da Fonseca, &c. Owing to the brevity necessary in such a work, we regret that the author has not given references at the end of each article to authors where more detailed information might be found.

The mythological parts are decidedly the best; in the biographical matter we note many omissions, the names for example of Bilhana, Rāmānuja, and Madhvāchārya are missing, and the dates of the authors that are given are rarely indicated.

We trust the day is not far distant, however, when another and enlarged edition of this work will be required, and we hope the enterprising publisher will see to it that it is then greatly increased both in matter and value. Why should it not develop into a Dictionary of Sanskrit Mythology, Religion, History and Literature fit to rank with those of ancient Greek and Roman life and thought, so ably edited by Dr. W. Smith? The late H. H. Wilson projected a scholarly work, and went so far, forty years ago, as to announce his intention of preparing it for the Oriental Translation Fund. Here is the nucleus, well done, but far too restricted. Of this Professor Dowson is, modestly, well aware. "No doubt very defective" is the verdict he passes on the fruit of his own labours. He restricts himself, rather too exclu-

* Hibbert Lectures, p. 47.

* A Classical Dictionary illustrative of the Mythology, Philosophy, Literature, Antiquities, Arts, Manners, Customs, &c. of the Hindus. By John Garrett, Director of

Public Instruction in Mysore, &c., &c. (8vo. pp. 793; Madras: Higginbotham and Co. 1871); The Supplement, 199 pp., was published in 1873.

sively to the purely Brâhmanic subjects, to the exclusion of Buddhist and Jain ones, perhaps purposely; but the names of many of the sects, as well as of individuals mentioned in the great epics, are omitted. But, on the other hand, what we have is well done. Nothing could be better than his treatment of the Vedas and Epics, of such popular deities as Krishna and Râma, and of the Avatâras, or incarnations of Vishnu, on which so much of modern and practical Hinduism hangs. Under *Tenitra* some of the truth is told regarding the horrible immoralities of much of Hindu worship and belief. Our readers will form an idea of the utility of the book from this account of the *Gîtâtrî* :—

"A most sacred verse of the *Rîg-veda*, which it is the duty of every Brâhman to repeat mentally in his morning and evening devotions. It is addressed to the sun as *Sâvitri*, the generator, and so it is called also *Sâvitri*. Personified as a goddess, *Sâvitri* is the wife of *Brahmâ*, mother of the four *Vedas*, and also of the twice-born or three superior castes. Coleridge's translation of the *Gîtâtrî* is 'Earth, sky, heaven. Let us meditate on (these and on) the most excellent light and power of that generous, sportive, and resplendent sun (praying that) it may guide our intellects.' Wilson's version is, in his translation of the *Rîg-veda*, 'We meditate on that desirable light of the divine *Sâvitri* who influences our pious rites.' In the *Vishnu Purâna* he had before given a somewhat different version—'We meditate on that excellent light of the divine sun; may he illuminate our minds.' A later version by Benfey is—'May we receive the glorious brightness of this, the generator, of the god who shall prosper our works.' Wilson observes of it :—'The commentators admit some variety of interpretation, but it probably meant, in its original use, a simple invocation of the sun to shed a benignant influence upon the customary offices of worship, and it is still employed by the unphilosophical Hindus with merely that signification. Later notions, and especially those of the Vedânta, have operated to attach to the text an import it did not at first possess, and have converted it into a mystical propitiation of the spiritual origin and essence of existence, or *Brahmâ*.' It is considered so holy that copyists often refrain from transcribing it."

As another specimen, we give the following analysis of the *Râmâyana*. After a brief notice of the versions and *Adhyâya* *Râmâyana* he proceeds :—

"The *Râmâyana* celebrates the life and exploits of Râma (*Râma-chandra*), the lover of Râma and his wife *Sitâ*, the rape of the latter by *Râvana*, the demon king of Ceylon, the war carried on by Râma and his monkey allies against *Râvana*, ending in the destruction of the demon and the rescue

of *Sitâ*, the restoration of Râma to the throne of Ayodhyâ, his jealousy and banishment of *Sitâ*, her residence at the hermitage of *Vâlmiki*, the birth of her twin sons *Kusa* and *Lava*, the father's discovery and recognition of his children, the recall of *Sitâ*, the attestation of her innocence, her death, Râma's resolution to follow her, and his translation to heaven.

"The *Râmâyana* is divided into seven *kândas* or sections, and contains about 50,000 lines. The last of the seven sections is probably of later date than the rest of the work.

"1. *Bala-kânda*. The boyhood of Râma.

"2. *Ayodhyâ-kânda*. The scenes at Ayodhyâ, and the banishment of Râma by his father, King *Dâsaratha*.

"3. *Aranya-kânda*. 'Forest section.' Râma's life in the forest, and the rape of *Sitâ* by *Râvana*.

"4. *Kishkindhyâ-kânda*. Râma's residence at *Kishkindhyâ*, the capital of his monkey ally, King *Sugriva*.

"5. *Sandara-kânda*. 'Beautiful section.' The marvellous passage of the straits by Râma and his allies and their arrival in Ceylon.

"6. *Yuddha-kânda*. 'War section.' The war with *Râvana*, his defeat and death, the recovery of *Sitâ*, the return to Ayodhyâ and the coronation of Râma. This is sometimes called the *Lanka* or *Ceylon Kânda*.

"7. *Uttara-kânda*. 'Later section.' Râma's life in Ayodhyâ, his banishment of *Sitâ*, the birth of his two sons, his recognition of them and of the innocence of his wife, their reunion, her death, and his translation to heaven.

"The writer or the compilers of the *Râmâyana* had a high estimate of its value, and it is still held in very great veneration. A verse in the introduction says, 'He who reads and repeats this holy life-giving *Râmâyana* is liberated from all his sins and exalted with all his posterity to the highest heaven;' and in the second chapter *Brahmâ* is made to say, 'As long as the mountains and rivers shall continue on the surface of the earth, so long shall the story of *Râmâyana* be current in the world.'"

The book is followed by a very complete index of synonyms and names referred to under different heads: the arrangement is most helpful to the student, and enables the author to avoid much repetition.

The whole work is introduced by a condensed account of the origin and development of the *Vedas*. Professor Dowson expresses the hope "that a good beginning has been made, and that a basis has been laid on which a greater and more worthy structure may hereafter be raised." The foundation is indeed good, and we trust he will at once call other scholars to his aid that the next edition may be very much larger and fuller.

वलीवलव तं धीगाभिरा जोभत वा वाया क र्षणक
 र्क्षलिप्रतल तं यस्मिं ग तन्नयति जीआप्राणप
 वासुतप्ररु तयः सर्दि तिरक्ता रिताय तस्मा द्विस्मयकारि
 क्षा निरनित प्रक्षानकीर्तिः सुतः धीमा वृद्धादव रूयति मरू
 रूव कृत्वा मलिः । दादे एडे कवलचयस्य सरुसा सं ग्राम रंगा
 गण ना घधीः स्वयामच वक्षसि रतिं राकमु ना नि निवा जय तउ
 वरु त्रा पः पुना निवेष दु व्यः त तः धीमा त्रयुवः सद्यपि त्राऽ
 यना जितः कः उः गालनयः साका सा च नवपु वि क्षि रूः प्रता
 यादी मि मा र्त्रे उः कालद लु श्याया दिष्ठा । स रणगत सामंता पुप
 सचिदगति रक्षिता यन सङ्गयति यत्वा र्धना मा स रणगत व रूयज्ञादेव
 यन सङ्गुत मागता य विक्षितं गा मायना ना वि वं यनि विद्यु यदव ना क्षि
 वलितं गङ्गा स्ति रं का पितं रिक्ष मा म्म म्म सुवक्षि ति रुता दत्र वाय ना प्रयं त
 धी विउदं क यमठया त र च कि मा तस्मा ता धीमान रूव दतु वरूडादव ना
 मा रूया लूम म्म क मलि स्रना यान यरूः । यद्यपि ए स र विता नि जनाः स
 मन्ना यामा र क बुक्ति गत्र लना सु वंति । तद्वा ता वृत्ता नि क स नि थया
 जातः स ता स म्मता इ प्रा ना नि कुला वलि कदल नि दे र्शो नि ली ला दव त । ग द्वा
 शि सव पव से च स रिता इष्टा वा सा म च र रुष्टे पि उ ना ज या जगदलं
 यः की ल धि वा गतः । तद्वा तद्वा वरूडादव रू उ र्थी द्वि त्र या जा हृय निर्व
 रूवा धी ला र वं सः सि सु ना यि यन ती तः य रा मु त्र ति मु त्रा त ना लं वा
 ल कानि उ र वं स ता य य कं ठ प र वृ द्वा र ल ति का नि नि रं ज ना नि ।

A NEW SĪLĀRA COPPER PLATE GRANT.

BY KĀSĪNĀTH TRIMBAK TELANG, M.A., LL.B.

THIS is a grant made by a prince of the Sīlāra dynasty. The plates belong to Mr. Rāmachandra Śivām Desai of Khārepāṭan, and were handed over to me several months ago by Rāo Sāheb Gaṇānan Kṛishṇa Bhāṭavaḍekar, then Subordinate Judge of Devgaḍ, and now in the service of the Baroda state. The plates were found many years ago at Khārepāṭan, buried under ground; and it is now impossible to get any further information regarding their acquisition. They consist of three sheets, about 8 inches in length by about 6½ inches in breadth, joined together by a ring of the usual shape, bearing, for a seal, the figure of a man seated cross-legged and with joined hands. The grant is, as usual, engraved on both sides of the middle plate and on the inner sides only of the first and third.

The characters are the old Dēvanāgarī, the

mātrā being in many cases written before the letter with which it goes, instead of over it, as in the modern Dēvanāgarī. There are sundry instances of that confusion between *ज्ञ* and *ज* which may be noted in other plates also,¹ and there is also a somewhat noticeable tendency towards doubling some letters.² The substitution of *अ* for *य*; the similarity of *व* and *वृ*; and the use of the *avagraha*,—are some of the other points worthy of note in the style of writing in this grant. The language is throughout Sanskrit, the greater portion of the document being in fairly good verse, while a small portion at the end—which is the only part directly referring to the actual grant made—is in prose, and somewhat involved, and not always correct, prose. The date is given in letters and figures as 1016, or, according to the view of Mr. J. F. Fleet, 1017³ of the Śaka era.

Transliteration.

Plate I.

- [¹] लभते सर्वकार्येषु पूजया गणनायकः [11]⁴ विम्वन्निग्रन्त वः पायाद-
 [²] पायाङ्गणनायकः । [11] स वः पातु सितो नित्यं यन्मौलौ भाति जाह्नवी । [11]
 [³] सुमेरुसिखरोद्गच्छदच्छन्दकलोपमा । [11] जीमूतकेतुतनयो नियतं
 [⁴] दयालुर्ज्जोमूलवाहन इति विजगद्यसिद्धः । [11] देहं निजं वृषमिवाकल-
 [⁵] यन्पर्यो यो रक्षतिस्म गरुडाखलु सखेचूडं । [11] तस्यान्वये निखिल-
 [⁶] भूपतिमौलिनूवरत्नशुचिचरितनिर्मलपादपीठः । [11] सीसाहसांक
 [⁷] इव साहसिकः कपर्दी सीलारवंसतिलको नृपतिर्वर्भूवः (व) । [11] तस्मा-
 [⁸] दभूच्च तनयः पुलसक्तिनामा सीमासमः सुरु(र)गुरुदितराजनीतिः । [11]
 [⁹] निज्जिन्य संगरमुखेखिलवैरिबर्गी निःकण्ठकं जगति राज्यमकारि
 [¹⁰] येन । [11] ततश्च समभूत्सुतो नृपतिरोविभूषामणिः । सितः सृणिरि-
 [¹¹] वापरोरि करिणां कपर्दी लघुः । [11] यदीययससा जगत्यतिसयेन
 [¹²] सुश्रीकृते न भाति सुरवारणो न च ससी न दुग्धांबुधिः । [11] तस्मादप्य-
 [¹³] भवद्विभूतिपदवीपात्रं पवित्रीकृतासेषह्मावल्लयो महीपतिल-
 [¹⁴] कः श्रीवत्पु[?]वन्मः सुतः । [11] संप्रामांगणरंगिणासिलतया लूनैकदं-
 [¹⁵] ता हठासर्व्वं येन विनापका विरचिता विद्वेषिणा दंतिनः । [11] तस्मा-
 [¹⁶] ज्ञातस्तनूजो रजनिकर इवानंदितासेपलोकः स्लाघ्यः श्रीशङ्क-

¹ See for one instance the inscription at Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. VI. Plate xi.

² Cf. *Jour. B. R. A. Soc.*, vol. X. p. 349.

³ Inasmuch as the expression is "1016 years of the Śaka king having elapsed." Cf. Burnell, *Elements of S. I. Palæography* (2nd ed.) p. 72a. Having compared the figures and names of years given in some of the plates

which we possess, I am inclined to agree with Mr. Fleet's view.

⁴ The original has a line thus ' at the close of some only of the hemistichs. In the transliteration double lines, thus [11], have been inserted everywhere in brackets. In the prose portion the perpendicular lines are printed only where they are found in the original.

- [¹⁷] राजो दिवसकर इव ध्वस्तनिःसेषदोषः ।[11] संभोयो द्वादसापि
 [¹⁸] व्यरचपदचिरात्कीर्त्तनामि(नि) स्वनाम्ना सोपानानीव म-
 [¹⁹] न्ये प्रणततनुभूतां स्वर्मा गोयतानां ।[11] भ्राता तस्य त-
 [²⁰] तस्तोज्ज्वलयसोराशिः प्रकासीकृतासेफश्मावलयो

Plato IIa.

- [²¹] बली बलवता श्रीगोगिरा जोभवत् ।[11] चापाकर्षणक-
 [²²] र्मणि प्रवणतां यस्मिन्ना ते सू(सं)पतौ भीष्मद्रोणपु-
 [²³] धासुतप्रभृतयः सर्वे तिरस्कारिताः ।[11] तस्माद्विस्मयकारि-
 [²⁴] हारिचरितप्रज्ञा(स्या)तकीर्त्तिः सुतः श्रीमान्वज्रदेवभूपतिरभू-
 [²⁵] दूचकचूडामणिः ।[11] दोदण्डैकबलस्य यस्य सहसा संप्रामर्गा-
 [²⁶] गणे राज्यश्रीः स्वयमेत्य वक्षसि रति चक्रे मुरारिरे(रे)रिव ।[11] जयंत इ-
 [²⁷] व वृचरेः पुरारेरिव पद्भुजः ।[11] ततः श्रीमानभूषुवः सञ्चारित्रोऽ
 [²⁸] पराजितः ।[11] कर्णः त्यागेन यः साक्षान्त्येन च युधिष्ठिरः ।[11] प्रता-
 [²⁹] पारीषिमात्तण्डः कालदण्डश्च यो द्विषां ।[11] सरणागतसामंता अप-
 [³⁰] रापि जगति रक्षिता येन ।[11] स जयति यथार्थनामा सरणागतवज्रपंजरो देवः ।[11]
 [³¹] येन स्वागतमागताय विहितं गोमाष नानाविधं येनैवैपदेवनाग्नि
 [³²] चलितं राज्यं स्थिरं कारितं ।[11] भिलमाम्ममण्युधक्षितिभूतां दत्तं च येनाभयं तस्य
 [³³] श्रीविरुदंकरामनृपतेरन्यत्किमावर्ण्यते ।[11] श्रीमानभूतदनु वज्रहदेवना-
 [³⁴] मा भूपालमस्तकमणिस्तनयो नयतः ॥ अद्यापि यस्य चरितानि जनाः स-
 [³⁵] मस्ता रोमांचकंचुकितागवलास्तुवंति ।[11] तज्ज्ञाता च तत्तौरिकेसरिनुपो
 [³⁶] जातः सतां सम्मतो दृष्टारतिकुलाचलैकदलनि(ने)दंभोलिल्लीलां दधत् ।[11] गत्वा
 [³⁷] शैसव एव सैन्यसहितो दृष्ट्वा च सोमस्तरं तस्यापि पितुराजया जगदलं
 [³⁸] यः कीलपित्वागतः ।[11] तज्ज्ञातृजो वज्रहदेवतनुः श्रीच्छित्तराजो नृपतिर्व-
 [³⁹] भूव ।[11] श्रीलारवंतः तिसुनापि येन नीतः परामुन्नतिमुन्नेतेन ।[11] लंवा-
 [⁴⁰] लकानि कुचकुम्भतटोपकंठप्रधट्टहारलतिकानि निरंजनानि ।[11]

Plato II b.

- [⁴¹] उन्नाततीक्ष्णकरवालविदारितस्य योन्तःपुराणि परिपथिजनस्य र(च)-
 [⁴²] क्रे ।[11] हतारिनारीनेत्रांभस्तेकसंवर्द्धनादिव ।[11] ब्रह्माण्डमण्डपं ज(य)स्य कीर्त्तिव-
 [⁴³] लयधिरोहति ।[11] दृष्टारतिषु कोपकालदहनः ।[11] सौभाग्यनारायणो वार-
 [⁴⁴] स्त्रीषु ततोनुजः समभवं(व)न्मागार्जुनः क्षमापतिः ।[11] पस्यामानुषमूर्जितं भुज-
 [⁴⁵] बले दूराभितय(म्प) द्विषां निद्रातीव रणांगणव्यसनिनी दोदण्डकण्डूलता ।[11]
 [⁴⁶] यदसमसिचिरान्तर्भस्तेगंधेत्त(भ)दानप्रसरदनिलसुण्यत्स्वोत्सोदिग्गजे-
 [⁴⁷] द्वाः ।[11] अरिनगरविद(दा)होदामदिग्व्यापिभूमप्रसरभयनिमीललोचना नो-
 [⁴⁸] भिषंति ।[11] तदनु तदनुजन्मा मूर्तिमान्मीनकेतुः क्षतरिपुविभवोभूमुम्मु-
 [⁴⁹] णिः क्षोणिपालः ।[11] विधूतधनुषि ज(य)स्मिन्नाजिनीराजनति बलभिदपि बली-
 [⁵⁰] यान्वाधिकं चापमौक्षत् ।[11] तस्मिन्(स्मिन्) नृपेः(पे) प्रवरकीर्त्तिसरीरभाजि नागार्जुन-
 [⁵¹] स्य तनयो नयचक्रेदी ।[11] भूपोऽभवत्परमधर्मवितुद्वेदहः सीलार-
 [⁵²] गोवनृपरज्जमनन्तपालः ।[11] जाते दायादवैरिव्यसनिनि समये यैर-

उवाततीकृतुवालविदा विरुत्तयोनः पुत्रालिपिपेधितमन्त्र
 बौधतापिना ग्रीनित्रासस्सकमेवनादिव बुद्धात्तुत्तपेडसाकीर्तिव
 लोवितारुताइप्रागतिष्ठतापकालदहनसो सगुना गायत्र्यावा
 श्रीसुत तातुः समुत्तवत्रागा कुनः आयतिः यस्यामानुषमहिने सुत
 वल्लेन त्रिसकदिष्टानि द्रातीवपलागलकसनिनीयाईलुकपुलता
 यदस्मसिति गत्रस्त्रगलसदान पुसपदनिलसुत्तातुसातसादिभोडे
 दानाभुनिनगरविद सादामविष्ठापि प्रमपुसपुनयानेमीसालावनोने
 म्मियेति तदपुनदउडमाभ्रिन्माभीनाकतुः कनरिपुतितावाडुमु
 लिः कालियालविष्टतवुष्टिडस्मितादिनी राडमातेवलफिदपिकली
 यातार्थिकं वायमोक्तुतस्मिंशयः पुत्रकीर्तिस्त्रीरुतादिनागाडुन
 सातनायानयवकावदीरुत्ताः सुतय रम्वर्षविमुद्गादरः सीलान
 लाउष्टयं पुनमनत्रयालः ज्ञातया यादवेरिक्तसनिनिसमायपिप
 वापुपुसावर्षसादवदिज्ञाविप्रमघनविलिनाकाकलाह्लागिपया
 ताउग्रायायरासीभुनयवतसलाभदत्तयामुयासिदिष्टोद्विष्टं प्रवि
 ल्वकुलपतिसन्ध्यायः स्वकीर्तिलिलय विनामलोपलपिनांनप
 नाफिनाम कामऊपणकट्टाङ्गादकवीना निर्विनीरमवनीवल
 यंवेदायावर्म्मलपालयुतिर्नान्द्राद ॥ पुषस्त्रकीयपुण्यादया सुम
 भगतयं वमसाशदमसासामाविपतिनगपुनपनाजश्चपशीला पुनने
 डडीभुनवाटनायपुपुनसुवर्म्मगपुडदज्ञानिमानमासादमनिः स
 कलेकश्यदीपदरितसीरताव तापुपिबीसपतनकदापाका
 पकालानलगागडगक्षपक्षप ॥ डावायपश्चिमसमुद्राविपतिना
 पयिनामदसपणमनेव डयडनपुनिसमसराडावली विनाडि





- [53] वातप्रभवैर्धस्ता (! ध्वस्ता) देवद्विजातिप्रमथनविधिना कौकणशोभिरेषा ।।।।
 [54] तानुपान्नापरासीन्मुनपवनमहात्मेन्द्रधाराम्बुरासै क्षिप्तोच्चैर्ध्ववि-
 [55] म्बे वकुलपतिसखा यः स्वकीर्तिं लिलेख ।।।। चिन्तामणो (णौ) प्रणयिनां नय-
 [56] नाभिरामे कामे कुरंगकदृशां जगदेकवीरे ।।।। निर्वैरिवीरमवनीवल्-
 [57] यं विधाय धर्मेण पालयति तत्र नैरद्वन्द्वे ॥ अथ स्वकीयपुण्योदयात्सम-
 [58] धिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दमहासामन्ताधिपतितगरपुरपरमेस्वरशीलारनरे-
 [59] न्द्रजीमूतवाहनान्वयप्रभूतसुवर्णगरुडध्वजाभिमानमहोदधिनिःसं-
 [60] कलकैखरदीरचरितभीरताव  तार अरिवीपपतनकेदारको-
 [61] पकालानलपगजगजशंभुशंभु  डाचार्यपश्चिमसमुद्राधिपतिरा-
 [62] ययिना (! ता) महसरणागतवज्रपञ्जरप्रभृति समस्तराजावलीविराजि

Plate III.

- [63] तमहामण्डलेस्वराधिपतिश्रीमदनंतदेवकन्याणविजयराज्ये निजभुजोपा-
 [64] जितानेकमंडलसमेतां पुरीप्रभु  खचतुर्दशयामसतीसमं (म) निवतां स-
 [65] मस्व (स्व) कौकणभुवं समनुसासति त  धैतद्राज्यपश्चिन्ताभारं समुद्रहति म-
 [66] हामास्यश्रीनौवितकवसैदः । महासाधिपिपहीकश्रीरिविभट्टः । भांडागा-
 [67] रेप्रथमच्छेण (पा) दीनेनमहाप्रधानश्रीमहादेवैवप्रभुः । द्वितीयच्छेपादी-
 [68] सेनप्रधानश्रीसोमणैयप्रभुः । एवमादिश्रीकरणे प्रवर्तमाने स च म-
 [69] हामंडलेस्वरा (रः) श्रीमदनंतदेवराजः सर्वान्ये (ने) व स्वसेवद्वयमानकान् अन्यान-
 [70] पि राजपुत्रमंत्रिपुरोहितामान्यप्रधानान्यधाननियोगिका (कां) स्वथाराष्ट्रपति
 [71] विषयपतिनगरपतियामपतिनियुक्तानियुक्तराजपुरुषजनपदा (दां)
 [72] स्तथाहं जमननगरपौरतृ (त्रि) वर्गप्रभूतींश्च प्रणतिपूजासत्कारसमादे-
 [73] तैः सैः सैदितयस्तु वः संविदितं यथा ॥ सकनृपकाजवीतसंकरदशस-
 [74] तेषु षोडशाधिकेषु भावसंवत्सरांतर्गतमाघसुद्धप्रतिपदायां यत्रां-
 [75] कतोपि समवत् १०१६ महामंडलीकश्रीमदनंतदेवेन श्रीमद्वलिपव-
 [76] नीयमहाप्रधानदुर्गेश्विषुतमहाप्रधानश्रीभामण्येष्ठिनस्वजा-
 [77] तामहासांभिदि (वि) प्रहीकश्रीधनमश्वेष्ठिनः तयोर्पुत्रप्रवहणं श्रीस्थान-
 [78] कतथानागपुरत (तु) र्परिकचेमुल्यादिषु वेलाकुलेषु चतुर्दशसत-
 [79] कुंकणाभ्यंतरेषु यं (! य) प्रवहणं समागच्छति तस्य यत्सुकं नौरिककर्म-
 [80] करानां (णा) मपि प्रवेत्ते निर्गमेपि श्रीकुंकणचक्रवर्तिना श्रीमदनंतदे-
 [81] न (व) राजा सीलारदत्तताम्र (!) सासननिबद्धं सुत्तं परित्यक्तं ॥ तत्पु-
 [82] त्रपौत्रादीमां (नां) स्वेष्टिपाणमश्वेष्ठिकुडुकलश्वेष्टिमालैयादीना-
 [83] मपि प्रतिपालनीयं ॥ उवा (पा) गितं चैतत् श्रीधरपंडितेन रायशर (!) स्मि-
 [84] तेन कुंकणचक्रवर्तिनं श्रीमदनंतदेवं समारापयिवा ॥ ००० ॥

Translation.

May that Chief of the Ganas (*Ganapati*) protect you from harm, who is honoured with worship in all undertakings, and who destroys obstacles.

May that Śiva always protect you, on

whose crest glistens the Ganges like a clear digit of the moon rising over the summit of Samera.

Jī m ū t a v ā h a n a, the son of Jī m ū t a k e t u, is renowned in the three worlds as ever humane; for verily, treating his own body as

a blade of grass for the sake of another, he rescued Śaṅkhaśūṇḍa from Garuḍa.⁸

In his family was born the prince Kapardī, an ornament of the Śīlāra dynasty, whose clean footstool was streaked with the beams of the fresh jewels in the diadems of all kings of the earth, and who was bold like Śrī Śāhasāṅka.⁹

To him was born a son, named Palaśakti, who was, as it were, the utmost limit of the polity proclaimed by the Preceptor of the Gods,⁷ and who having vanquished the whole multitude of his foes in the midst of the battle-field, reigned over the earth unmolested.

He had a son Kapardī the younger,⁸ the head-ornament of kings, who was, as it were, a second sharp goad to his elephant-like enemies, and whose glory rendered the universe so excessively white,⁹ that the elephant of the gods, the moon, and the milky ocean shone not (*before it*).

To him, too, was born a son, Śrī Vatspuṣṭa,¹⁰ an ornament of the lords of the earth, who was the seat of great splendour, who had purified the entire sphere of the earth, and who, sporting in the battle-field, cut off with his sword one tusk of his adversaries' elephants, and rendered them devoid of musters.¹¹

He had a son, the king Zanṣa, worthy of praise, who delighted all people like the moon, and destroyed all evil like the sun who destroys night,¹² and who in his own name erected full twelve temples¹³ of Śambhu, which were steps methinks for (*the use of*) those suppliants of his who were labouring on the path to heaven.

Then came his brother Śrī Goggi, the brilliant mass of whose glory was spread (*in all directions*), who had lit up the whole sphere of the earth, who was powerful among the men of

power, and on whose engaging in the work of drawing his bow in the battle, Bhishma, Droṇa, the son of Prithā,¹⁴ and others were all cast into the shade.

To him was born a son, the illustrious Vajjaḍādeva, whose renown was noised about owing to his astonishing and attractive exploits, who was the head-ornament of the circle of the earth,¹⁵ and upon whose bosom, his strength being in his arm, the goddess of royal splendour, suddenly appearing of her own accord in the midst of the battle-field, enjoyed pleasure as (*on the bosom*) of Mūrāri.¹⁶

To him was born an illustrious and righteous son, Aparājita, like Jayanta to Indra, like Kārtikeya¹⁷ to Śiva. He was Karṇa himself in munificence, Yudhisṭhira in veracity, the brilliant sun in prowess, and the staff of Kālā to his foes.¹⁸ Victorious is he who protected in this world subordinate chiefs who came for shelter, and others also¹⁹—the king, who deserves his name of 'adamantine cage for those who come for shelter'.²⁰ In various ways, he welcomed Goma, when he came; he alone confirmed to the name of Aiyapadēva the sovereignty which had been shaken; he afforded security to the kings Bhīlāmāmanamambudha.²¹ What more need be said of that king Rāma bearing the title Śrī?

After him came the illustrious head-jewel of kings, his son Vajjaḍādeva, well versed in polity, whose exploits all people even yet extol with their bodies clothed, as it were, with hair standing on end.

Then came his brother the king Arikasari, respected by the good, who played the part of the thunderbolt in the destruction of his proud foes, who were like the great mountains

⁸ This story forms the subject of the *Nityānanda Nāṭka*, translated by Mr. P. Boyd. See also *Tree and Serpent Worship* pp. 169–170; *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. pp. 148, 149.

⁹ See as to Śāhasāṅka, Hall's *Vāsanatattva* Introd. p. 18. ¹⁰ i.e. Bṛhaspati, to whom a work on the science of Politics is attributed. See *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* vol. VII. p. 68; and also *Panchatantra* (Bombay, Sanskrit series) Tantra iv. p. 7 line 10, and note thereon.

¹¹ This is the first exception I have seen to the general usage complained of by Mr. Fergusson. *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* (N. S.) vol. IV. p. 66.

¹² Glory or fame with our poets is always white. Cf. *Raghavachar.* II. 29. The elephant of Indra is also white.

¹³ See *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 277 note.

¹⁴ There appears to be a double entendre here. Viṇḍyaka means both devoid of musters, and Gopaspati, who is supposed to have only one tooth.

¹⁵ Here is another double entendre.

¹⁶ Pañḍit Bhagvānāli tells me that he has seen ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

used in this sense elsewhere. To me this sense of the word is quite new.

¹⁷ This phrase is a very common one.

¹⁸ i.e. Viṣṇu, his wife being Śrī or Lakṣmī—the goddess of splendour.

¹⁹ Kālā means Yama—the God of Death, one of whose names is Daṇḍadhara, the holder of the staff.

²⁰ The original is somewhat obscure here.

²¹ This appears to have been a title of the Śīlāras. But see also *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* vol. V. p. 170, Inscription No. viii., and Major Graham's *Kolhapur*, Insc. No. 17, p. 457, where the inscription belongs to the same family as Wathen's inscription.

²² This is conjectured to refer to Bombay (*Asiat. Res.* vol. I. p. 358). I do not understand the original. Some light may, possibly, be derived from *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 63. Yule's *Murco Polo*, vol. II. p. 331. A Rājā Bhīlāmā of Dēvāgiri (S. 1110–1115) is mentioned in Wathen's Inscription No. 9. And see *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* vol. V. p. 178; *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. IV. p. 164; and *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 366.

of the universe;²² and who, even in childhood, having with (his) army gone to and visited Somāśvara, offered up²³ before him the whole earth by direction of his father, and then returned.

Then Śrī Chhittarāja, the son of his brother, Vajjadādeva, became king, who being himself an exalted personage, even though a child, greatly exalted the Silāra dynasty. The wives of his antagonists, who were cut down by his unsheathed sharp sword, had, owing to him, their hair hanging loose, their necklaces fallen off from the vicinity of the edges of their breasts, and their eyes devoid of collyrium.²⁴ His fame, like a creeper, climbs the universe which is like a shed, as if it had been reared up by being watered with the tears of the women of his destroyed enemies.

Then his younger brother Nāgārjuna became king, who, in his anger, was like the fire of destruction to his proud foes, and in gracefulness like Kṛiṣṇa to the courtezans,²⁵ and on hearing of whose superhuman and excessive strength of arm, the itching of the arms of his enemies for the battle-field goes, as it were, to sleep. The guardian elephants of the several quarters²⁶ of the universe do not open their eyes, having their flow of rut-water dried up by the wind blowing over the rut-water of the intoxicated *Gandha* elephants²⁷ in his matchless camp, and having their eyes closed through fear, in consequence of the spreading of the excessive volumes of smoke enveloping all the quarters which issued from the conflagration of the cities of his enemies.

After him his younger brother Mummuni became king, who was Cupid himself incarnate,²⁸

who had destroyed the power of his enemies, and on whose taking up his bow after the ceremony of waving lights before the horses, even the mighty Indra cast aside his yearly bow.²⁹ Upon that king assuming an excellent body of renown,³⁰ Anantapāla, the son of Nāgārjuna, conversant with the whole circle of politics, whose body was purified by the highest piety, and who was an ornament of the princes of the Silāra family, became king. With the wind-like force of his arm (?) he cast into the ocean of the edge of his sword³¹ those wicked heaps of sin³² who at a time of misfortune from relatives that had become hostile, having obtained power, devastated this whole Koṅkan district, by harassing gods³³ and Brāhmanas; and then he a friend of the lord of . . . stamped his own fame on the face of the moon.³⁴ While that moon-like prince, who is a wish-giving jewel to his friends, who is a Cupid pleasing to the sight of the fawn-eyed ones, who is the one hero of the world, is righteously protecting the whole sphere of the earth, after having rid it of enemies:—

Now in the happy and victorious reign of the illustrious Anantadēva, the chief of the Mahāmandalāvaras, who by means of his own spiritual merit has obtained the five great titles,³⁵ who is the chief of the great Sāmantas (*sub-ordinate chiefs*), who is born in the family of Jimūtavāhana, the Silāra prince, lord of the excellent city of Tagara, who boasts of the standard of the Golden Eagle,³⁶ the lord (?) of Lankā, nonchalant in the great ocean . . . the Fire of Destruction in his wrath . . . who is adorned with all the royal titles³⁷—

²² These are said to be seven. See *Mahābhārata*, Bhishma Parva (Bomb. Ed.) p. 8; and the reference given at *Ind. Ant.* vol. V, p. 157.

²³ Literally fastened (?). See remarks on this *infra*.

²⁴ These are all marks of widowhood.

²⁵ i.e. among the Gopas of Gokul as applied to Kṛiṣṇa.

²⁶ The eight quarters, east, south-east, south, &c., each of which is supposed to have a guardian elephant.

²⁷ This is the highest kind of elephants, supposed to give out a special smell, from which the name.

²⁸ Cupid himself is 'bodiless.' See the story in *Kuśāra Saubhāra*, canto IV.

²⁹ Cf. *Raghu*, IV. 25. The ceremony is still performed on the Dāsārā day, which is regarded as the auspicious day for setting out on an expedition. The 'yearly bow' is the rainbow.

³⁰ i.e. on his death.

³¹ A common expression, cf. *Vishvarūpa*, Act III.

³² Or reading the original differently, as it may be read,—"those heaps of fearful injustice."

³³ The temples, &c. of the gods, that is to say.

³⁴ This appears to be some hyperbole about the moon's spots, like those of which our poets have a large number.

³⁵ See *Jour. Bo. Dr. R. As. Soc.* vol. X, p. 345; and *Ind. Ant.* vol. V, p. 251.

³⁶ This is the device of the Silāras, and appears on the seal

of Dr. Bühler's Plate, *Ind. Ant.* vol. V, p. 276. Dr. Barnell (*S. Ind. Palaeogr.* p. 75a) seems not to have been aware of this. But see now *Ibid.* (2nd ed.) 107. At p. 381 of *Graham's Kolhapur* (Government Selections) the device is alluded to in the phrase *Soverain Agorocodadharaj*. Sir Walter Elliot (*Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV, p. 34) says: "It is remarkable that both the Yadva and the Silāra had adopted the golden Garuda as their ensign, which the prince seems unwilling to allow to his feudatory." One of the other titles in the text is *राजपितामह* which occurs in Wathen's Inscription No. X, p. 2 line 5. See also *Asiatic Researches* vol. I, pp. 359. In Wathen's Inscription No. X, the expression *महर्षिराजपितामह*, also occurs; in Dr. Bühler's (*Ind. Ant.* vol. V, p. 278) *महर्षिराजपितामह*. May *राजपितामह* then mean 'like a Brahmadēva among kings,'—(this, I find, is Wathen's rendering, see *J. R. A. S.* vol. V, p. 156)—first among kings? The next expression to this I cannot make out.

³⁷ Dr. Bühler renders this by "splendour amongst the row of rajas" (*J. R. B. R. A. S.* vol. IX, p. 219). The expression occurs at *J. R. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII, p. 7; *J. R. A. S.* vol. V, Inscriptions No. 7 and No. 9; *J. L. S. of Bombay* vol. III, p. 318 (2nd sheet); *Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII, p. 94; and Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Reports* vol. VI, Plate 21. At *J. R. B. R. A. S.* vol. XIII, p. 3, the expression is *राजपितामह*.

Lord of the Western Ocean, the grandfather of the king, adamantine cage for those come for shelter³³ and so forth—and who rules over the whole of the Koṅkaṇ district, including fourteen hundred villages of which the chief is Purī; and embracing many provinces acquired by his own arm: while the great Minister Śrī Nauvita Vāsūda bears the burden of anxieties about this kingdom,³⁴ and the great Minister of peace and war is his hikaṭṭa, while in the first rank at the Treasury is the great Minister Pādhī-sena³⁵ Śrī Mahādēvaiya Prabhu, while in the second rank is the Minister Śrī Somaṇaiya Prabhu; while such is the ruling administration,³⁶ that illustrious Mahā-maṇḍalēśvara king Anantadēva, announces with salutations, honour, respect, and directions, to all princes, councillors, priests, ministers, principal and subordinate officers,—both those connected with himself and others,³⁷ as also all heads of *rāṣṭras*, heads of *viśayas*,³⁸ heads of towns, heads of villages, royal officials specially appointed or not,³⁹ country people, as well as townspeople of the town Hanjamana⁴⁰ of the three classes, and so forth; “Be it known to you, that on the first day of Māgha Śuddha, falling in the year Bhāva, one thousand and sixteen (*in figures*) 1016 years of the Śaka king having elapsed, the Mahā-maṇḍalika, the illustrious Anantadēva, the emperor of the Koṅkaṇ, has released the toll mentioned in this copper-grant given by the Śi-

lāras, in respect of every cart belonging to two persons,—the great Minister Śrī Bhabhāna Śreṣṭhī,⁴¹ the son of the great Minister Durgāśreṣṭhī of the glorious Valipavāna,⁴² and his brother Śrī Dhāṇama Śreṣṭhī, the great minister of peace and war,—which may come into any of the ports,⁴³ Śrī Sthānaka, as well as Nāgapur, Surpāraka, Chemuli, and others, included within the Koṅkaṇ Fourteen Hundred,⁴⁴ as well as the toll in respect of the ingress or egress of those who carry on the business of” This should be preserved (*i.e. continued*) also to their sons, grandsons, &c. Śreṣṭhī Pāṇama, Śreṣṭhī Kuḍukala, Śreṣṭhī Mālayya, and so forth. This has been procured by Śrīdhar Paṇḍit who is stationed at Rāyavār, and gratifies the illustrious Anantadēva, the Emperor of the Koṅkaṇ.⁴⁵

Remarks.

“The Silharas,” wrote the late Col. Meadows Taylor in 1870,⁴⁶ “were local princes, tributary to the Chālukya. Their territories lay around Kolapur, which was then their capital, and their inscriptions upon temples and copper-tablet grants prove them to have held extensive, though not perhaps independent, sway over a large portion of what is now styled the Southern Marāṭha Country. An inscription of A. D. 1135 enumerates eight successions up to the founder of the family, which would place their

³³ This title is claimed by a Chālukya, *J. R. A. S.* vol. V. Inscr. B. And cf. on all the titles *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 277.

³⁴ Cf. the expression in *J. R. A. S.* vol. V. Inscr. 8 तद्व्यम्वारवादनसमये.

³⁵ See remarks on this at *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. pp. 330-33.

³⁶ See *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 280; *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. p. 334. In Inscr. No. 9 at *J. R. A. S.* vol. V. अकारणरित्ति (last line of first page) seems to be a misreading for अकारण.

³⁷ This may apply to the words following also as well as to those that precede.

³⁸ *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. pp. 114, 115, 147, 200; also *J. R. A. S.* vol. V. p. 352; *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. X. p. 29.

³⁹ Conf. the passages referred to in the last note. Here I take निवृत्त and अनिवृत्त as adjectives to सुवृत्त which immediately follows, otherwise, it is hard to distinguish between निवृत्त and सुवृत्त. The distinction may be between those specially appointed by the Central Government and those who come in, perhaps, by right of inheritance, &c.

⁴⁰ I do not understand this. The same expression occurs at *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 278; and *Asiatic Researches* vol. I. p. 361.

⁴¹ It is noteworthy that the grantees are described as at once ‘Ministers’ and ‘Śreṣṭhīs.’

⁴² Bhāṭṭa also, the exceptor of the great Chāṭya at Kāśī, is both a *Śeṣ* or *Śreṣṭhī*, and *Vijayantī*—‘protector of the flag.’—Ed.

⁴³ The name here should apparently be Valipattana; conf. *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. I. p. 277 (?) and in an unpublished photo of which I have been furnished only with a transcript and not

the original—which belongs to the branch of the Silharas to which the plate at *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. I. p. 217 also belongs—and which is further similar to that plate in commencing with the *Rāshtrakūṭa* and ending with the Silharas, one of the princes is described as अविशेषाकृतं रम्यं योऽकृतदलिपन्नम्, which indicates that अविशेषाकृतं was on the sea-coast. In another passage in the same plate, the place is called अविशेषम्. May it be identified with the Palapatma, or better, perhaps, the Palpatma—mentioned respectively in the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* and in Ptolemy? See *Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII. p. 145.

⁴⁴ The original is वेल्हकृत, which Paṇḍit Bhāṭṭaśālī first told me signifies ‘port.’ The word occurs in the line quoted in the last note.

⁴⁵ *i.e.* villages of course. See Mr. Fleet’s inscriptions in this *Journal* *passim*. The original here as well as in the last sentence in the plate reads Kanaka instead of Koṅkaṇ as in an earlier stanza. See as to the Koṅkaṇ—Nairna, p. 1; Yule’s *Marco Polo* vol. II. p. 331; *Cathay* vol. I. p. cxxxiii of sep and cox; and *Journ. Asiat.* ser. IV. tom. IV. p. 251, again referred to *supra*; and *Vérilés Sanskrit* XIV. 12, quoted by Dr. Bühn Dējī at *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. VII. p. 69; and *Ind. Ant.* VII. 162.

⁴⁶ The original is नैरिक which I do not understand. Can it have any connexion with the Marāṭhi word नैरि ? and can it mean something like ‘a carrier of goods by sea?’

⁴⁷ It is remarkable that this plate contains none of those extracts from the Mahādēvata which are usual in such documents, and even in similar grants of the same dynasty. I do not know how this is to be accounted for.

⁴⁸ *Student’s Manual of the History of India*, p. 71.

origin about 907 A. D." In the light of the information which we now possess, this is not altogether accurate. And, indeed, it is obvious that Colonel Taylor in this passage only refers to one branch of the Silāra²² dynasty—the branch to which the various inscriptions found in and about Kolhāpur appertain. There are, however, three different branches of that dynasty, disclosed in the various documents at present accessible. These documents were discussed pretty fully by Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl Indrājī in a paper in the *Jour. Bombay Br. R. Asiatic Society* (1877), vol. XIII. pp. 1ff. He there distinguishes three different branches of this dynasty, which, nevertheless, appear to have flourished contemporaneously. The grant before us belongs to the first branch of Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl. And the series of kings, as it appears in this grant, is as follows:—



²² This name appears in sundry different forms in the various inscriptions which we now possess. In the Plate at *Jour. Ind. Soc. of Bombay* vol. III. p. 429, the form is Silāra. In Dr. Bühler's Plate the form is Silāra as well as Silāra. In Wuthen's Plate No. IV. (*J. R. A. S.* vol. IV. p. 281) the forms are Silāra (query whether this is a mistake in the engraving or in the decipherment?) and Silāra. In our own plate, it is Silāra and Silāra, (which may be the same); Silāra, which occurs once, is probably a mere slip. See also *J. R. A. S.* vol. I. p. 217; *J. R. A. S.* vol. II. pp. 384, 394; vol. IV. p. 110 and note there, and p. 114 where an explanation of the name is suggested. Mr. Nairne always calls the dynasty the Silāra dynasty. It may be here added that Dr. Da Cunha seems not to be correct in his observations on "the Tagara, and the Silāra" at *J. R. A. S.* vol. XII. p. 61, in speaking of the two as distinct and of one as a branch of the other. In truth, Tagara is not the name of a dynasty at all.

²³ Prof. H. H. Wilson's remark on this prince at *J. R. A. S.* vol. IV. p. 100, note, is incorrect; cf. also *J. R. A. S.* (N. S.) vol. IV. p. 83.

It will be observed that this coincides with what is deducible from Dr. Bühler's Plate,²³ so far as it goes. The first king of this series—for Jimūtavāhana and Jimūtaketa cannot be looked upon as historical,—would appear to have flourished somewhere about the beginning of the 9th century of the Christian era. The third king Kapardi II. is identified by Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl with the "Kapardi... meditating on the feet of Palaśakti," who is mentioned in two of the Kapheri Inscriptions,²⁴ and the identification may be accepted without hesitation. It affords a very safe and tangible basis for the chronology of the Silāra dynasty. Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl gives the Śaka year 735 as the date of the first Kapardi. That appears to be an inference from the date of the second Kapardi, allowing twenty years a-piece to his two predecessors. The inference is not inadmissible, especially having regard to the fact that the Kapheri Inscription of Śaka 775 speaks of the already flourishing and victorious reign of Kapardi II. It is not unlikely, indeed, that the reign of Kapardi I. commenced somewhat earlier even than the year 735 of the Śaka era.

Of the kings who came after Kapardi II. none requires any notice here till we come to Aparājita the son of Vajjaḍadōva. With regard to him Dr. G. Bühler writes as follows²⁵: "It is also probable that a king has been omitted between Aparājita and Vajjaḍadōva II., or at least the real name of Aparājita has been left out, for the verse in which the names of Kēśidōva and Vajjaḍadōva occur is mutilated." There is no reason, however, to suppose any such omission in our plate as there is in that on

²⁴ *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 276.

²⁵ *J. R. A. S.* vol. XIII. pp. 11, 12.

²⁶ *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 277. A remark ought to be made on king Zanza. He appears to be the king mentioned by the Arabian geographer Masūdī as reigning at Saimur in 916 A.D. Masūdī states that there were 10,000 Muslims in Saimur, and that the kings were under the Bahāra, and had the title of Zandī when he visited the place. (B. de Meynard and P. de Courtille, *Les Peuples d'Or*, tom. II. pp. 85-87; Belmont, *Moslems in India*, p. 220.) Dr. Da Cunha's identification of Masūdī's "Jauja" with the Silāra "Śai Chhinmāra Rājā" (*J. R. A. S.* vol. XII. p. 55) is not correct on this, if on no other ground, that whereas Jauja lived in 916 A.D., "Chhinmāra Rājā" lived in 1027 A.D. I may take this opportunity of stating that I am indebted to Dr. Da Cunha's papers in the *J. R. A. S.* for references to some of the authorities relied upon in this paper. Other of the references I obtained from Mr. Nairne's Kolhāpur, from which Dr. Da Cunha also seems to have got some of his information.

which these observations were made. And although the number of stanzas devoted to Aparājita is relatively larger than the number devoted to any of the other princes except Chhittarāja and Anantadēva; and although, too, there is some little doubt as to the meaning of a part of one of these stanzas; still there is nothing here to suggest the existence of any prince in the series between the two Vajjaḍadēvas, other than the one prince described in the stanzas in question. It may, perhaps, also be noted as a point leading to the same inference, that the second Vajjaḍadēva was, in all likelihood, the grandson of the first;⁴⁸ and therefore, too, though it is, of course, quite possible, it is not probable, that between the two Vajjaḍadēvas, there was any other prince than the one we have mentioned in our list. What was the true name of that prince, is perhaps a question presenting somewhat greater difficulty. Dr. Bühler doubts if Aparājita is the true name. In another place, he says: "I feel somewhat doubtful about the name of this king, which alone among so many Deśi forms is pure Sanskrit. But it seems to me impossible to refer the two verses to Vajjaḍadēva II. mentioned in verse 10, and Aparājita is the only word which can be taken for a name. Perhaps it is a *biruda*."⁴⁹ I own I do not feel much pressed by the reason here given by Dr. Bühler for his conclusion. In the list above set forth by us, we have the names Aparāditya, Anantapāla or Anantadēva, Nāgārjuna, and we may add Arikēsari and Kapardi, which are Sanskrit names undoubtedly belonging to princes of the Silāra dynasty. At the same time, I agree that Aparājita is, in all likelihood, only a *biruda*. Perhaps the name is Śrī Rāma. The compound of which it forms part, viz. श्रीविहङ्गराम नृपति (the plate in the *Asiatic Researches* seems to read श्रीविहङ्गराम) is not quite explicit. And I do not think, therefore, that we are yet in a position to settle the question. But we may, I think, safely reject the translation in the *Asiatic Researches* which renders it as the 'king Śrī Birudanka'.⁵⁰ The whole stanza requires a very

considerable amount of further elucidation—for which the facts accessible to us at present are not at all adequate.

We come next to the King Arikēsari, who, we may say with certainty,⁵¹ is identical with the Keśidēva of Dr. Bühler's plate. It is not, however, easy to understand what transaction is referred to here in connexion with Somēśvara. That Somēśvara means the famous Somanāth which gave occasion in this century to one of Lord Macaulay's best orations, there can, I think, be little doubt. In a stone-slab inscription now in the possession of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and appertaining to the time of the Silāra king Aparāditya, who stands last in our list, the "God Somanāth of Surāshtra" is distinctly referred to apparently as a favourite deity of the Silāras.⁵² The grant in the *Asiatic Researches*, which is by Arikēsari himself, might have been fairly expected to help us on this point. But the stanza there appears to have been identical with the one in our plate, though the translation is very defective and erroneous.

On Chhittarāja nothing need be said, further than that, if we may safely judge from the number of stanzas referring to him in our plate, he appears to have had a living reputation even in Anantapāla's days. We next come to Nāgārjuna. He appears to be probably identical with the prince of that name referred to in inscription No. 17 among the Kolhāpur Inscriptions in the volume by Major Graham on Kolhāpur among the *Government Selections*. It is difficult to speak on the point with any confidence, because I am unable myself to read the text of the inscription, and a friend whom I consulted about it is also unable to afford me any help. I have therefore only the statement of the "substance" of the inscription in Major Graham's volume. At the same time I ought to mention, that Major Graham ranks Nāgārjuna among the rulers of one portion of "the principality of Kolhāpur"—and apparently places him between the years 1218 and 1235 A.D. But on this last point I am not quite certain.

⁴⁸ Comp. Jour. R. A. S. (N. S.) vol. IV. p. 55.

⁴⁹ Ind. Ant. vol. V. p. 250, note.

⁵⁰ The word नृपति which is clear in the plate there given is omitted in this translation. I may, perhaps, be permitted to express my concurrence with Dr. Bühler in his remarks on the paper in the *Asiatic Researches* (Ind. Ant. vol. V. p. 257). Unluckily the original plates cannot now be procured though I had inquiries made for them in Thibet.

⁵¹ Pandit Bhagvānlāl says only "may be the same."

⁵² The actual grant there appears, however, to be by one "Śrī Lakṣmaṇa Nāyaka, son of Bhāskara Nāyaka." It is not quite easy to decipher fully. The grantor is described as Mahādevya, the great minister, and the grant speaks of श्रीराजेश्वरीसोमनाथदेव. It is dated "Samvat 1160. Pūṇarvāsī caturthī Chaitra Śukla, 8 Sunday."

The next prince in the line is M u m m u ṇ i, as he is called in the plate before us. In the Ambarnāth inscription which records a grant made by a king of the Silāra dynasty the king calls himself M ā m v ā ṇ i.⁶³ It is not, I think, a very bold proceeding to identify that M ā m v ā ṇ i with our M u m m u ṇ i. The dates are not against the identification, and perhaps M ā m v ā ṇ i was the real name of the king, which was altered for the sake of the metre into the more smooth and euphonious one which we find in the plate before us. If this identification is correct, Dr. Bühler's suggestion,⁶⁴ that the correct name of this prince is V ā ṇ i, appears to be untenable.

There are one or two other points also, of some importance, which our plate enables us to determine finally. Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl, in his remarks on the Ambarnāth Inscription, had suggested that M ā m v ā ṇ i was probably the son or successor of C h h i t t a r ā j a.⁶⁵ When that suggestion was made, the materials for deciding the point were very far from being full. Our plate, however, now settles the question, in a way that, equally with Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl's suggestion, accounts for the facts on which that suggestion was based. Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl, in the paper referred to, argued from the identity of names of one of the officers mentioned in the Ambarnāth Inscription and in Dr. Bühler's plate, that M ā m v ā ṇ i was probably a son or successor of C h h i t t a r ā j a. A similar argument may be used in support of our identification of M u m m u ṇ i and M ā m v ā ṇ i. For the First Lord of the Treasury, if we may so call him, in M ā m v ā ṇ i's time—M a h ā d ē v a y y a⁶⁶—continues to hold the same office, at the time of our plate also, a circumstance strongly indicative of a close chronological propinquity between M ā m v ā ṇ i and Anantapāla. It is also to be noted here, that the high offices of state, mentioned in our plate as having been held by Mahādēvayya and the others, appear to have been enjoyed by these "southerners" for a very considerable period. For we see some *ayyas* mentioned as far back as in the grant of A r i k ē s a r i in the *Asiatic Researches*,⁶⁷ which is the

earliest we have among the grants that record details about the period to which they belong. The next prince in our series is Anantapāla or Anantadēva, the grantor in the plate before us. The civil strife, which is referred to in the verses devoted to him, is one about which no other information is at present accessible, unless, indeed, it was the beginning of that conflict which is referred to in a boast made in the grant published in the *Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society*.⁶⁸ With reference to that grant, Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl says:—"The Vijayārka dēva of this branch is described as having re-established the sovereignty of the dethroned kings of the province of Sthāṇaka and G o a. This shows that he restored the lost power of the two branches of his dynasty, viz., the first at T h ā ṇ ā, and the second at G o a."⁶⁹ The original fully bears this out. Vijayārka, however, appears to have reigned about the Śaka year 1065. The occurrences, therefore, to which reference is made in our plate cannot have been those in which Vijayārka took part. But it is not impossible that, although Anantapāla boasts of having rid the country of his foes, who appear to have been some of his own kinsmen—*dāyāda*—there may have been a renewal of the disturbances after the Śaka year 1016, resulting in that misfortune to the T h ā ṇ ā Silāras from which Vijayārka rescued them. But, on the other hand, we cannot, in the present state of our materials, come to any conclusion on these questions.

Of the period between Anantapāla and Aparāditya, the last prince mentioned in our series, we know at present very little. Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl in 1877 thought, that the gap between M ā m v ā ṇ i r ā j a and Aparāditya in the genealogy of the first branch, might be accounted for by the destruction of the sovereign power above alluded to.⁷⁰ We have seen, however, that the gap is not so large a one as the Paṇḍit supposed. Our plate brings our information down to the Śaka year 1016. Aparāditya appears to have reigned⁷¹ in the Śaka year 1100. How long before that year his reign had commenced it is not yet possible to

⁶³ J. B. B. R. A. S., vol. XII., p. 332.

⁶⁴ J. B. B. R. A. S., vol. XII., extra No., p. 52.

⁶⁵ J. B. B. R. A. S., vol. XII., p. 332.

⁶⁶ J. B. B. R. A. S., vol. XII., p. 333.

⁶⁷ *As. Res.*, vol. I. pp. 361, 364, 367.

⁶⁸ Vol. III. p. 420.

⁶⁹ J. B. B. R. A. S., vol. XIII., p. 17.

⁷⁰ J. B. B. R. A. S., vol. XIII., p. 17. Compare also extra No. to vol. XII., p. 52 (Dr. Bühler).

⁷¹ The suggestion of Prof. Wilson (J. R. A. S., vol. II. p. 387) repeated by Mr. Nairne (*Konkan* p. 7), and by Dr. DeCunha (J. B. B. R. A. S., vol. XII. p. 54) is now entirely negatived by the information given by Dr. Bühler.

say—as both the Parel Inscription and the stone slab inscription already mentioned as being in the possession of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society are dated in the same year. Dr. Bühler's *Account of his Tour in Kāśmīr* affords us, however, some further information on this point. For it appears that a work composed in Kāśmīr between 1135 and 1145 A.D. makes reference to an "ambassador of Aparāditya, king of the Koṣkaṇa,"¹² named Tējakaṇṭha, being then in Kāśmīr. If so, I think, we may safely assume that Aparāditya cannot have commenced to reign much later than 1135 A.D. or 1057 of the Śaka era.¹³ And then the hiatus in our Silāra lists appears to be reduced to very modest dimensions, indeed, viz., scarcely forty years.

If these arguments and conclusions are correct, it is difficult to treat the boast of Vijayārka in Dr. Taylor's Inscription as of any greater value than a rhetorical flourish. At the best, it can be only a very great exaggeration of a very small historical fact. For see how the case stands:—According to Dr. Bühler's account, which appears from our present materials to be perfectly correct, Aparāditya must have succeeded to the throne in any case before the Śaka year 1060,¹⁴ and he appears to have still been on the throne in the Śaka year 1109. Now Gaṇḍarāditya, the immediate predecessor of the Vijayārka who claims to have re-established the Thāpā Silāras on their throne, certainly reigned till the Śaka year 1058. The first document of Vijayārka's reign that is accessible to us is dated in the Śaka year 1065.¹⁵ Vijaya therefore cannot have begun to reign much if at all before Aparāditya. The last date in his reign that we know of is the Śaka year 1073, and the first in that of his successor Bhojadeva II. is 1101, so that his reign must have closed at least eight years prior to that of Aparāditya. We have, therefore, this result:—The whole period of the reign of this Vijayārka, who claims to have re-established the Thāpā Silāras, is itself covered, or nearly covered, by the

reign of one of these Silāras themselves. There are then, it seems to me, three alternative explanations of these facts:—either there was a revolution in the kingdom of Śrīsthānaka between the Śaka years 1058 and 1066; or the statement in Bhojadeva's plate is a mere rhetorical flourish having little or no historical basis; or Aparāditya does not belong to this branch of the Silāra dynasty. The third alternative may, I think, be summarily rejected, both on the grounds adduced by Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl,¹⁶ and on the grounds of the connexion of this Aparāditya with the town of Thāpā,¹⁷ and the coincidence of sundry expressions in Dr. Bühler's plate with expressions in the Parel Inscription and the stone slab inscription obtained at Thāpā, now in the possession of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. The facts stated by Dr. Bühler¹⁸ in his account of his Kāśmīr tour also corroborate that conclusion. The first alternative also appears to me, I own, upon the facts set forth above, an extremely doubtful one. The second alternative appears to be the least improbable of the three. It is not necessary to reject the statement in Bhojadeva's grant as altogether a myth and unhistorical. It is, perhaps, only an exaggerated statement out of compliment to the grantor's line of the success afforded by Vijayārka to his brethren at Thāpā in some local, possibly dynastic, disturbance, such as is referred to in our plate in the verses devoted to Anantapāla. I must add that there are two other possibilities not covered by the alternatives mentioned, viz., that Aparāditya himself may not have had an uninterrupted reign, or that Dr. Bühler's date for the Kāśmīr work to which he refers may be erroneous. No evidence is available on either point, and we must leave both here without further discussion.

We have now gone through the whole series of princes of the Silāra dynasty at present known to us. The series appears to be complete save for the period intervening between the reign of Anantapāla and Aparāditya.¹⁹ If

¹² See *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. (extra No.) p. 51, 52.

¹³ This doubtless makes Aparāditya's reign a very long one—being upwards of 52 years. But there is nothing unlikely in one individual prince in a long line reigning more even than 52 years, like George III. of England or Louis XIV. of France.

¹⁴ The latest date to which Dr. Bühler attributes the Kāśmīr work alluded to above.

¹⁵ See *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. XIII., p. 16.

¹⁶ *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. p. 336.

¹⁷ Which is expressly mentioned in the stone-slab inscription referred to.

¹⁸ *J. B. R. A. S.* (Extra No.) vol. XII. pp. 51, 52.

¹⁹ Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl has already adduced reasons for supposing this Aparāditya or Aparārka to be the same who has given his name to the well-known commentary on Yājñavalkya (*J. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. p. 335; see, too, Extra No. p. 52). Dr. Bühler has pointed out that Aparārka is cited by an author of the beginning of the 13th century (*J. B. R. A. S.* vol. IX. p. 161).

one may judge from the evidence now available, it is probable that there were two kings between those two. But upon this point, and on the point relating to the revolution above referred to, further materials must be awaited.

There is one question of considerable interest which is now satisfactorily settled by the plate before us. In 1869, the late learned Dr. Bhāu Dīkṣi, having read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society a paper regarding the inscription at Ambarnāth, a short discussion took place concerning the date of that inscription and of the Ambarnāth Temple. Mr. Burgess pointed out the architectural difficulty in accepting the date of the inscription, as read by Dr. Bhāu, as giving the correct date of the Temple, and he referred also to Mr. Fergusson's opinion on the point. Dr. Bhāu dissented from these opinions, and expressed himself to the effect, that from the character of the letters, he would assign the Inscription—and consequently the Temple also—to the ninth century³⁰ A. D. In 1876 Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl gave us a revised transcript of the Inscription, and made out the date to be 982 instead of 782 as Dr. Bhāu Dīkṣi had read it.³¹ And in the discussion upon the Paṇḍit's paper, I am reported as having observed "that there was no doubt about the numerals in the first (viz., the Ambarnāth) inscription"—the date arrived at being confirmed by an unpublished plate in my possession.³² That plate is the one which forms the subject of these remarks. It is now quite plain that since Anantapāla flourished in the Śaka year 1016, his predecessor and uncle could not have reigned as early as Śaka 782, but must have reigned somewhere about Śaka 982. Accepting that latter reading of the date, Mr. Fergusson's and Mr. Burgess's views about the date of the Temple receive most remarkable confirmation. Mr. Burgess, on the occasion in question, also pointed out that the style of architecture of the Ambarnāth Temple associated it with the Temple of Somanāth.

That, too, appears to me to be an important circumstance, having regard to the reference to Somanāth in the plate before us, and in the Thāpā inscription of Aparāditya. We shall have to say a word on this subject in the sequel.

Two lessons of general application for the future may, I think, be derived from these facts. The first is, that chronological inferences based merely on the character of the writing in old documents must be accepted with very considerable caution. The tendency towards regarding that as the all-important element—in such investigations, is to be observed in sundry quarters.³³ The second lesson is, that inferences derivable from the style of architecture of any building are entitled to considerable weight in chronological³⁴ inquiries—as much weight, I should say, as inferences from the style of writing in copperplates and inscriptions.

A point of considerable interest connected with this dynasty is raised by the title which all branches of it seem to have retained—viz., *Taḡarapuravarādhikāra*. That title finds a parallel, among others, in the title of the Kadambas.—*Banavāsipurādhikāra*.³⁵ Probably the original stock from which the three branches of the Silāras afterwards branched out belonged to the city of Taḡara. What is that city? Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl, after an elaborate examination of Colonel Wilford's suggestion on this point, dissents from it, and identifies Taḡara with the modern Junnar.³⁶ I do not find much difficulty in agreeing with the negative side of Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl's reasoning; but as respects the positive portion of it, I own that though there is a good deal in the arguments he adduces, I cannot persuade myself that he has satisfactorily surmounted the initial difficulty in his theory, viz., that whereas Junnar is to the west of Paithāna, Taḡara is stated by Arrian (as quoted by Col. Wilford) to be towards the east

³⁰ J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. IX. p. cxxviii. et seq. Mr. Fergusson and Mr. Burgess's estimate of the age both of the characters of the inscription and of the Temple appears, from the facts we now know, to have been much more correct. See also J. B. B. R. A. S. (N. S.) IV. p. 137 note.

³¹ J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. XI. p. 331.

³² Ibid., p. xxiv.

³³ See Cunningham's *Bhilar Topes* p. 206; *Transactions of the Intern. Congr. of Orientalists* pp. 302–303; *Ind. Ant.* vol. p. III. p. 267.

³⁴ As to this see Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Reports*, vol. VII. p. 57–58.

³⁵ See on this *Journal*, B. B. R. A. S. vol. XII. p. 305.

³⁶ J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. XIII. p. 8. It is interesting to note in connexion with this proposed identification, that in the early days of Muhammadan rule in this part of the country Junnar was the capital of a district which included some part of the Kōḷāsa (see Nairna, p. 27). The head quarters of the army which conquered the district had also been at Junnar (Nairna, p. 25); *Ind. Ant.* vol. II., p. 43 ff.; and *conf. Arch. Surv. R. Ind.* vol. III. pp. 54, 55.

of Paithana. Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl may be right, and perhaps further materials will show that he is right, in thinking that Arrian made a slip in saying "east" when he should have said "west." All I say at present is, that the identification which proceeds on the basis of such a slip having been committed does not yet satisfy my mind.⁸⁷

While on this subject of Tagara, we may, perhaps, refer here to the other matters of geographical interest in the plate. The first interesting name to be noted is Śrīsthānaka, which has been satisfactorily identified with Thānā. Thānā appears in former days, from sundry other authorities, to have been a place of very much greater note than it is now, having been a port of considerable trade⁸⁸ till the times even of the Musalmans. Ālīrūnī appears to speak of it under the name of Tala, which he says was the capital of the Kōṅkaṇ, and the Kōṅkaṇ, we may observe *en passant*, is distinguished by Ālīrūnī from the country of the Marāṭhā.⁸⁹

The next name to note is Purī, which has been identified by some with Thānā, but this identification has been dissented from.⁹⁰ Our plate certainly does not support the identification, while its mention of both Purī and Śrīsthānaka⁹¹ may be regarded as some, though not very strong, evidence against it. I can say nothing about Hanjamāṇa,⁹² or Rāyavāra; and about Nāgapur, I can only suggest it as probable, that it may be identical with a village

near Alibāg—between Alibāg and Rēvadaṇḍī—named Nāgānva, which is substituted by syncope for Nāgānūv, or Nāgagrāma, the same as Nāgapur. Or, may not Nāgapur have something to do with Nāgōthpēṣ? In any case the modern Nāgapur of the Bhoṣlās is not to be thought of. I have not found the Nāgapur of our plate referred to anywhere else. Sarpāraka, as our plate seems to have it, is probably only a miscopy for Sarpāraka⁹³—the modern Sopārā near Bassein. It is a place of considerable antiquity, being in all likelihood the same as the Sopārā of the Nāsik inscriptions.⁹⁴ Sopārā under various disguises of name is familiar to the medieval travellers and geographers. Chemulī⁹⁵ is almost certainly the modern Chenul, or, as it has been sometimes called, Chanl. This place has a history extending over several centuries, going back, indeed, even as far apparently as the times of Ptolemy, who mentions it under the name Simylla⁹⁶ and Timoulla. From the various disguises which the name had assumed in the works of foreign geographers and travellers—such as Ptolemy, Hiwen Thsang, and Ālīrūnī—Col. Yule had said "that the old name was something like Chaimul or Chanul."⁹⁷ This happy guess is fully corroborated by our plate, and the identification of the place with Chanl,⁹⁸ also suggested by Col. Yule, may be accepted, more especially having regard to the current native pronunciation of the name.

We come lastly to Someśvara, which, as we have already pointed out, may safely be iden-

I. p. 321, vol. II. p. 96. On all these points the wise, though, perhaps, heterodox remarks of Col. Yule (*Cathay*, vol. II. p. 418) may be of practical moment.

⁸⁷ See *Trans. Ind. Congr. of Orient.* p. 328. It may be interesting to note, that Sarpāraka is mentioned in the *Vana Parva* of the *Mahābhārata* as a "most holy" place, where the Pāṇḍavas spent some time on their way from the Dravida Country to Prabhāsa (see chap. 118, *Bomb. ed.*).

⁸⁸ It was the Satabah of the Arab Geographers. Masūdī says it and Tanah were on the coast of Lar, and subject to the Balhara. *Prairies d'Or*, tom. I. p. 841. Ālīrūnī says it was 5 parangs from Tanah; see *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 321. It is also frequently mentioned in the *Buddha Cave inscriptions*.—Ed.

⁸⁹ At *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 320, Col. Yule expressed a desire "to learn the oldest native spelling of the latter name"—viz. Chanl. Our plate now supplies that I think. Probably, however, the name should be Chemulya and not Chemulī. In the plate at *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. I. p. 219, a place named Chemulya seems to be mentioned, which is probably the same as that we are now discussing. And in our plate we may read the name as Chemul or Chemulya.

⁹⁰ See Yule's *Cathay* vol. I. p. xciii.; Nairne p. 13; *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. p. 56 et seq.; *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII. p. 188.

⁹¹ Yule's *Cathay* loc. cit.

⁹² See also about Chanl, &c. *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII. p. 183 and vol. VIII. pp. 140–45. I incline to think with Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl, that Chemulī is Chemuḍa in Trombay, at the head of Bombay harbour.—Ed.

⁸⁷ As regards Tagara, reference may be made to Elphinstone's *India* pp. 244–5; Meadows Taylor's *Memoir* pp. 71–73; Nairne's *Konkan* p. 9 (the opinion here expressed is questionable); *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. IV. p. 35 note; vol. II. pp. 384–396; *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. X. p. 339; *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 78; vol. VII. p. 193; vol. VIII. p. 144; *Jour. Lét. Soc. Bomb.* vol. III. p. 411; and note at p. 418, where *Asiatic Researches* vol. IX. p. 45 is quoted, but that does not advance the question at all. The expression *समथुल* (Sathul) has numerous parallels. See *inter alia* *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. IV. p. 35; *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. V. inscriptions Nos. 8 and 9; *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. X. p. 34; vol. XII. p. 57, 305; and *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. 193.

⁸⁸ See *inter alia* about Thānā, *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. p. 61; *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII. pp. 184–5; Yule's *Cathay* vol. II. p. 297, also vol. I. 57 et seq. where we have some information about rats which might be useful in our own day! Nairne's *Konkan* pp. 10, 11; *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. II. pp. 384–96. The translation of *समथुल* at *Asiatic Researches* vol. I. pp. 561–64 is, of course, erroneous.

⁸⁹ See *Journ. Asiatique* serie IV. tome IV. pp. 263–64. I am obliged to my friend Mr. P. M. Mahla for explaining to me the French original. See too Nairne, p. 8.

⁹⁰ *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 277, and vol. VII. p. 184; Nairne, p. 21; *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. X. pp. 320–21, and vol. XII. p. 61; *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. II. pp. 384–395.

⁹¹ See *Asiat. Res.* vol. I. p. 331; *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 278.

⁹² See *Journ. Bomb. Geog. Soc.* vol. VII. p. 152.

⁹³ Nairne's *Konkan*, p. 16; *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. X. pp. 316–42; Yule's *Cathay* vol. I. p. 227; and *Ind. Ant.* vol.

tified with Somanāth. In our time, it is true, the Koṅkan and Somanāth are not closely connected in our minds. But in former days, even so late as six centuries ago, Somanāth and Thāṇā seem to have belonged to one political division of the country. "Guzerāt," we are told for instance, "is a large country, within which are Kambāyat, Somnāt, Konkan, Tāna and several other cities and towns."⁹⁹ And this affords some explanation of Albīrūl's words alluded to above, in which he distinguishes the Koṅkan from the country of the Marāthās. One further remark we may make here, which is suggested by the circumstances now brought together regarding "Somnāt." The temple of Somanāth is stated by the late Mr. Justice Forbes¹⁰⁰ to be similar in some respects to the Temple of Ambarnāth at Kalyāṇ. And, as we have already seen, Mr. Burgess in the discussion above alluded to regarding the Ambarnāth Inscription, also pointed out the similarity.¹⁰¹ In view of the information which the writings of the mediæval geographers furnish, that fact is one of considerable interest. For it is not improbable that the Silāras being devotees of the "Somanāth of Surāshṭra," and there having been such constant intercourse between the immediate dominion of the Silāras and the district in which the Temple of Somanāth is situated, it is not, I say, improbable that the restoration of the Temple of Ambarnāth under the directions of a Silāra¹⁰² prince was made consciously upon the model of the Somanāth Temple.

Returning now from this geographical digression, we proceed to consider the political status of the Silāras. They do not, then, appear

to have been entirely independent sovereigns. The titles *Mahāmāndaliśvara*, *Mahāsāmantādhipati*—although coupled with the titles, *Rājā*, and *Koṅkara-chakravartī*—seem to point to a subordinate position. And this conclusion is clinched by the fact which Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl has brought out with the aid of the Kāsheri Inscriptions: namely, that the third historical king in this line—Kapardī II.—in spite of the boast, be it remembered, made in our plate and elsewhere, about his being the head-jewel of all kings, and of glory which eclipsed the glory of every one else in the world and out of it, was but a subordinate of a king Amoghavarsha. Of this latter king, Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl says that he probably belonged to the Rāshṭrakūṭa race.¹⁰³ I venture to think that we are safe in taking it to be historically certain that this Amoghavarsha is the first king of that name in the Rāshṭrakūṭa line. The dates appear to me to support the identification.¹⁰⁴ And it is further corroborated by the fact which appears to be made out pretty satisfactorily by Dr. Bhāu Dāji and Dr. Bühler, that the Balhāra princes, of whom the mediæval geographers speak, are identical with the Rāshṭrakūṭas;¹⁰⁵ for those same geographers distinctly state that the Koṅkan formed part of the territories of those Balhāra princes.¹⁰⁶ It is plain, therefore, that at least at the time of Kapardī II. the Silāras were only feudatories of the Rāshṭrakūṭas.¹⁰⁷ At the same time, it is not impossible that they may have afterwards thrown off the yoke of their masters, and ceased to be feudatories.¹⁰⁸ The princes of the branch of the family which reigned at Kolhāpur appear to have been feudatories of the Chālukyas in the twelfth century A.D.¹⁰⁹ But there is no evidence showing that the Silāras

⁹⁹ J. R. A. S. (N. S.) vol. IV. p. 341; also Yale's *Harro Pāṇi* vol. II. pp. 33-47; Yale's *Cathey* vol. I. p. cxxxv. note; Nairne p. 10. A Śrī Somanāth is mentioned in one of Mr. Fleet's Yādava Inscriptions; see J. B. R. A. S. vol. XII. p. 26.

¹⁰⁰ J. B. R. A. S. vol. VIII. pp. 55-63. See also as to Somnāth, Elliot's *History of India* vol. I. p. 97.

¹⁰¹ J. B. R. A. S. vol. IX. p. cxxxix.

¹⁰² Dr. Bhāu Dāji's conjecture—that Māyavijaya was a Yādava prince repeated by Mr. Nairne in his *Konkan*, p. 15 (see also *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 337) may now be treated as erroneous; Mr. Fergusson also (J. R. A. S. (N. S.) vol. IV. p. 137) was misled by Dr. Bhāu's incorrect reading of the Ambarnāth date into an argument in favour of his theory of the 'Balabāli Samvat.'

¹⁰³ J. B. R. A. S. vol. XIII. p. 12. Perhaps Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl's cautious expression was due to the fact that the crest recorded in the Kāsheri Inscriptions is not mentioned in any Rāshṭrakūṭa plate. But perhaps it was not thought important enough.

¹⁰⁴ I must admit that Dr. Bühler's "adjustments" of the Rāshṭrakūṭas seem to militate against this, to some extent (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 59). But I venture to think, that they require reconsideration with reference to the Kāsheri Inscriptions brought forward by Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl. Jagatbhāg, whom Dr. Bühler takes to be Amoghavarsha's father, is, according to Bhagvānlāl's interpretation of one of those inscriptions, Amoghavarsha himself.

¹⁰⁵ *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 61.

¹⁰⁶ Yale's *Cathey* vol. I. p. cxxxviii. Sir H. M. Elliot's *History of India* vol. I. p. 3 et seq. and p. 354 et seq. Nairne p. 10; J. B. R. A. S. vol. XII. p. 56. At *Asiatic Researches* vol. IX. p. 179, we have some conjectures about the Balhāra or "Balariya" princes.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 60.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Bernell, *Elements of S. I. Palaeography* (2nd Ed.) p. 25.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. J. B. R. A. S. vol. IX. p. 203; see also J. R. A. S. vol. IV. pp. 32-34; Nairne, pp. 20-21.

ruling at Thānā were also feudatories of the Chālukyas. And possibly, Anantapāla's calling himself *Chakravartī*¹¹⁰ of the Konkan coupled with Aparāditya's despatch of an ambassador to Kōśmīr¹¹¹ might be taken as some index that the later Sīlāras treated themselves as independent sovereigns. On this view the expressions *Mahāsamudralekar*¹¹² and so forth, would be explicable on the theory suggested by Mr. Newton regarding the term *satrap*—that “in common with other similar titles, it must have come to be looked on as indicating authority only and not subordination.”¹¹³ In Marco Polo's time the Konkan was still under Hindu princes—were they Sīlāras?—whom Polo describes as being “tributary to nobody.”¹¹⁴ The point is one, however, which cannot, I think, be settled finally in the present state of our materials.

From the numerous references to Śiva in the Sīlāra inscriptions, the family may well be inferred to have been devotees of Śiva.¹¹⁵ Jīva-tavāhuna's name, however, certainly suggests Buddhist associations.¹¹⁶ Probably the creed of the princes was not of a narrow sort, and the evidence is daily accumulating, which shows that in days so late even as the 10th and 11th centuries of the Christian era, sundry Hindu Princes showed considerable catholicity of spirit as between Hindu, Bauddha, and Jaina. The branch of the Sīlāras, whose inscriptions are noted in Major Graham's volume on Kolhāpur, seems to have made grants alike to Brāhmanas and to Jainas.¹¹⁷ And it may be remarked that the inscription regarding the grant of the Konkan to Kapardī II. is engraved on a Bauddha cave.

Tolls—which form the subject of the exemption recorded in the plate before us—appear to have been not an uncommon source of revenue in

former times. Among the Inscriptions collected by Major Graham¹¹⁸ too, there are several which record grants of tolls. As the trade at Thānā, Chemulya, and Supārā appears to have been considerable,¹¹⁹ the exemption granted by our plate cannot have been quite insignificant.

The names of the grantees and of some of the ministry are also remarkable. They all seem to be southerners. These “southerners” are also to be noticed in Dr. Bühler's plate, and in the Ambarnāth Inscription, as well as in the plate in the *Asiatic Researches*, and in Dr. Bühler's plate of the Rāshtrakūṭa Govinda III. It is evident, therefore, that the “*ayya*” community occupied a position of considerable influence in those days even at the courts of princes, who were not directly ruling in the south. Upon the name of Ananta Pai Prabhu, which occurs in the Parel inscription, Mr. Wathen remarks as follows:—

“It is singular, however, and in support of the pretensions and traditions of the Kāyastha Prabhus, that they seem to have been ministers under this Rājā, viz., Aparāditya.” I am not quite so sure that Prabhu there does indicate the Prabhu caste, and I do not understand that Mr. Wathen has any other basis for his suggestion.¹²⁰ Against it we have to remember that in No. 8 of Mr. Wathen's own Inscriptions, a Brāhman is mentioned as bearing the name Kōśav Prabhu, and there are persons named in our own plate as “Prabhus” who do not appear to belong to the Prabhu caste. Even in our own days, Prabhu is a Brāhman surname, and I am inclined to interpret the word in the various plates before us as indicating only a surname and not a name of a caste. The name Anantapai also seems to indicate that that man was not of the Prabhu caste but a “southerner.”

¹¹⁰ Aparāditya also calls himself “*chakravartī*” of the Konkan. *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. p. 333. I may perhaps, observe here in passing, that Aparāditya, in both the Parel and the Thānā stone slab inscriptions, is described as Śatmat Aparāditya, which clears up a difficulty suggested by Prof. Baidolekar with regard to the Gurjara kings (*J. B. R. A. S.* vol. X. p. 29 note). The same expression also occurs in the unpublished plate before referred to, in the present plate, and in other documents (e.g. *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 136). It is, however, undoubtedly, of rare occurrence.

¹¹¹ *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. (Extra No.) p. 51.

¹¹² As to which cf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 145. Our plate, however, has also the expression *महामंडलीक* which can hardly be treated as a “title” only.

¹¹³ *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. IX. p. 19. Cf. *J. R. A. S.* vol. II. p. 354. Upon this point the remark of Mill cited by

Nairne (p. 21) about the grandiloquence of these princes is undoubtedly entitled to considerable weight.

¹¹⁴ Yule's Marco Polo vol. II. p. 339; Nairne, Konkan p. 11; see also *J. R. A. S.* vol. II. p. 365.

¹¹⁵ Cf. *J. R. A. S.* vol. IV. p. 114; *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. pp. 331-335; *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 317 ff.; and vol. V. p. 278.

¹¹⁶ The seal would seem to point in the same direction: cf. *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. I. pp. 210, 216.

¹¹⁷ Vide pp. 326-334. Dr. Taylor's grant is to Brāhmanas and begins with an invocation to Viṣṇu. See too *J. B. R. A. S.* vol. XIII. p. 10; and *J. R. A. S.* vol. II. p. 387 and cf. Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Rep.* vol. VII. p. 118; vol. VIII. p. 16; *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII. p. 2.

¹¹⁸ P. 3276. Nos. 3, 13, &c.; see too *J. R. A. S.* vol. III. p. 98.

¹¹⁹ *Clithay*, vol. II. p. 99; Marco Polo, vol. II. p. 330.

¹²⁰ As to which, see also *Journal. Bomb. Geog. Soc.* vol. VII. p. 139.

GRANT OF VĪRA-CHOLA.

BY Rev. THOMAS FOULKES, F.L.S., M.R.A.S., CHAPLAIN OF SAINT JOHN'S, BANGALORE.

Description.—Two plates of a copper-plate grant, 10 in. long by 2½ in. wide, of unequal thickness, varying from ¼ in. to ⅓ in., with a ring-hole in each, but without the ring. They are numbered 2 and 5 respectively; and therefore the document had originally six plates at the least, and probably seven. They are well preserved. They record the donation of a large village, called, after the father (?) of the donor, *Parakesarichaturvedimāṅgalam*, situated on the river *Kāveri*, to 150 Brāhmanas, by *Vira-Chola*, with the consent of the reigning sovereign, *Parakesarivarmā*, in order to obtain benefits for his ancestors in the world of spirits. The

donation was made at the instigation of the prince's religious teacher, the *Brāhmaṇa Nīla*.

The grant is written in Sanskrit verse of the *Anuṣṭubh* metre, except the incomplete verse at the beginning. The character is the old *Grantha*. The letters are firmly and distinctly engraved; but the engraving is not neatly executed.

Plate 2 contains a portion of the pedigree of the donor, tracing his descent from the Solar Race of the *Purāṇas* through *Rāgha*, the great-grandfather of the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Plate 5, though only a fragment, contains the substance of the grant, and the circumstances of the donation.

*Transliteration.**Plate II a.*

[(v. 3 probably)].

¹ bhavatām bhavatāt vibhūtyai trayi(yi)sāravastu chaturāṇa-
² m āditejaḥ [||*] Vidhātus tasya putro bhūt Marichirmāna-
³ so mahān Mari(ri)cheś cha tanūjo bhūt Kāśyapā-
⁴ khyo mahāmuni(b*) [||*] Kāśyapasya muner āsīd ātma-
⁵ jo bhānumān Ravir(viḥ) viśveśhācha(chi) lokinām andha-
⁶ kārāpanodakṛit [||*] Vedavedāṅgataśvajño Vi-

Plate II b.

¹ vasvatāś cha ante Manuḥ āstīkshatibhṛitām ādyaḥ
² prajāvāś chhandaśām iva [||*] Ikshvākuś cha mahāprājño
³ bhaktimān Garudadhvaje Manos sūnuḥ kshiti(m*) āś(śā)sann āsi(sīd) Ākha-
⁴ ṇḍulasamaḥ [||*] Ikshvākuvamśajāteshu kshatriyeshu
⁵ bahushvapi pālayitvā bhuvan digdham yāteshu cha divam
⁶ prati [||*] Sagaro nāma tadvaśe jātavān bhūpapū(pu)ṅgavaḥ Bhagi-
⁷ rathopi tadvaśe tato jāto jano(ne)śvara(b*) [||*] Raghar nāma

Plate V a.

[v. 24, probably]

¹ Rakṣamāṇe bhuvam vi(vi)śva(śvā)m Vi(Vi)ra-Chole nripeśvare dharmo(dharmmo)
² padesthā tasyābhūt Ni(Ni)lanāmā mahisuraḥ [||*] Yushmadgurūpām sa-
³ rveśhām avarggaprapāṇakāraṇam brahmadeyan divjendrebhyo
⁴ dehityenam addiśat [||*] Śratvā tadvaśanam rājā gatvā
⁵ Choḷamahi(hi)patin namaskṛitya puras tasya sthitvaitad abravī-
⁶ dvachaḥ [||*] Matde(dde)śe tu mahāgrāmaṁ dāyāmi tava sam-

Plate V b.

¹ jñayā bhūsurebhyo hantaśkā(kār)yye mahyan dehityanugrahaṁ [||*]
² Tadāśa kurvityanu(tyā)jñātāḥ Parakesarivarmamā paśobhāśa-
³ dbhyaś ātebhyaś cha Vi(Vi)raChole nripeśvaraḥ [||*] Parakesaricha-
⁴ turvedimāṅgalābhayaṁ pū(pūr)ṇam Kāveryyā svat(sval)panadyā-
⁵ ś cha maddhyame supratishṭha(shṭhi)taṁ savva(rvva)lakṣhaṇasampannaṁ ā-
⁶ lyūdiśasyabbhūṣitaṁ [||*] Panasāmṛādisamhyuktaṁ pūgarāmā-

Translation.

May the substance of the three-fold *Veda* which is the primeval brightness of the four faced god,¹ be to you for riches.

Marichi was the great mind-born son of that *Vidhātā*²; and the great Muni *Kaśyapa* was the son of Marichi.

The bright *Ravi*³ was the son of the Muni *Kaśyapa*; the dispeller of the darkness of all the worlds.

Manu, learned in the doctrines of the *Vedas* and *Vedāṅgas*, was the son of *Vivasvat*⁴; he was the first of kings, as the sacred syllable⁵ was the seed of the *Vedas*.

And *Iksvāku*, pre-eminent in knowledge and the worshipper of *Garuḍa-dhvaja*,⁶ was the son of *Manu*: as a protector of the earth he was the equal of *Ākhaṇḍalā*.⁷

Very many *Kṣatriyas*, born of the race of *Iksvāku* having ruled the fruitful earth, and having set out on their heavenward journey.

The pre-eminent king *Sagara* was born in that race. In that race also *Bhagiratha* then was born, lord of men.

Raghu by name.

While *Vira Chōla*, lord of kings, was ruling the whole earth, the *Brāhmaṇ Nila* became his religious teacher.

He taught him thus:—"Bestow religious endowments on distinguished *Brāhmaṇs*, in order that all your ancestors may reach the heaven of *Indra*."

When the king heard that precept, he went to the *Chōla* monarch, and having bowed down before him, he stood in his presence, and made this speech, saying, "I am proposing to make a donation of a large village in my district to the *Brāhmaṇs*, and to call it by your name: grant me your assent in that matter."

Having received a command from *Parakesari Varmā*, saying, "Do so speedily;" *Vira Chōla*, lord of kings, [gave] to one hundred and fifty persons, the whole [village] named *Parakesari-chaturvedi-maṅgalam*, well situated between the *Kāverī* and the little river, abounding with all the signs of prosperity, and adorned with fields of rice and other grains, with jack, mango, and other fruit-

trees, with *aroca*-palm and other groves,

This grant affords the following items of historical information:—

1. It was issued in the reign of *Parakesari Varmā*, who is described as the *Chōla Mahāpati* (vv. 26, 28); for whose complete identification we may as well wait patiently a little longer until more of the grants of the *Chōlas* have been published.

2. *Vira Chōla*, the grantor, was apparently his *Yuva-rāja*. In what blood-relationship he stood to his sovereign does not here appear: but, from other information about the *Chōla* princes, I think we may safely regard him as his son.

3. *Vira Chōla* had at this time a definite portion of the *Chōla* kingdom under his separate government; as appears from the words *madāde* in v. 27: and his district or province lay on some portion of the banks of the *Kāverī*, as is shown in v. 29. The expression "little river" of v. 29, if *svalpa* is the proper correction of the *svatpa* of the plate, is insufficient for any identification of the confluence referred to in the description of the village. There is a tributary of the *Kāverī* called the "Chinnār," which is the *Tamīl* equivalent of "Svalpanadi," as may be seen in Maps 60 and 61 of the Great Trig. Survey, which rises in the hills to the south of *Ānāikā* and *Hosūr*; but much weight cannot be put upon that circumstance. The plates were found at *Nāmakāl*, in the *Salem* district: but even this circumstance affords but an uncertain clue to the identification of the *agrahāra*. The expression *chaturvedi-maṅgalam* is a mere title which was borne in common by several other known *Brāhmaṇ* settlements: and there are other instances, similar to the present one, of the names of the reigning kings, and other public functionaries, being given to new foundations of "chaturvedi-maṅgalams." But though the plate affords no certain clue to the identification of *Vira Chōla's* *deśa*, considering that the immediate neighbourhood of the capital was probably under the direct government of the sovereign, it sends us to look for the province of the subordinate king somewhere

¹ *Chaturāsana*, a name of *Brahmā*.

² A name of *Brahmā*.

³ A name of *Sūrya*.

⁴ A name of *Sūrya*.

⁵ *Prasava*.

⁶ A name of *Vishnu*.

⁷ A name of *Indra*.

higher up the course of the Kāveri than the district of Tanjor. This brings us into the Salem and Koimbatur districts, which formed portions of the old Kōngu kingdom down to the time of its conquest by the Chōla king Āditya Varmā, some time (as it appears at present) about A.D. 894. Āditya Varmā's son was named Vīra Chōla amongst other names: and it is probable enough that he may have been placed in the government of his father's conquest during his father's life-time. If this be so, the identification of the Vīra Chōla of this grant, and of his "deśa," as well as of his father Parakesari Varmā, may so far be regarded as complete; subject, however, to the remarks which are presently to follow.

4. From the expression "lord of kings," and "ruling the whole earth," in vv. 24, 28, it may possibly be inferred, even after making due allowance for the laudatory exaggeration of some of these grants, that this Vīra Chōla had made conquests in the neighbouring kingdoms: and if this be so, it will add some amount of confirmation to the above identification of the prince.

5. The savour of Hinduism and Brāhmanism runs through the grant: but the religious creed of these two Chōla kings is not further to be ascertained from this document. The influence of Nīla upon Vīra Chōla, which seems to be mentioned with a special object, may possibly point to some innovation upon the former religious ideas of the prince.

The question now arises whether the materials already published respecting the kings of the Chōla dynasty afford sufficient data for the certain identification of the Vīra Chōla of this grant, and to fix the date of his reign? And the answer must be for the present,—Not quite yet. The name, or rather the title, of Vīra Chōla, with or without other combinations, has been borne by several of the Chōla princes; and the dates connected with these princes in the various scattered notices of them, are widely different and conflicting. My impression is that the above identification will not be disturbed: but I subjoin the following list of names in which the title 'Vīra Chōla'

appears, arranged in alphabetical order, together with the different dates which have been assigned to them* :—

1. Vīra Chōla, who has been variously placed in K. Y. 1443, which may perhaps be a clerical error for ŚŚ. 1443; in the 1st century A.D.; in ŚŚ. 407; in ŚŚ. 899; in the end of the 9th century A.D.; from A.D. 1044 to 1114; and twenty-five generations before Uttama Chōla, the grandfather of Karikāla Chōla; while another authority makes a Vīra Chōla the great grandson of this or another Karikāla Chōla.

2. Vīra Chōla Deva, who is placed in ŚŚ. 1001; in ŚŚ. 1044; and whose viceroyalty of the Veṅgi country is made to extend from A.D. 1079 to 1135.

3. Vīra Chōla Mahārāja, who is placed in A.D. 1279.

4. Vīra Chōla Nārāyaṇa; and

5. Vīra Chōla Nārāyaṇa Rāya, who is apparently that Kūlottnūga Chōla, the father of Adondai, in whose reign the Chōlas conquered the Toṇḍamaṇḍalam from the Pallavas; which conquest has been variously placed in 9000 B.C.; some time previous to the Christian era; shortly before that era; in the 6th century A.D.; in the 8th century; and in the 9th, about A.D. 886; some time between A.D. 700 and 1000; in various years of the 12th century, ranging between A.D. 1118 and 1171; in A.D. 1200; and in A.D. 1233.

6. Vīra Chōla Rāya, who has been placed in A.D. 978.

7. Vīra Deva Chōla, or

8. Vīra Deva Chōla Kulottnūga Chōla, who is placed in the 12th century A.D.—1128 to about 1169.

9. Vīra Mārtanḍa Chōla, who seems to be the same as either No. 2 or No. 12.

10. Vīra Nārāyaṇa, the same as No. 4, 5.

11. Vīra Pāṇḍiya (Tam.), or Pāṇḍya (Sansk.) Chōla, who is said to be a contemporary of Rāmānujācārya, and placed about Fasly 460, and in ŚŚ. 939; while Rāmānuja's dates also differ considerably.

12. Vīra Rājendra Chōla, to whom

* I have materials for the identification of these and a large number of other Chōla names and eponyms, which I hope to submit in a future paper. The subjoined list

may be regarded as a specimen of the great confusion in which the chronology of the Chōlas is at present involved.

various dates are given, ranging from ŚŚ. 460 to after A.D. 1273.

13. Vira Śekhara Chôla, who was contemporary with Achyuta Râya of Vijayanagara; whose dates, with a few exceptions,

range within the second quarter of the 16th century A.D.

14. Vira Vikrama Chôla, who is the same as one of the preceding princes, but no date occurs with this form of the name.*

AN IDENTIFICATION OF A WESTERN CHÂLUKYA CAPITAL.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.O.C.S., M.R.A.S.

At p. lxxvii of the *Introduction* to his *Mysore Inscriptions*, Mr. Rice speaks of the Western Châlukya king Vikramāditya VI., or Tribhuvanamalla, as apparently residing in A.D. 1077 "at Tagiri, perhaps the modern Daulatâbâd."

I have been asked whether this 'Tagiri' might not be a mistake for 'Tagara', which, at *id.*, p. lxxx, Mr. Rice gives as the older name of the ancient Dêvâgiri or the modern Daulatâbâd, and which has been accepted as such by other writers of authority, though the identity of the two places is disputed, and on apparently good grounds, by Mr. McCrindle, at Vol. VIII., p. 143, (51), note.

This question led me to examine the two passages from which Mr. Rice has derived this name of 'Tagiri'; and the result is that I find the correct name to be, not 'Tagiri', but 'Êtagiri.'

The first passage is in No. 60 of Mr. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, or No. 163 of my *Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions*. After giving a short description of Vikramāditya VI., the original continues, in l. 11:—*Anu dharmya nishkaniṣakam-mâḍi sukha-saṁkathâ-vinôdadind-Êtagiriya nelo-vâḍino* [râjyaṁ-geyyattam-iva]. Curiously enough, the reading given in the copy of this inscription in the Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. I., p. 272, is

vinôdadind Êtagiriya nelo-vâḍino; but the correct reading of the original is perfectly distinct in the photograph, and is as I have given it above.

The second passage is in No. 77 of Mr. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, or No. 164 of my *Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions*. The original runs, in l. 13:—*Śrîma(mat)-Tri(-tri)-bhuvanamalla-dêvara vijaya-râjyaṁ-uttar-ôttar-âbhîriddhi-pravarâdhamânam=[â-klamâdr-âkka-târaṁ buraṁ] saluttam Êtagiriya nelo-vâḍino* [sukha-saṁkathâ-(vinôdadind râjyaṁ-ge)gyattam-iva]. There is no copy of this inscription in the Elliot MS. Collection.

The above two passages are not metrical, and there is, therefore, nothing in them to show absolutely whether the first and third syllables of *Êtagiriya* are long, or short. But there can be no doubt on this point, as the only possible etymology is the Sanskrit *êta*, 'a deer, or antelope,' and *giri*, 'a mountain.'

It remains to identify this town of Êtagiri. Having regard to the tendency of the modern Canarese language, as spoken, to prefix a *y* to an initial *e* or *ê*, and sometimes to convert an initial *ê* into *yâ*, we must look for some such name as 'Yêtagiri', or 'Yâtâgiri.' And we have not to look far. There is a common enough surname in the Canarese Districts, which, with the usual indifference to orthography, is

* See also Dr. Burnell's references to *Jour. Lit. & Sc. Soc. Madras*, vol. XIII. pt. ii. p. 36; Reinard, *Fragments*, pp. 92, 121; *Mémoires sur l'Inde*, p. 284; *Jour. Ceylon As. Soc.* 1867, p. 26.

Dr. Burnell gives the following succession of the Chôla kings in the 2nd ed. of his *S. Ind. Palaeography* (p. 40):—

Kerikôla Chôla (? about 950 A.D.)

Râjârâja Chôla, alias Narayana (40 or 41 yrs.), 1023 to 1064 A.D.

Vira Chôla alias Kulottunga Chôla alias Râjârâjendra (Râjârâja) Kôppâkavarman (40 years), 1064 to 1113. His abdication took place in 1079.

Vikrama Chôla (15 yrs.), 1113 to 1128.

Kulottunga Chôla II. 1128 to ? ruled over the Tamil country (Caldwell, *Gr.* p. 135) for, at least 30 years.

Vikramaditya, reigning 1235 (*Jour. Lit. & Sc. Soc. Madras*, vol. XIII. pt. i. pp. 59-1), Kalinga was lost in 1228 A.D.—Ed.

* This is the only instance in which I have found this form of the Old-Canarese locative spelt with the *l*. And it is the one instance that was wanting (see *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. X., p. 290, note 37) to enable us to authoritatively give to the Old-Canarese *lâḍiya*, *lâḍiya*, the meaning of 'included in, situated in', equivalent to the *madhyasthita* and *antaryagata* of corresponding passages in Sanskrit inscriptions.

written sometimes 'Yātagiri', and sometimes 'Yātāgiri.' The persons who own this surname take it from a town on the G. I. P. Railway in the Nizām's Dominions, in lat. 16° 46' N. and long. 77° 13' E., and about eighty miles to the south by east from the modern Kalyāṇa, which is the site of the ancient chief capital of the same name of Vikramāditya VI. The name of

this town is written 'Yedageery' in the Trigonometrical Survey Map, and 'Yedagiri' (with an optional form of 'Edgheery' in the *Index*) in Keith Johnston's *Map of India*. This Yedageery, Yedagiri, or Edgheery, of the maps is undoubtedly the Yātāgiri of the inscriptions, which was one of the minor capitals of Vikramāditya VI.

MISCELLANEA.

FOLKLORE PARALLELS.

I am sorry to say that both Mr. Grierson and myself have been anticipated in our Folklore Parallels¹ by Dr. Reinhold Köhler in an article in *Orient and Occident*, vol. II. p. 111ff. Of course he does not mention the parallel in Laura von Gonzenbach's Sicilian stories, published in 1870, nor in his notes upon those tales does he mention the Indian tale. There are a great many interesting parallels of the kind in this little known periodical. I proceed to quote one which I am able to supplement from the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*. On page 135 of vol. I. Dr. Felix Liebrecht mentions a story in the *Arabian Nights* translated from the Chinese by Stanislas Julien, Paris, 1859, of a man who lost a vessel of silver, and made a mark in the water at the place where he lost it. He then remarks that he believes he has read this story in the *Avadā* of Hierokles. On page 544 of vol. II. he gives an amusing parallel from England:—"A Yarmouth maltster hired an Irishman to assist in lading his ship with malt. Just as the vessel was about to set sail, the Irishman called out from the quay—Captain! I lost your shovel overboard, but I cut a big notch on the rail-fence round stern, right on the spot where it went down; so you will find it when you come back." He compares also Hagen's *Narrenbuch*, p. 493.

The following is the form of this story in the Xth book of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*—

"A certain foolish person, while travelling by sea, let a silver vessel fall from his hand into the water. The fool took notes of the spot, observing the eddies and other signs in the water, and said to himself—I will bring it up from the bottom when I return. He reached the other side of the sea, and as he was returning he saw the eddies and other signs, and thinking he recognised the spot, he plunged in to recover his silver vessel. When the others asked him what his object was, he told them, and got well laughed at and abused for his pains."

One of the amusing stories of fools related in the Xth Book of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* is (curious to say) found in one of Molière's plays. This is the Sanskrit form of the story—

"A certain fool was engaged in relating his father's good qualities in the midst of his friends. And describing his superior excellence he said—'My father has followed a strict vow of chastity from his youth, there is no man who can be compared with him.' When his friends heard this they said—'How did you come into the world?' He answered—'Oh! I am a mind-born son of his,' whereupon the matchless fool was well laughed at by the people." Now compare Sganarelle in *Le Mariage Forcé*—"La raison. C'est que je ne me sens pas propre pour le mariage et que je veux imiter mon père et tous ceux de ma race qui ne se sont jamais voulu marier."

The following *nāṭhakaṭhā* in the Xth Book of the *K. S. S.* has also its counterpart in Europe. A certain merchant said to his foolish servant—"Take care of the door of my shop, I am going home for a moment." After the merchant had said this, he went away, and the servant took the shop door on his shoulder, and went off to see an actor perform. And as he was returning his master met him, and gave him a scolding. And he answered: "I have taken care of this door as you told me." Compare with this the 37th story in Laura von Gonzenbach's *Sicilianische Märchen*, "Giuse's mother wanted to go to the mass, and she said to him:—Giuse, if you wish to go out, draw the door to after you (*nicht die Thür hinter dir zu*). Instead of shutting the door Giuse took it off its hinges, and carried it to his mother in the church."

An incident in the 28th story of the *Sicilianische Märchen* may be paralleled from Indian literature. Lattaghina said: "Fire be lighted," and immediately a clear fire burned upon the hearth. Then she said—"Come along, pan"—and a golden pan came and placed itself upon the fire; "come along oil;" and the oil came and poured itself into the pan. In the episode of Nala and Damayanti Nala is detected by his possessing similar powers. In the same episode the gods are discovered by their not winking. I do not know whether there are many parallels to this in Greek literature, but I lately came across one in the *Æthiopica* of

¹ See vol. VIII., p. 288.

Heliódorus which contains other Indian ideas. In the 13th chapter of the IIIrd book Kalasiris speaking of the gods, makes the following remark: *Τοῖς μὲν δὲ θεοῖσιν κἀν διακρίσιν, τὴν δὲ σοφῶς γράσιν οὐκ ἔν θεοφύγον, ἀλλὰ τὴν τ' ἀφ' αὐαῖς ἀν γνωσθῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ βλεπόντος καὶ τὸ βλεφάρου ὅπου' ἐπαίοντες, κ. τ. λ.* CHARLES H. TAPSEY.

JAMES WALES THE PAINTER.

In the Council Chamber at Bombay there are three large pictures, the first of Bāji Rāo, the second of the Nānā Fājnavā, and the last of Mādhavji Sindia.¹ All three were painted by Mr. James Wales, an artist who arrived in India in 1791, accompanied apparently by his family, as his eldest daughter was afterwards married to Sir Charles Malet, the Resident at Poona, and became the mother of Sir Alexander Malet, so well known in diplomatic circles, and who still survives. The natural taste of the artist seems to have been in the direction of ancient architecture and sculpture. He was a Scotchman, hailing from Peterhead, on the coast of Aberdeen, and was educated at the Marischal College in the local capital. His exhibited pictures at the Academy were portraits, but in this country he devoted much time to the cave temples and other carvings, working in collaboration with Thomas Daniel at the Elurā excavations. He worked also at Elephanta, making drawings of the sculptures there, and it was in pursuit of these researches that he met his death. The jungle grows thick in that part of the Island of Salsette where the interesting Buddhist works are found; and though the actual hill itself in which occur the caves of Kāpheri is nearly bare, it has to be approached through tangles of undergrowth. Mr. Wales is reported to have died at Salsette, whither he had gone to make drawings of the excavations; we may presume he died at Thānā, which is some five miles from Kāpheri, and unhealthy exposure was probably the cause of this sad and sudden termination of his labours. If he effected anything at Kāpheri, it does not seem to have been preserved,² as the examination of the remains there is always associated with other names. We find no notice in the Indian Handbook of any monument to this worthy man.—*The Pioneer*.

¹ "Mr. Daniel's fine picture of the Panā Durbar is unrivalled perhaps in oriental grouping, character, and costume; . . . It was painted for Sir Charles Malet from sketches by the late Mr. Wales; and the artist has shown the time when Sir Charles, then our ambassador at the Court of Panā, attended by his suite, delivered to his Highness the Peshwa, in full Durbar, the treaty of alliance, ratified by his Majesty, between Great Britain and his Highness; made, preparatory to the war between the triple allied powers and Tipu in 1796."—This picture was well engraved, and published by Cribb in Holborn. Moore's *Hindoo Pantheon* (1810), p. 174.

² A collection of sketches in water colours, doubtless the

METRICAL VERSIONS FROM THE MAHABHARATA.

BY JOHN MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., &c.

(Continued from p. 29.)

FATE OF THOSE WHO HAVE NO BELIEF IN VIRTUE; BENEFITS OF FAITH.

Mahābhārata, iii. 13747f.

The fearful doom of all is sure
Who laugh at men whose lives are pure;
Who duty's binding force deny,
And scout all virtue as a lie.
The man who loves to live in sin
Is like a huge inflated skin;
With wisdom's show himself he cheats,
For vain are all his proud conceits.
No sin can want of faith exceed,
While men by faith from sin are freed.*
The faithful man throws off his sins;
As snakes cast off their worn-out skins.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

I. WOOLLY HAIR, AND ELONGATED EAR-LOBES OF BUDDHA.—Where can I find any explanation of the Negro-like hair, short crisp curls, with which Buddha is generally represented in his statues? Recently at Kanauj and Sankhā (Pachgarh district) I have seen several statues of Buddha with this conventional treatment of the hair.

In these, and in other statues also, the lobes of the ear are greatly elongated (see also Moor's *Hindoo Pantheon*). Has this ever been accounted for? If so, where?

At Manipuri, an old Zamindar, an Ahir, called upon me. The lobes of both his ears were elongated in the manner shown in the representations of Buddha, and hung down detached from the cheek, to a depth of about 2 inches. This formation did not appear to have been caused artificially, and the ears showed no marks of earrings, which, if heavy, would of course prolong the lobe of the ear.—H. REVETT-CARNAC.

With regard to the query as to the woolly hair and elongated ear-lobes of Buddha, Mr. W. Simpson, the artist to the *Illustrated London News*, recently gave a lecture at the Society of Arts in London on Afghanistan and its antiquities. He mentioned the immense number of Buddhist

work of Mr. Wales, is now in possession of J. Fergusson, Esq., D.C.L., of London. It contains sketches of the large stupa at Borwāl, covered with carvings of fleets and armies in conflict, &c., of the curious little Buddhist Chaitya cave at Kondit, in Salsette, from which came the inscription was copied by him, and with others from Elurā, &c., given by him to Sir Charles Ware Malet, who sent them to Bengal for translation by Capt. Wilford, and publication in the *Asiatic Researches* (vol. V., pp. 185-141).—ED.

² This, in sound, is very like the Antinomian doctrine of justification. The object of faith, however, in each case is different.

mounds and remains existing there, and Col. Yule, who was present, expressed his belief that ancient India extended to Kâbul, and that the Greeks when in those regions considered themselves in India. Amongst the antiquities from Afghanistan exhibited by Mr. Simpson, there was a small head of white stone, beautifully curved, the features purely and exquisitely regular and classical, but the ear-lobes as much elongated as in any image of Buddha, and the head covered with close crisp curls, with the border so sharply defined as strongly to suggest the sort of cap or wig imitating curled hair spoken of at page 240 vol. V. of the *Indian Antiquary*. There were the long pierced ear-lobes and the close curly hair, but the beautiful youthful countenance had no suggestion of Buddha, and the appearance of the hair strongly suggested an artificial covering.

London, December 1879.

M. J. W.

Legend says that Gautama Buddha on leaving his home cut off his luxuriant locks; and as no images of him were made till long after his decease, the characteristics of the Buddha *śāstras* of the day would be the only guide that the fabricators of the first images would have to model them by. Then, though *śrīvatsa* or ornamental figures in caves and temples were probably largely in vogue before this, there were no examples among them with short cut hair; this would puzzle the first artists. They would probably cut lines crossing each other all over the

scalp and very close together; but the result would not be so satisfactory as the work would be laborious. By and bye we may suppose the width between the lines was increased, and the small knobs left between being somewhat rounded, the effect would be improved, and it would soon be generally adopted. When the Mahâyâna sect, in the sixth century, were gaining influence by their gorgeous ritual, this mode of representing the hair of Buddha was universal. It would be curious to compare any images that remain of earlier date or belonging to the Hinayâna or puritan sect. This short hair is one of the traditional points of beauty in Buddha's person.

As to the ear lobes: a mistake is not unfrequently made here. A careful examination of many images convinces me that what appears to be a very long pendant lobe is not always really so, but whilst the lobe was largely prolonged, as it is by the modern Kâphatas, an elongated link was inserted in the lower extremity of it: this link is often supposed to be part of the elongated lobe.

But it must not be forgotten that it is part of the physiognomical lore of the Hindus, that a man with short ear-lobes is deficient in religiousness, and that long ones are the sure mark of a good and great man: hence Buddha's ears must have had unusually long pendant lobes.

The Jaina Tīrthāṅkaras are also represented with the same short hair and elongated ear lobes, as Buddha.

Ajanta Caves, 17th January 1880. EDITOR.

BOOK NOTICES.

ALTINDISCHES LEHEN: DIE CULTUR DER VEDISCHEN ARIER NACH DEN SAMHITÄ DARGESTELLT VON HEINRICH ZIMMER: eine vom viersten Internationalen Orientalisten Congress in Florenz gekrönte preisschrift. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1879.¹

The Prize gained by the author of this essay was one liberally offered by the Italian Government, which thus afforded a fresh stimulus to the efforts of the European scholars who are at present directing their attention to the study of Indian antiquity.

I shall first of all enumerate the contents of the work.

It is divided into three books. The first describes the land, its climate and formation, its products, mineral, vegetable, and animal, its inhabitants, Dasyus and Aryas, and their respective tribes. The second book treats of the external circumstances of the Vedic people, their government and law, their cattle-rearing and agricultural occupations, trades, commerce, &c., their

clothing and finery, food and drink, amusements and wars. The third book gives an account of their internal relations, domestic life, morals, arts and sciences, writing and arithmetic, astronomy and cosmology, division of time, art of healing, death and burial, life after death.

In his preface (pp. v. ff.) the author remarks that the materials which we possess for sketching the state of civilisation among the different races allied to us in speech, at the period when they emerged from the darkness of primeval antiquity, are very different in the case of each branch.

As regards the forefathers of the Germans, there is the *Germania* of Tacitus, in which scarcely any side of life is left undescribed. This, combined with their own language and literature, especially those of the north, furnishes a picture of their prehistorical life, such as is obtained in the case of no other kindred European race.

The sources of our knowledge of the earliest

¹ (Life in Ancient India; the Civilization of the Vedic Aryans described according to the Samhitâ; a prize

essay crowned by the fourth International Congress of Orientalists in Florence. Berlin: Weidmann, 1879.)

history of the Indians, Dr. Zimmer proceeds, are of an essentially different character. None of the Phœnicians, who in Hiram's and Solomon's time, and no doubt earlier, sailed to Ophir, and brought back thence Indian names, along with Indian productions, give us any account of the people with whom they traded. Nor have the Indians any Homer belonging to the period preceding their immigration into Hindustan proper: our knowledge of this people's life is obtained solely by collecting the scattered allusions which are found in their surviving lyrical poetry of that period.

Yet the literature of no Indo-Germanic race has rescued from a remote antiquity such a mass of hymns as are found in the four Vedic *Saṁhitā*s of the Indians. These Vedic lyrics are fortunately of a very realistic character.

Their prayers, hymns of praise or thanks-giving, supply us with many means of insight into their mundane relations and the objects of their desires. They lay bare their virtues and vices before the all-seeing gods. The *Rig* and *Atharva Saṁhitā*s, which were not compiled with purely liturgical views, contain also a number of hymns and fragments which introduce us into the innermost life of the people. The notices which we thus obtain are the more valuable as coming from contemporaries who were taking a part in the affairs to which they refer, and who, besides, do not all belong to one period, but place before us the developments of their people's life during several centuries. These Rishis, it is true, do not answer all our questions; regarding many keen enquiries they maintain an obstinate silence. Setting aside such points as these (of which the writer gives some examples), from what the Rishis communicate, we can draw a picture of the life of that lively youthful people,—strong in faith in the gods,—which is clearer and more exact than Tacitus gives of the Germans. To supply such a picture is the author's design.

I shall proceed to state some of the contents of chapters iv., v. and vi. pp. 104ff. in which Dr. Zimmer treats of the Indian races, and traces the gradual formation of the caste system which afterwards prevailed in Hindustan.

The oldest settlements of the Āryas in historical times were in East Kābulistān, and along the banks of the upper Indus. The different tribes advanced thence along the valley of the Indus southwards and eastwards into the land of the Seven Rivers, drove the aborigines out of their flourishing possessions, which they themselves then occupied. The expelled aborigines retired northward to the Himālayas, or southward to the Vindhya mountains, while many of their men and women remained as the slaves of the in-

vaders (p. 107). The distinction between the two races, Āryas and Dasyus or Dāsas (p. 109), was clearly marked by their difference of complexion (*varṇa*), the Dasyus being black and the Āryas white, a difference which must have been more striking in the early days of the immigration, before the colour of the Āryas had been much affected by the climate (p. 113). The two races also differed in speech (p. 114), but the greatest difference was in their religion (p. 115). The Dasyus did not worship the gods of the Āryas. Of their own religion little appears. But the author inclines to agree with Prof. Ludwig that the epithet *śatru* applied to the enemies of the Āryas means *phallus* or *liaga*-worshippers (p. 116). The Dasyus are represented as being rich in cattle which the Āryas naturally coveted. Until the latter had gained the upper hand, they lived in a state of hostility with the Dasyus. This condition of things is discernible in the contents of the hymns. Eventually large Āryan tribes advance eastward and conquer for good Hindustān between the Himālayas and Vindhya. The large portions of the Dasyu population which did not retire to the hills, embraced the faith of the Āryas, and became to some extent assimilated to their conquerors. The social condition of the Āryas also underwent important changes; the caste system became more and more developed: the subjected aborigines obtained a recognised position in the State, by becoming a fourth caste. It is not to be doubted that in the long period before this took place, Āryan had become largely intermixed with aboriginal blood. Dasyu virgins and women came as slaves into the houses of the Āryas: some of them may have become mistresses of the household. The word Dasyu now disappears in our ethnological sense, (though the name continues to be applied to the aborigines), and is succeeded by the appellation Śūdra. The latter word is unknown to the early Vedic era: it only appears along with Brāhmaṇa, Rājanya, and Vaiśya in *It.* V. x. 90, 12, a hymn which can only date from the period when the Indian people had become divided into classes according to the Brāhmanical system (pp. 116, 117). Just alluding to what Dr. Zimmer tells us in pp. 118ff. of the different tribes of the Dasyus and of the Āryas, the *Paucā-jandā*, *Paucā-kṛishāyā*, appellations under which he understands the Yadus, Anus, Drubhus, Turvaśas and Pūrus to be meant, and what he says of the other tribes mentioned in the *Rigveda*, the Tritasus, Bharatas, &c. I come to the fuller account which he gives in his 6th chapter of the constitution of Āryan society, and the formation of the caste system.

Each Āryan state was ruled by a king (p. 162) whose office was often, though not always, heredi-

tary, but sometimes elective, though whether he could only be chosen out of a particular family does not appear. Constant obedience to him is enjoined (p. 166), and the offering of gifts, not the payment of tribute. In nearly every tribe we find families of bards, who were attached to the king's court, and celebrated his exploits and those of his people; like Vasishtha's family among the Tritsus and that of Visvámitra among the Bharatas. They had to live chiefly on the king's bounty, and so sought as far as possible to render themselves indispensable. Offerings or libations, they said, were not acceptable to Indra unless accompanied by hymns of praise. But it was not every king or wealthy man who could, on occasion of important ceremonies, produce such a composition of the proper sort. A member of one of the families of bards then took his place, became his *purohita*. If the sacrifice was visibly blest, the bards knew how to turn this circumstance to account. Thus Vasishtha impresses on Sudâs (*R. V.* vii. 33. 6) that it was because he (V.) was *purohita*, that the Tritsus were victorious, and the Bharatas overcome; and his opponent Visvámitra asserts (*R. V.* iii. 53. 12) that his hymn protected the Bharatas. The prince was constantly reminded how necessary it was to attach the bard to himself and to reward him liberally. To give force to these demands, the bards ascribed their calling, as well as their right to receive presents, to Indra.

The stingy are in the bard's eyes "godless," and they call the liberal, "pious, men who fulfil their duty." (p. 168f.) The presents which the kings made to them were often princely (p. 170), especially after victory over a dangerous foe. If these gifts are sometimes exaggerated with a purpose (that of influencing other patrons) in the portions of the hymns celebrating liberality, still they were often considerable. The subjects of the bards' encomiums were not only kings, but also wealthy men who employed them.

Passing over the contents of pp. 171—185 (from which various details of the civil and social life of the Āryas might be quoted), he comes to the question, proposed as follows, p. 186: Did the caste system exist in the Vedic age? To answer this precisely, that age must be itself defined. If we understand it of the time when all the hymns and sacrificial formulas which we find in the Vedic *Samhitas* were in existence, the question must be answered in the affirmative. But if we mean by it the period when the Āryas dwelt principally in East Kābulistān, and in the land of the seven rivers, and single tribes only had advanced towards the Jumna and the Ganges, in short the period at the close of which king Sudâs and his *Purohita* Vasishtha stand as the latest important

figures,—then the existence of castes must be unconditionally denied. After other remarks, Dr. Zimmer goes on (in p. 189) to say: If the Vedic people while still living on this [the western no doubt is meant] side of the later Sarasvatī, in the land of the seven rivers, was already in possession of the Brāhmanical order, the caste system and a special priestly class, how does it happen that the Āryan tribes, which had continued to occupy these settlements, were at the time of the rise of the Indian epic poetry regarded as half barbarians by the Brāhmanized dwellers in Madhyadeśa? And the [*Tandya*, or] *Panchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, which Weber (*Hist. of Ind. Lit.* p. 66ff. of Engl. transl.) would regard as the oldest of these works, when describing the march of these tribes to the Sarasvatī, says of them that "they do not observe the Brāhmanical rules; not being Brāhmanically consecrated, they speak the language of the consecrated" (17, l. 14). Did these tribes remain true to the institutions of their ancestors, or had they abandoned the ancient traditional order of their society? The answer will not seem doubtful to any one to whom it is not, as it is to the Indian theologians, an article of faith, imbibed with their mothers' milk, that the social divisions prevailing in later times were primeval, that the divinely favoured *Rishis* of old worshipped the gods exactly as their successors did.

Let us therefore proceed on the established fact that the Vedic people were unacquainted with the division of society into castes during that period of their development at the close of which King Sudâs and his *Purohita* Vasishtha appear as the last important figures.

These two men and the Tritsus whom they led succeeded in the famous battle of the ten kings, on the banks of the Parashni, in stopping the advance of the united tribes of the North-western Panjāb towards the south-east. But the Tritsus must at last have succumbed to a renewed invasion, as we hear no more of them, or of any descendants of the renowned Divodāsa and Sudâs, whilst some of the tribes which they had overcome in that battle, as the Pāras, afterwards attained to great power. The period which follows is one of the darkest in Indian history. When we reach a period of more light, we encounter a people so accustomed to altered conditions of life, institutions and religious ideas, as to have begun to lose the power of understanding the state of things described in the hymns of the ancient *Rishis*, and to look upon their brethren of the same race who had remained in their old abodes, and adhered to their ancient institutions, as semi-barbarous (p. 191f.).

Let us endeavour to make clear to ourselves

more in detail, the modifications gradually undergone by the Aryan Indians. The tribes in the north-west of the Panjâb begin to advance farther into Hindustân. To effect this, and overcome the foes by whom they are opposed, they have to combine into larger masses. One of the kings, the most distinguished and powerful, is entrusted with the chief command, and thus gains yet more in consideration. The opposing tribes are overcome, and forced to aid in the expedition; and no doubt their chiefs lose their independence. Through severe conflicts with the aboriginal Sûdras, the extensive country between the Himâlaya and Vindhya mountains is gained; large tracts on the banks of the Jumna and Ganges are occupied. Those of the aborigines who do not flee to the hills, embrace the religion of their conquerors, and remain in their villages as tolerated, though often oppressed, members of the State. The victors are scattered over the conquered territory, and so their fighting men cannot be readily collected, as they could be in the small principalities in the Panjâb. Plundering incursions of the dispossessed aborigines, who had retired to a distance, revolts of the only apparently subjected population, attacks of Aryan tribes, compel the *Sa m râ j* (sovereign prince) to have always a band of warriors around him. The small tribal chiefs used to have a large number of followers. Now, under this new order of things, they were deprived of their power, either forcibly, or gradually through the importance of a single ruler, which constantly increased in troublous times, and sank with their numerous families and dependants into the position of a martial nobility surrounding the sovereign prince.

The sovereign was thus enabled in the small fiefs which were constantly occurring, to dispense with the help of the people, the *V i s*. The martial nobility began more and more to regard arms as their occupation, to devote themselves exclusively to a military life, and to transmit it as an inheritance to their descendants. The rest of the people, devoted entirely to agriculture, the rearing of cattle, and peaceable traffic, became less skilled in the use of arms, while the altered climatic conditions contributed more and more to relax their energies. In this way two classes arise which become always more separated (p. 193f).

But it was not to be the lot of the warrior class and of the ruler, to reap the entire harvest: the best part of it was taken from them by others.

We have seen that the families of the bards lived, held in high honour, at the courts of the petty tribal princes, whose exploits they celebrated. But their action in another direction was

yet more important, and influenced profoundly the entire national development. With their poetical endowments they lived in the service of religion; they laid before the gods the desires of the princes and of wealthy men; they lauded in well composed hymns the might and glory of the deities, and thanked them for the blessings which they had bestowed. In return for this service, they obtained rich gifts. They thus acquired the reputation of being more highly qualified for the worship of the gods, for the celebration of sacrifice; they began to boast of being the objects of the special favour of the gods. Towards the end of the Vedic period properly so called, it had already become the custom for the prince, no longer himself to offer the sacrifices which were necessary for the State and the tribe, but to cause them to be celebrated by a bard so gifted.

The person entrusted with this function was called *parohita* (*parator* in *R. V.* vii. 33. 5). We have here, as Roth was the first to recognize (on the *Lit. and Hist. of the Veda*, p. 117),—to seek for the origin and oldest form of the Indian priesthood (p. 194f).

The employment of a *Parohita* was, indeed, at this period customary, but not yet a duty binding upon the prince. But the priestly bards sought to impress upon the king the necessity for such a course. The functions of the *Parohita*, if one was appointed, were not however confined to one of these gifted bards. Kings' sons could fulfil them, as in the case of Devâpi (*Yâska, Nirukta*, ii. 10, and *R. V.* x. 98). Nor was the office as yet hereditary in any family.

But all the objects at which the priestly bards were aiming towards the close of the Vedic period, were fully and amply attained by them in the succeeding period of conflict, fermentation and confusion. If these priestly leaders had hitherto been honoured and rewarded by the tribal princes as trusted counsellors and helpers in religious matters, their estimation among the people in virtue of their actual or arrogated higher qualifications was not less, especially if they were the heads of numerous families. In the struggles of the petty princes for supremacy, the leaning of such and such a bard towards one or the other side was, consequently, often decisive of the issue. Modesty was never a characteristic of the old *Rishis*: much less can these their descendants have failed to profit by the opportunity, when the king owed his power to their intervention.

The personal relations of individuals to the gods declined the more, the oftener these bards intervened as mediators; the forms of worship became more manifold, the number of the ceremonials increased, the results of the sacrifices were made to depend more upon their right celebration than

on the intimation of the sacrificer. The families of the bards carefully preserved the ancient hymns of their forefathers which had often visibly secured the favour of the gods, the estimation of the hymns was in every way sought to be enhanced. Who else was it but these priestly families, with their preponderance of culture, and their intellectual and moral influence which was thus strengthened, that established on a new basis the worship in the conquered districts of Hindustân? And if they sought to make the civil institutions also entirely dependent on themselves, this is easily understood from the position which they had already occupied. If, now, these powerful associations, formed of the priestly bards of the petty tribal princes and their families, which were united by community of interests and identity of education, whose right of decision in divine things was scarcely disputed, which claimed, and in many points possessed, the same voice in civil matters also,—if these associations made their order dependent on birth, then a close priestly caste had been formed, and stood over against the other classes in the State.

The rulers, and the martial nobility, which had grown into a distinguished order, did not, however, bow submissively to the claims of the priestly community which became ever more unbounded. It was only after hard internal struggles, after being subjected to oppression and violence in different ways, that the priests succeeded in carrying through their demands, and in moulding the religious and civil life of the Indian people in accordance with their ideals, and in a way conducive to their own advantage (pp. 194—197).

Wonderful was the pertinacity with which the priestly class maintained its claims, and always brought them forward anew. They gradually succeeded in conquering the resistance of the kings and nobles, and in obtaining the recognition of their four prerogatives,—reverence (*aradhā*), gifts (*dāna*), immunity from oppression (*ajyagatā*), and the inviolability of their persons (*aradhyatā*). The further transformation of social and religious life according to their ideals now advanced irresistibly. In order to rear a further barrier between the different branches of the Āryan people it was only necessary further to make the order of warriors,—which was mainly composed of royal and noble families, and which had acquired a privileged position above the mass of the people, the cultivators and tradesmen,—dependent upon birth; and the common free men appertaining to the *Vīṣ*, then formed the third caste, that of the *Vaiśyas*. As an authorized

member of the State, was added the subjected indigenous population, which had become somewhat assimilated to the Āryas in religion and customs: it formed the fourth caste, that of the *Śūdras*.

The reader will, I think, have perused with interest the extracts from Dr. Zimmer's book which I have placed before him, and which appear to me to treat with ability a most important chapter in Indian history, the rise and growth of the caste-system, so far as its genesis can be conjecturally traced.

Edinburgh, September, 1879.

J. MUIR.

INDIAN FAIRY TALES, collected and translated by MISS STOKES. Calcutta: 1879.¹

No better account can be given of Miss Stokes's collection of Indian Fairy Tales, than that which she herself gives in the preface:—

"The first twenty-five stories in this book were told me at Calcutta and Simla by two *Ayās*, *Daukni* and *Mūniyā*, and by *Karim*, a *Khidmatgar*. The last five were told me by *Mūniyā*. At first the servants would only tell their stories to me, because I was a child, and would not laugh at them, but afterwards the *Ayās* lost their shyness, and told almost all their stories over again to me when they were passing through the press. *Karim* would never tell his to her or before her. The stories were all told in *Hindīstāni*, which is the only language that these servants know."

We have thus the most unmistakable evidence that all these tales form part of the popular poetry that still lives among the people of India, and there is no reason to suspect that they have in any way been modified by European influences, except so far as the tellers must necessarily have modified them in order to adapt them to the understanding and morals of an English child. One obvious modification is pointed out and accounted for in the notes. "In these stories the word translated *God* is *Khudā*. Excepting in 'How king Burtal became a Fakir' (p. 85) and in 'Rājā Harichand's Punishment' (p. 224) in which *Mahādeo* plays a part, the tellers of these tales would never specify by name the god they spoke of. He was always *Khudā*, 'the great *Khudā* who lives up in the sky.' In this they differed from the narrator of the '*Old Deccan Days*' stories, who almost always gives her gods and goddesses their Hindu names, probably because from being a Christian she had no religious scruples to prevent her from so doing."

The stories have been rendered into English, which though simple is clear and forcible, and some of them would, we imagine, be favourites in an English nursery, as well as with children of a

¹ One hundred copies privately printed.

larger growth. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the interest they will excite in all students of folklore. Their value in this respect is much increased by the notes by the collector's mother, which contain illustrations from the Folklore of every country in the world, and are evidently the result of diligent and observant study. It would be difficult to find in any book so much erudition packed into so small a compass. We might instance as an example the elaborate note on the passage in the 1st story, "Her beauty lights up a dark room" (p. 246).

As a specimen of the stories we will choose the following, (p. 39) which happens to be one of the shortest:—

The Bulbul and the Cotton Tree.—There was once a bulbul, and one day as he was flying about, he saw a tree on which was a little fruit. The bulbul was much pleased and said, "I will sit here till this fruit is ripe, and then I will eat it." So he deserted his nest and his wife, and sat there for twelve years without eating anything, and everyday he said, "To-morrow I will eat this fruit." During these twelve years a great many birds tried to sit on the tree, and wished to build their nests in it, but whenever they came, the bulbul sent them away, saying, "This fruit is not good. Don't come here." One day a cuckoo came, and said, "Why do you send us away? Why should we not come and sit here too? All the trees here are not yours." "Never mind," said the bulbul, "I am going to sit here, and when this fruit is ripe, I shall eat it." Now the cuckoo knew that this tree was the cotton-tree, but the bulbul did not. First comes the bud, which the bulbul thought a fruit, then the flower, and the flower becomes a big pod, and the pod bursts, and all the cotton flies away. The bulbul was delighted when he saw the beautiful red flower, which he still thought a fruit, and said, "When it is ripe, it will be a delicious fruit." The flower became a pod, and the pod burst. "What is all this that is flying about?" said the bulbul. "The fruit must be ripe now," so he looked into the pod, and it was empty; all the cotton had fallen out. Then the cuckoo came, and said to the angry bulbul: "You see if you had allowed us to come and sit on the tree, you would have had something good to eat; but as you were selfish, and would not let any one share with you, God is angry, and has punished you by giving you a hollow fruit."

Then the cuckoo called all the other birds, and they came and mocked the bulbul. "Ah! you see God has punished you for your selfishness," they said. The bulbul got very angry, and all the birds went away. After they had gone, the bulbul said to the tree: "You are a bad tree, you are of use to no one, you give food to no one." The tree

said, "You are mistaken, God made me what I am. My flower is given to sheep to eat. My cotton makes pillows and mattresses for man." Since that day no bulbul goes near a cotton tree.

We proceed to note one or two parallels which suggest themselves on a cursory perusal of the book.

The way in which Phūlmātī Rānī is supplanted in the first story reminds us of *Die Gänsemagd*, No. 89 in Grimm's *Kinder und Hausmärchen*, also of the story of Haasāvatī in the *Katāḍ Sarit Sāgara*, Lambaka xii. Taranga 71. For the manner in which Phūlmātī is recovered at the end of the story, compare the story of Ḥasan of El-Basrah, Lane's *Arabian Nights*, vol. III. p. 380.

A modern Indian story very nearly resembling the Xth story is quoted by Benfey, *Panchatantra*, vol. I. p. 261, from the Xth vol. of the *Asiatic Journal*. Here the monkey skin is worn by a lady.

In the XIth story Hīrālāl Bāḥā addresses the Rākshasa as "uncle." In the notes a tale is quoted from the *Indian Antiquary*, in which two brothers address a tiger by the same propitiatory title: compare the 7th Fable of the Vth book of the *Panchatantra* (Dr. Bühler's edition), where the musical donkey calls the jackal "nephew," and is in turn addressed by him as "uncle."

Sonahrī's betrayal of the Rākshasa finds a parallel in the betrayal of Angāraka by his daughter Angāravatī in the 11th Taranga of the *Katāḍ Sarit Sāgara*.

In the XIIth story the episode of the extraction of the thorn in the tiger's foot reminds us of the story of *Androcles* in *Aulus Gellius*, v. 14. Compare also *Gesta Romanorum* CIV. The gratitude of the animals calls to mind the story of *Bodhisattva* in the 65th Taranga of the *Katāḍ Sarit Sāgara*, which is the same as the second story in the appendix to the last book in Benfey's translation of the *Panchatantra*, "Die dankbaren Thiere und der undankbare Mensch." For parallels see Benfey's 1st vol. p. 192 and ff. A striking one is to be found in the *Gesta Romanorum*, Bohn's edition, page 212. For the incident of the man coming out of the alligator's stomach, conf. *Katāḍ Sarit Sāgara*, Taranga 74, śl. 192ff. See also the story of the Śaktideva in the 25th Taranga.

With the *Ōcī* in the XVth story conf. the elixir in the beginning of the 39th Taranga of the *Katāḍ Sarit Sāgara*, also the *pygmae* in the 16th Sarga of the *Ramayana*.

The wonderful knowledge of *Kheḷāparī Rānī* in the XVIth tale may be paralleled by that of the *pāṭivatī* Brāhman lady in the 56th Taranga of the *Katāḍ Sarit Sāgara*, śl. 174ff.

The horse *Kātar* in the XXth story may be compared with that in the *Widow's Son*, Thorpe's *Fable-tide Stories*, p. 295.

The XXIInd story may be compared with the fable in the *Pauchātana*, previously referred to under the title of "die dankbare Tiere und der undankbare Mensch." The episode of the ant-king resembles an incident in Svend's Exploits, Thorpe's *Folk-tale Stories* p. 353.* For the tasks we may compare the story of Śringabhuja in the 30th Taranga of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, and the numerous parallels adduced by Dr. Reinhold Köhler in *Orient und Occident*, vol. II. p. 103ff.

In this story, the Rājā's son cheats four fakirs out of a bed, a bowl, a stick, a rope, and a bag, which possess magic properties, by shooting four arrows in different directions, and persuading them to run and fetch them. The bed carried the owner whither-soever he wished to go, the bag gave its owner whatever he wanted in the way of food or clothes, the bowl gave him as much water as he required, and the stick and rope would, on being ordered, bend and tie up his enemies. Of course the prince escapes by means of the bed, while the fakirs are fetching the arrows. This recalls Grimm's story of "Der Goldene Berg." In his notes he gives numerous parallels, one from the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* Taranga 3; many will be found also in H. H. Wilson's *Collected Works*, vol. III. p. 108, note. We have found another in the 31st of the Sicilian Tales published by Laura von Gonsenbach.

In the XXIVth story, that of the "Demon and the King's Son," the demon causes his daughter to be dead all day and alive all night by changing the position of two sticks, one of which is at her head and another at her feet. In the *Tā Īśop Śoḍaśe āmāra*, of Antonius Diogenes (Didot's *Scriptores Erotici*, p. 509), Paupis makes Dercyllis and Mantinias die during the day and come to life at night by spitting in their faces.

For the way in which the heroine of the XXVth story gains her information about Prince Suhr, compare Thorpe's *Folk-tale Stories*, p. 390. There are an intelligent parrot and an equally intelligent mouse in the 3rd story of the *Vetula Pañcharisāṭi* (*Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, Taranga 77).

The XXVIIth story of Pāṇupātī Rāṇī is the 1st of the *Vetula Pañcharisāṭi*, the 75th Taranga of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*.

The XXVIIIth story is compared with that of Upakōśā in the *Kathāpīṭha*, translated by Dr. Bühler in the *Indian Antiquary* vol. I. (October 1872) p. 305. See also Mr. Damant's *Dissempare Legends*, pp. 2 and 3 of the present volume.² Wilson tells us (*Collected Works*, vol. III. p. 173) that besides being found in other Oriental collections it is a story of ancient celebrity in Europe as

'Constant Du Hamel ou La Dame qui attrapa un Prêtre un Prevot et un Forestier' (Legrand d'Aussy, *Fabliaux et Contes*, Paris: 1829, vol. IV. pp. 246—256). See also Liebrecht's translation of Dunlop's *History of Fiction*, p. 246, and the translator's note. Dunlop expresses his belief that it came from India through Persia.

We think we have said enough to show the scientific importance of these stories.

In conclusion we beg to congratulate Miss Stokes on having done for the Folklore of Northern India what Miss Frere has done for that of the Dekhan.

C. H. T.

KĀVYATĪHĀSANGRAHA—A Collection of Poetical and Historical Pieces. Poona: 1878-79.

It is certainly a matter for congratulation, that there are at the present day numerous signs, showing that the attention of many of our educated people is being seriously directed to the preservation and development of Marāṭhī literature. It cannot be said, of course, that much has yet been actually done, still it is something to know that, at all events in many quarters, there is now none of that cold indifference with which the vernacular languages of the country used to be formerly looked upon. We may, therefore, fairly hope that, in process of time, this new feeling with respect to Marāṭhī literature may lead to very substantial and tangible benefits.

The publication, of which the name heads this notice, is, in our judgment, one of the most important and useful of the productions to which the feeling referred to has given birth. Whether in consequence of defect of management, or of some other cause, that publication has not become so widely known as it deserves to be. It commenced to be published in January 1878, and from that time till now the monthly parts have come out with pretty fair regularity. The contents are divided into three separate departments, so to say: the first is intended to contain old documents of Marāṭhī history; the second is to contain unpublished Marāṭhī poems; and the third is to contain unpublished Sanskrit poems. The original matter which the Editors are to supply will embrace information regarding the various pieces to be published, and their authors, short notes in explanation of difficult words, &c., and in the case of the historical portion, references from time to time to Grant Duff's *History of the Marāṭhās*, and other similar works. Such is the general scheme of the publication; and if it is executed with even ordinary care, it cannot fail to be of the greatest service to the interests of the literature and history of West-

München, 36, Die Geschichte von Sarfaraz. But it is perhaps unnecessary to go so far afield when we have such a striking one in our own Shalopere.

² See also *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VIII. pp. 37-38, 236, and 268.

³ I may here mention that there is a curious parallel to the termination of Mr. Damant's story in *Sicilianische*

ern India. So far as the undertaking has already progressed, we have no hesitation in saying that, upon the whole, the work has been done very judiciously. In the first department, we have already had one very interesting *Bākhar* completed. It gives a connected narrative of the careers of all the Peshvās from Bāhājī Vishvanāth down to the last Bājirāy, and has been called the "*Peshvā's Bākhar*." The other, which is now in process of publication, and which has been named "*Bāhājī Sāheb's Bākhar*," relates to that most important period of Marāṭhā history, the period of the battle of Pānīpat. The principle adopted in printing the first was rather an uncritical one, as the Editors permitted themselves to make sundry alterations in the text of the *Bākhar* in order to render the narrative more perspicuous. In printing the second *Bākhar*, however, they have abandoned that principle, and we trust they will not act on it again with reference to any of the other documents they may publish. And this the rather, that, as the Editors themselves observe, these *Bākhars*, besides supplying the raw material for History, are also of high value as specimens of the old style of Marāṭhī prose.

The Editors mention sundry other *Bākhars* as being in their possession, and they are also on the look-out for more. We trust that their efforts in rescuing from oblivion these valuable records will prove successful. The duty of contributing to a trustworthy and complete history of the Marāṭhā power belongs especially to us in Western India. But no systematic attempt had been made in this direction till the publication of the work before us. Individual members of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have often talked about the matter at meetings of the Society, but nothing tangible has yet come out of such talk, while the Society still continues to receive from Government a sum of nearly Rs. 300 per month, which was originally intended, we believe, to be applied towards the publication of documents illustrative of Marāṭhā history. We hope that those who have the control of the affairs of the Society will look into this matter betimes.

In the second department of the publication before us, we have already had one or two small pieces by the poet Vāman and one or two by other and less known writers. The works now in process of publication are, firstly, the *Vaas Patra* of Mukteśvara, whom, the late Mr. Kṛishṇa Śāstri Chip-lonkar used to regard as the best among Marāṭhī Poets, and secondly the *Pārya Mantra Bāgyavata* of Moropant, which is remarkable, like most of that author's performances, for a very ingenious verbal contrivance, by which each stanza contains the letters नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय in that order,

although other letters intervene. The letters, it will be perceived, make up a sentence meaning "Salutation to the venerable Vāsudeva," which is the *Mantra* from which the work takes its name. In this department, the Editors have also collected together some useful items of information regarding the three great poets whose works are embraced in it, namely, Vāman, Mukteśvar, and Moropant.

The third department contains unpublished Sanskrit poems. In this part, the place of honour, if we may say so, was given to a work called *Matuadharaka Bāga*. We own that we have been utterly unable to wade through the whole of that work. And we do not think we can be charged with squeamishness in our taste, if we say, that we consider the work so exceptionable, as not to be entitled to any place whatever in such a publication as the present, let alone the place of honour. We can only express our great regret that the Editors should have thought it worth while to preserve such a performance in print. The other pieces are, however, good ones. The first, *Apurvāśāubhāṭī*, is a work ascribed to Śankarāchārya, and the other is a *Rūmdhyana* by the famous Marāṭhī poet Moropant, which is curious as showing, among other things, the same verbal ingenuities as those which mark his Marāṭhī poetry. This work has not yet been completed.

Upon the whole, we trust we have said enough to show that this publication is a very meritorious one, and deserving of the patronage of all who take an interest in Sanskrit and Marāṭhī literature and in the history of India—especially the history of the Marāṭhās. It is at present conducted on a scale smaller than is required by the nature of the subjects it deals with. At the present rate, it will take years before even a fairly large number of *Bākhars* can be published. And the same thing may be said of the large mass of Marāṭhī literature which still remains unprinted. As to Sanskrit, the call for such work is not urgent, because there are many other agencies at work directed to the publication of old Sanskrit pieces. But as regards the other two departments, the publication before us is almost the only one in the field. A few years' delay, and we fear there will be no harvest to reap at all.

We have been informed, that the only difficulty in the way of enlarging the size of the present publication is the vulgar one—money. We trust that the public will patronize the work so as to get rid of this difficulty, and we shall be glad if our notice serves to introduce the publication to the knowledge of a larger circle of readers than it commands at present.

K. T. TELANG.

ANDHRA COINS.

BY E. THOMAS, F.R.S., CORRESPONDANT DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

IN the *Indian Antiquary* vol. VI. for 1877, pp. 274 to 277, I described some remarkable coins of the Andhra dynasty: simultaneously making an appeal to our correspondents in Southern India to aid in the development of the ancient history of the peninsula by contributing additional examples of the local coinages. This appeal has been responded to from several quarters, but notably in the new acquisitions of Mr. R. Sewell, Madras C.S., Mr. J. Burgess, and Dr. Codrington.

These contributions enable me to place the preliminary outline of the series upon a more scientific basis, so far as the sequence of coins extends, and I have ventured to add some suggestive notes, which may perhaps prove of value in the more advanced stages of the enquiry.

Family Coins.

A.—MIMI.

No. 1.—Lead, with traces of copper. Weight 220 grains. Size 9 of Mionnet's scale.

Obverse—A crudely-outlined delineation of a primitive rounded bow, with a broadly-barbed arrow, in position.

Legend—रजो मदारी पुतस सिवाल कुरस
Rajo Madāri-putasa Sivala-kurasa
(kurasa).¹

¹ "The aboriginal race (went) a step further back (than the Aryas), and roots its system on the simpler political unit of a nomadic society, the family."

"The Indo-Aryan word for a household, *śala*, is not found by itself in Sanskrit, but it subsists as the ground-work of every Santal community. A Santal village consists essentially of a single street, with houses on each side; and the pathway running between is called throughout the whole Santal country the *Kula-Ai*, the divider of families."—W. W. Hunter. *Rural Bengal*; London: 1869, p. 179.

[Shagwanth Indraj has a coin of this type which distinctly reads—

Rajo Midhariputasa Sivala-kurasa.—En.]

² This coin is figured as No. 13 of Indraj's Plates. The original piece leaves no doubt about the present interpretation of the order or sequence of the records.

³ This wavy serpent pattern appears repeatedly in the ornamental scroll work of the Amaravati *Topos* (see Ferguson, *Tree and Serp.* *Wor.* pls. xliii, lvi, xlii, &c.)

⁴ Its position to the right is not constant, it occasionally appears on the left of the device.

⁵ Ferguson, *T. and S. Wor.* Amaravati *Topos*, Plate lxxvi, page 298. See also p. 175. It is important to note that this seven-leaved branch has remained to this day the device or conventional symbol of Jaipur as figured on the local Gold Mohurs. See Prinsep's *Essays* Plate xli, No. 73, &c.

Mr. Lyall supplies us with an interesting note upon Family trees, and their worship, which may perchance afford a novel explanation of some of the scenes in the *Topos*—

"Before concluding an alliance the Kuntli and other tribes look to the *deest*, which literally means the deities worshipped at marriage ceremonies; the fact being that

In one example of this type, the words रजो मदारी पुतस *Rajo Madāri putasa* are clear upon the margin of the original coin, which has been superstruck, or perhaps recast irregularly, with a die or stamp bearing the titles of रजो गोतमि पुतस *Rajo Gotami-putasa*, which words underline, in an inner semicircle, the previous or normal impress.¹

Reverse.—A *Chaitya*, or conventional definition of a *tope* or *tumulus*, formed of four rows of inverted semi-circles or arches, surmounted by a half-moon: at the base of the *chaitya*, serving as a pedestal, is an oblong space filled-in with a bold representation of a serpent, in the wavy intervals of whose onward course, by way of completing the pattern, are inserted five dots²: to the right³ of the *chaitya*, rising from the end of the pedestal, is seen the seven-leaved sacred, or possibly hereditary, family tree.⁴

B.—VASHIL.

No. 2.—Lead, with traces of copper. Weight 228 grains. Size 9 of Mionnet's scale.

Obverse Device—Bow and arrow, as above.

Legend—रजो वशिष्ठो पुतस विदिव्या कुरस
Rajo Vashisto-putasa Vidivya-kurasa

Reverse—Similar device to the above, with the important modifications—1st, of the insertion of prominent dots within the semi-circles of

certain families hold in honour particular trees and plants, and at marriage time branches of these trees are set up in the house. It is said that a betrothal, in every other respect unexceptionable, will be broken off if the two houses are discovered to pay honour to the same kind of tree."—A. C. Lyall. *Gazetteer of Berar* (Bombay, 1870) p. 197.

Mr. Lyall elsewhere remarks: At Wān "the oak-trees are strictly preserved"—especially "in the vicinity of temples, or in honour of some presiding deity. The fear of incurring divine displeasure has saved these plantations from devastation," pp. 30, 31, see also *Jour. E. Asiatic Society* vol. V. p. 192, 304; vol. XVIII. p. 373; *Ind.* p. 485; Wilson's *Works* vol. IV. p. 336; *Pliny* H. N. xii. 2, 3; *Curtius* viii. 9, 34.

² This is the same name as the Vashiti of Scripture derived from वसित "perfumed," the origin of and use of the term are self-evident in our Biblical texts.

"Now it proved that this damsel, whose name was Esther, (एस्तेर) was the most beautiful of all the rest, and the grace of her countenance drew the eyes of the spectators principally upon her; so she was committed to one of the eunuchs to take care of her; and she was very sweetly provided with sweet odours, in great plenty, and with costly garments, such as her body required to be adorned withal; and this was used for six months by the virgins, who were in number 100. And when the eunuch thought the virgins had been sufficiently purified, in the forementioned time &c." Josephus, *Ant. bk. x. c. vi. § 2*, Whiston's translation. So also the text of Esther ii. 3, 9, 12: "Now when every maid's turn was come to go in to king Ahasuerus, after she had been twelve months, according to the manner of the women (for so were the days of their purifications accomplished, to wit, six months with oil of myrrh and six months with sweet odours), and with other things for the purifying of the women."

which the Chaitya is built up; 2nd, of the ordinary shifting of the sacred tree from the right to the left-hand corner of the pedestal.

C.—GOTAMI.

No. 3.—Lead with traces of copper. Weights varying from 180 to 196 grains. Size 9 of Mionnet's scale.

Obverse Device—The usual bow and arrow.

Legend—रजो गौतमि पुत्रा विदिद्या कुरा.

*Rajō Gotami-putasa Vidiḍya-kurasa.*⁷

Reverse Device—The general characteristics of these reverse devices are similar to those of the two varieties just described. There are, however, some peculiarities to be noticed. There are no dots within the semi-circles of the framework of the Chaitya as in the Vasiṣṭhi coins, the sacred tree is usually placed on the right: and the Chaitya itself is surmounted, at times, by a *chakra* or rayed circle,⁸ denoting apparently the sun, as opposed to the half-moon of the other local families. This *chakra* again is often replaced by the figure of the *Swastika* or symbolic cross,⁹ which so often appears with other objects of worship on the ancient Punch-die coins¹⁰ and elsewhere: but which, in this instance, can only be taken to typify and represent the great luminary itself.

In this arrangement of symbols it coincides with the device of the unique coin of Chātana; where the Chaitya retains its ordinary superimposed demilune, but has a second half-moon in the field on one side, which is balanced by a well-defined figure of a rayed sun on the other.¹¹

No. 4.—Copper? Small coins. Weight 35 grains. Size 4 of Mionnet's scale.

Obverse—Similar device, Bow and arrow.

Legend—Rajō Vasiṣṭho-putasa Vidiḍya-kurasa.

No. 4a.—Similar coins, in weight about 35 grains—bearing the legend *Rajō Gotami-putasa Vidiḍya-kurasa*.

Reverse—Chaitya, with the sacred tree placed directly above the apex of the edifice.

⁷ On some at least the spelling is *Vidiḍya-kurasa*, the *o* being the same as in Rudradama's Girnar Inscription, formed somewhat like the modern *o*.—Ed.

⁸ This may be traced on the worn surface of Indrāja's Coin No. 8, but I have it in a more definite form, on a coin of Mrs. Dunbar's, where it is not directly above the apex of the Chaitya, but placed on the right-hand nearer the tree—the half-moon, in this example, appears on the same level in apparent equipoise or balance to the left.

⁹ See Nos. 9 and 10 Indrāja's Plates *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. XIII. p. 366E.

¹⁰ Prinsep's *Essays*, Pl. xi. vol. I. p. 209; and my *Marsden, Ancient Indian Weights*, Pl. i.

Monograms, in the field, No. 4—Letters seemingly representing तृ (tṛ) or तृ (tṛ), No. 4a, a letter very similar to a Chaldeo-Pahlvi *u*—*a*, with a curious *tātrio* figure like one of the symbols on the Hāthigumphā Rock Inscription of Aira at Udayagiri.¹² It may be added that the other associate devices on this rock represent the *Kurmachakra* or "tortoise symbol" and the *Swastika*.

I have separated, in this catalogue, the family or general maternity-descent coins, from those which, in addition to the tribal or ancestral record, bear the definite name of a reigning sovereign.

I prefix for the purposes of comparison the Purāṇik Dynastic succession list, which, however imperfect, in its more exact details, evidences a certain measure of value and authentic authority, in the confirmation afforded to its leading data by the appearance of so many coincident names on the extant coins described below.

The *Vijaya Purāṇa*'s leading text contributes the following series of the Āndhra kings:—

"Sāsarman, the Kaṇva, will be killed by a powerful servant, named (1) Śipraka, of the Āndhra tribe, who will become king (and found the Āndhrabhīṣṭya dynasty).

He will be succeeded by his brother (2) Kṛishna;

His son will be (3) Śātakarṇi;

His son will be (4) Pūrṇotsanga;

His son will be (5) Śātakarṇi;

His son will be (6) Lambodara;

His son will be (7) Iṣṭilaka (Vikalā ?);

His son will be (8) Meghaswāti;

His son will be (9) Paṭumati (Paṭamāyī ?);

His son will be (10) Ariṣṭakarmān;

His son will be (11) Hāla;

His son will be (12) Pattalaka (Maṇḍalaka ?);

His son will be (13) Prāvilasena (Pari-kashena ?);

His son will be (14) Sundara (named) Śātakarnin;

¹² Burgess's *Report on Kāśīnāth and Kuchī*, 1874-5, Pl. vii. fig. 7, p. 47. See also my *Guptas in India*, Pl. I. fig. 7, p. 82, and Mr. Newton *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. IX. p. cix. This combination of the sun and the moon seems to have necessarily constituted a fixed idea amid very many classes of men. It even so retained its hold upon public opinion in India that it reappears on the later coins of Arkan. *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1846, February; and 1872 p. 201.

¹³ Sterling's *Orissa*. *Asiatic Researches* vol. XV.; M. Kittoe, *Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, vol. VI. (1837) p. 1675, Plate lviii; and Rājendralāla in the *Proceedings A. S. Bengal* for 1877, page 168.

His son will be (15) Chakora Śātakarṇi;

His son will be (16) Śivaswāti;

His son will be (17) Gotamīputra;

His son will be (18) Pulomat;

His son will be (19) Śivaśrī Śātakarṇi;

His son will be (20) Śivaskandha (the *Matsya* adds Śātakarṇi);

His son will be (21) Yajñāśrī;

His son will be (22) Vijaya;

His son will be (23) Chandraśrī (Daṇḍāśrī);

His son will be (24) Pulomārchis (Pulomāvi).

These thirty Andrabhṛitya Kings will reign 456 years.¹²

The total numbers in the royal succession above enumerated only reach twenty-four. The other *Purāṇas* are equally, though irregularly, defective; the *Matsya* list is the fullest, and retains twenty-nine names, with an aggregate total of 435½ years.¹³

Personal Coins.

GOTAMĪ'S BRANCH.—YĀṆA ŚĀTAKARṆI.

No. 5.—Bronze? Weight 240 grains. Size 7. Sir W. Elliot.¹⁴

Obverse Device—Imitating, in some respects, the normal type of the preceding coins. The *Chaitya* or *tope*, in this case, seems to represent solid earth-work as distinguished from the built-up hollow outline of the earlier examples. It is, as usual, surmounted by the half-moon, while the conventional serpent at the bottom is left free and clear of the *stāpa*, unconfined within the lines of a basic pedestal. The sacred tree is also wanting, and in its place is supplied a lotus or water-lily on the one side and a conch-shell on the other.

Legend—

रञ्जो गोतमि पुतस तिरि यञ्ज सतकणस.

Raṇo Gotami-putasa Siri Yaṇa Satakanasa.

Reverse—Four circles, each composed of a central dot and two concentric circles, connected by semi-circular ligatures, surmounted apparently by a half-moon, forming, in effect,

a leading type of the pattern, conventionally known as the Ujjain device.¹⁵

GOTAMĪ BRANCH.—YĀṆA ŚĀTAKARṆI.

No. 6.—Lead. Size 4½.

Obverse—A well-executed figure of an elephant to the left.

Legend—रञ्जो गोतमि पुतस तिरि यञ्ज सतक

Raṇo Gotami-putasa Siri Yaṇa Sataka.

Reverse—The usual Ujjain Symbol.

No. 7.—Variants of the type of No. 6.

Obverse—The leading device of the elephant is retained, but the animal is profusely adorned with head-gear, &c.

Legend—यञ्ज सतक.

Yaṇa Sataka.

Reverse—The Ujjain symbol.

The forms of the letters of the legends of these pieces clearly assign them to a later date, and possibly, to a different locality, from that of the prototype.

GOTAMĪ BRANCH.—YĀṆA ŚĀTAKARṆI.

No. 8.—Lead. Weight 70 grains. Size 4.

Obverse—A boldly sunk die, bearing a well-designed figure of a horse to the left.

Legend—रञ्जो गोतमि पुतस तिरि यञ्ज स...

Raṇo Gotami-putasa Siri Yaṇa Sataka.

Reverse—The conventional Ujjain symbol.

No. 9.—Lead. Weight 133 grains. Size 6.

Obverse—A well-executed figure of a horse to the right, half-moon in the field.

Legend—रञ्ज स सतकणस.

Raṇo G(otami-putasa) Satakanasa.

Reverse—Device indistinguishable.

VĀSĪṬHĪ BRANCH.—YĀSODA?

No. 10.—Lead. Weight 86 grains. Size 5.

Obverse—Small *Chaitya*, composed of three hollow inverted semi-circles or arches. Serpent free at the foot.

Legend—

रञ्जो वासिष्ठ पुतस स्र यसतस.

Raṇo Vāsīṣṭho-putasa Siri Yasatasa. [Yasoda?]

Reverse—The conventional four-fold sun.

VĀSĪṬHĪ BRANCH.—PULOMAT.

No. 11.—Lead. Weight 86 grains. Size 4. Mr. Sewell's coin¹⁷ from Gudiavāḍā.

¹² Wilson's *Pishnu Purāṇa*, vol. IV. p. xxiv. (Half's ed.) vol. IV. p. 194. See also Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. II. *Useful Tables*, p. 241; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. IX. p. 101; and *Brihat Samhitā*, J. R. A. S. (N.S.) vol. V. p. 23, etc.

¹³ Wilson, *Works*, vol. IV. p. 120.

¹⁴ Figured as No. 105 of his original plate xi. *Moderns Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. III. Mr. Sewell has another example from Amaravati weighing also 240 grains.

¹⁵ *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. VII. plate li. Prinsep's *Essays*, Pl. xx. figs. 29, 31, 33, &c. *Naturalists Orientalia*, pl. i. plate figs. 5, 6. Cunningham, *Baileo Topos* (1854), Plates xxi., xxxii. We have a notice of such a combination in Ceylon:—“This monarch caused the *chhatra* on the Mahāthūpa to be gilt, and he set four gems in the centre of the four emblems of the sun, each of which cost a lakh.”—*Mahāvaṃsa*, Turnour, p. 229.

¹⁷ See the engraving in Sir W. Elliot's Plate xi. figure

Obverse—Small Chaitya, with 3 arches. Serpent at the foot.

Legend—रघु वसिष्ठपुत्रः राघो वसिष्ठो-पुत्रः... पुत्रवत्स.
Raño Vasistho-putasa... Puyumavassa.

Reverse—The usual Ujjain symbol.

VĀSĪṬHI BRANCH.—ŚIVASĪRI.

No. 12.—Lead. Weight 86 grains. Size 4. Mr. Sewell's coin.

Obverse—Chaitya as above.

Legend—रघु वसिष्ठो पुत्रः शिवसिरी
Raño Vasistho-putasa Shivasirasa.

Reverse—As usual.

VĀSĪṬHI BRANCH.—CHANDRA.

No. 13.—Lead. Size 4.

Obverse—Chaitya as usual.

Legend—

रघु वसिष्ठो पुत्रः शिवसिरी चन्द्र
Raño Vasistho-putasa Sīri Chandra satasa.

This reading of this legend is to a certain extent conjectural. The absolute letters of the name would be preferentially rendered वदसतस Vadasatasa.

Reverse—The Ujjain symbol.

CHANDRA.

No. 14.—Lead. Weight 112 grains. Size 5. Mr. Sewell, from Gudivādi.

Obverse—Horse to the right.

Legend—In coarsely engraved letters—

रघु शिवसिरी चन्द्र
Raño Sīri Chandra.

Reverse—The Ujjain symbol.

No. 14a.—Weight 70 grains. Size 4. Small coins of similar types, but of superior execution. The legend itself seems to be more full and complete, and the letters are better formed. Mr. Sewell's specimens are not in very good condition, but the legend seems to run—

रघु शिवसिरी चन्द्र वदसतस.
Raño Sīri Chandra satasa.
ŚĪTAKARṢI COINS.

No. 15.—Copper? Weight (average) 35 grains. Size 4.

Obverse—A well-outlined figure of an elephant, free, trunk erect, without trappings.

Legend—शिवसिरी वदसतस
Sīri Satakaraṣi.

109; and Genl. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, (1871) page 541; see also Professor R. G. Bhandarkar, *London Oriental Congress*, 1873, pp. 307–310. No. 26, Nāik Inscription, "on the 13th day, in the second fortnight of Viṣṇu in the year 19 nineteen of the King Śrī Puṣṇayya the son of Vāṇikāṇḍi" शिवसिरी वदसतस.

No. 26c also commences वदसतसवामी शिवसिरी वदसतस.

Reverse—The Ujjain symbol.

No. 16.—Lead. Size 3. Weight 35 grains. 2 specimens.

Obverse—A crude figure of an elephant to the left.

Legend—शिवसिरी Sarivasa or Salivasa, perhaps a repetition of the name, but not necessarily indicative of the personality of the great monarch.

Reverse—The Ujjain symbol.

RUDRA.

No. 17.—Lead. Similar coins. 3 specimens.

Legend—शिव रुद्र
Sīri Rudra.

The रु is on one occasion given as द, and the R, if required for Rudra, has to be supplied to the existing context.

SINHA COINS.

No. 18.—Lead. Weight, varying from 218 to 250 grains. Sizes from 6 to 7.

Mr. Sewell. 11 coins from Amarāvati.¹⁸

Obverse—A spirited outline of a lion, standing erect, to the right: to the front, a square pedestal with cross lines, above which is a standard upright line intersected by four rows of bars, forming in effect with the central staff a series of four-repeated trisulas or tridents.

Legend—Above the lion, in somewhat indistinct letters, शकशकश sakashakasa or शकशकश sakashakasa, Seshak?

This is perhaps the most appropriate place to notice the metallic constituents of the coins and the coincident mechanical appliances of the Andhra Mints.

Dr. Percy has taken so much interest in the former question, as to have the family class of coins exhaustively tested in the Laboratory of the School of Mines. The larger pieces prove to be simply lead, retaining only so far a trace of copper such as the local assayists did not take the trouble to eliminate. The secondary admixture of lead and copper with a view to form a new compound is stated to be chemically impracticable.

The larger leaden coins were obviously, in many cases, cast, but lead was alike so soft in it-

दुर्गति, pp. 314–317, and see the Professor's remarks on the coins, page 340.

¹⁸ Figured in Sir W. Elliot's Plate ix, *Madras Journal of Lit. and Science*, vol. III. No. 53, weight 229.9, and No. 57, square coin with similar devices.

See also Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XVII. Plate v. figs. 117, 118.

self, and so readily made softer by heat, that we should be wrong to pronounce any final opinion upon the actual methods of manipulation, which seem, however, to have admitted of a superimposed, or otherwise as it is *technically* termed *superstruck*, secondary impression. Whether this was effected by mere reheating and the pressure of a hard-clay mould upon the surface of the original casting, it would be hard to say. Numismatically-speaking the latest impression *ought* to decide relative dates. But we know too little about family or tribal relations in this case to venture to draw ordinary deductions from the given data.

That mechanical *striking*, or the complete formation of a coin of two dies, was in vogue at this coincident period, is proved by the smaller copper coins bearing the same legends and devices as the leaden pieces, which, however,

come out far more distinctly in their devices, and sharper and more definite in their legends than the associate coins of the other metal.

The Sindh coins, just described, furnish us with unusually definite examples of a practice common in the early mintages of southern India—of designedly leaving the lower surface of the piece *blank*. In these instances, the *lead* has seemingly been poured out, in a fluid state, from a heated ladle, on to flat surfaces of stone, or even wood, and then sealed with the impress of the single authorized die, which was to give it a legal currency, according as the ultimate weight corresponded by this crude process with the intentional value. Mr. Tooky, who has lately held the position of English Mint-Assayer in Japan, informs me that a similar system of rude fabrication of money prevailed until very lately in that kingdom.

THE SWASTIKA.

BY E. THOMAS, F.R.S., CORRESPONDANT DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

The crypto-import of the mystic cross of Western nations—the counterpart of the Indian *Swastika*, has hitherto proved an enigma alike to classic and oriental commentators. Our Andhra coins seem to suggest a solution, which may, perchance, satisfy and convince all parties.

In describing Coin No. 3 of this series, (page 62, *ante*.) I pointed out, that the place of the more definite figure of the Sun, in its rayed-wheel form, was taken by the emblematic cross of the *Swastika*. The position, so taken, in apposition to, or in natural balance of the coincident semilune, could leave no doubt that the aim and intention in this case was to represent *symbolically* the great luminary itself.¹ In seeking for further confirmation of this in-

ference, I found that, in one instance, the *Swastika* had been inserted within the rings or normal circles representing the four suns of the Ujjain pattern on coins,² in which position it seemed equally to declare its own meaning as indicating the onward movement and advancing rotation of the heavenly body³ which is described in some texts⁴ as never going back.

I had already noticed that there was an unaccountable absence of the visible sun, or its accepted representative, in the long list of the recognised devices of the twenty-four Jaina Tirthankaras, whose distinguishing *chakras*, or marks, constituted so important an element in the authoritative discrimination of the succession of their saints.

The sun, moreover, occupied a high place in

¹ "The sixth class of *Swastikas* in apposition to the preceding deemed it unnecessary to address their devotions to the visible and material sun; they provided a mental luminary, on which they meditated, and to which their adoration was offered: they stamped circular orbs on their foreheads, arms, and breasts with hot incense."—H. H. Wilson, *Religion of the Hindus*,—*Essays*, vol. I. p. 19. See also Colburn's *Essays* (Cowell's Ed. London, 1873) vol. I. pp. 216-217, vol. II. p. 181, and the originals in *Asiatic Researches*, vols. VII. and IX.

² Gen. Cunningham, *Bhilara Types*, plate xxi. fig. 3, p. 354.
³ "Ho, the impeller, the chief of chariotsovers, (Pishun), ever wraps on that golden wheel (*of his car*) for the radiant sun." *Rig-Veda* iv. viii. 7. Wilson, vol. III. p. 437. A note is appended to this passage to the effect that "the second is rendered *Aditya*, he who moves or revolves." So also "the 12 spoked wheel of the tree (sun) revolves around

the heavens." ii. 3. Wilson's *R. V.* vol. II. p. 130. The later Indian conceptions of the motion of the sun are embodied in the following terms:—"The chariot of the sun is * * * on which is fixed a wheel with 3 naves (or rather, a triple nave, or 3 naves in one), five spokes, and 6 peripheries—consisting of the corresponding year; the whole constituting the circle or wheel of time."—Viskum *Pardas* ii. 8. Wilson, vol. II. p. 237. "As the circumference of a potter's wheel revolves most rapidly, so the sun travels rapidly on his southern journey." *Id.* ii. p. 244. "As the centre of the potter's wheel revolves more slowly (than the circumference), so the sun," *Id.* p. 247.

⁴ Burnouf is not very clear as to this meaning, he says, *anticharité d'icelle* incapable de se débarrasser; in the Tibetan the sense runs, qui fait tourner la roue de la loi qui se revient pas sur elle-même. Burnouf, tom. II. 300. see also Remusat, p. 28, note 6.

their estimation,—even to the extent of an adverse charge of Vaishnavism—but in this official list or catalogue there was no apparent sun-like orb, or even *wheel*, to denote the “universal deity.”¹² Whereas the *Svastika* avowedly constituted the sign for the Supārśva, the 7th Jina, and the closely-associated half-moon stood forth as the *chakra* of his successor Chandraprabha, the 8th Jina.¹³

Under the advanced interpretation of the design and purport of the *Svastika*, from an Indian point of view, now put forward—perhaps few archaeologists will be disposed to dissent from the inference that, in this instance also, its figure, as representing one of the received attributes of the sun, was used, conventionally, to typify the solar orb itself.¹⁴

In describing the hand-made *wheels*, found on the site of Troy, which were unaided by the mechanical appliances of the potter's wheel, and whose ornamentation clearly preceded the use of alphabetical letters—Dr. Schliemann, in commenting on the appearance of this identical *Svastika* symbol on so many of these clay objects, appears to have divined the leading idea associated with the foot or following limbs attached to the square or normal cross—in designating these devices as “representations of the wheel in motion effected by the incisions.”¹⁵ This independent conclusion is fully confirmed by an examination of the subsequent numismatic evidence.

The earliest Lycian coins have a constant *revolver* device, nearly identical with the original *Svastika*, except so far as consists in the more

distinct sequent curve given to the four limbs, and a more definite opening out of the centre into an open circle, which, in one instance, is imagined to have a thread or rope inserted in the ring.¹⁶ These four-limbed symbols are speedily reduced into similar objects having only three arms, the *Āryan triquetra*,¹⁷ which admitted of the extension of the length of the limbs, and if so intended, would fancifully aid the speed of the revolutions¹⁸ or clear the contracted die-space for improved artistic freedom of treatment.

A similar device of the *Trisacra* appears on the coins of Aspendus in Pamphylia,¹⁹ but in this instance the curved lines are transformed into the likeness of three human legs, manifestly in motion, with a tumbling or rotatory onward course,²⁰ which recalls “the three steps of Vishnu.”²¹ But the idea of speed and revolution is much more distinctly rendered in the mintages of Syracuse, where the ankles of the legs are aided by small wings, such as are represented as constant adjuncts of the statues of Mercury. In one instance this winged *triquetra* is placed above the horses of the chariot, who are at full speed²² and in others it is associated with Pegasus. In some instances it replaces a quasi star, which clearly stands for the sun,²³ and the astronomical tendencies of the consecutive mint series are shown in the admission of a design of a new moon whose upper limb is given in an eclipse-like form, with a faint outline circle, perhaps intended to indicate the obscured portion of the moon itself.²⁴

(To be continued.)

¹² Wilson *Rig Veda*, vol. IV. p. 12. Text V. i. 6.

¹³ *Jour. E. A. S.* 1877, p. 161; Colcbrooke's *Essays*, vol. II. p. 187; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. IX. p. 305; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II. p. 134.

¹⁴ Of this optional interchange of signs and symbols there is further confirmatory evidence in the two examples of *poached* gold coins depicted in Sir Walter Elliot's Plate ix. vol. III., *Modern Journal Lit. and Science*, where the central sun of No. 35 is suggested by or alternated with the *Svastika* in No. 31.

¹⁵ *Troy*, pp. 38, 181 and 349. See also his *Mycenæ*, Nos. 404, 406, 411, &c.

¹⁶ Sir C. Fellows, Plate i. fig. 4. Sir C. Fellows supposed these devices to represent *gryllers*, p. 15.

¹⁷ A remarkable leading example of the tracing of the rotatory *three-feet* is to be seen on one of the *whorls* from Troy in Dr. Schliemann's work above cited.

¹⁸ In one instance, pl. IX. 2, these curved lines are made to end in serpents' heads and in another in cocks' heads, IX. 7.

¹⁹ The site of Aspendus was on a hill near the river Eurymedon, about 8 miles from the sea, in the gulf of Adalia, close to the eastern boundary of Lycia. The coins bear letters of cognate origin with the alphabet of the

latter. The name of Aspendus is written ΕΣΤΡΕΔΙΩΣΕ.

²⁰ I have lately had occasion to point out the many curious identities of customs prevailing alike in Lycia and India, *J. R. A. S.* vol. XI. 1879 p. 19. The “3 steps of Vishnu” are variously interpreted as “the rising, meridian and setting Sans” in one instance, the *Pishanpada* is asserted to represent “the meridian sky” (*Pishan Parkan* iii. 19), perhaps the full round-sun, which takes the place of honour on the more archaic forms of “the feet.” The term *Tri-Pikrama*, or three paces, seems to indicate something more than three steps, as the word *Vikrama* would imply “to step on”—to step beyond—giving an idea of progress or motion.

²¹ Combe, *Hunter Collection*, vol. VII. 15, 18.

²² “The three steps of Vishnu,” *Rig-Veda*, I. 22, 17, Wilson, vol. I. p. 53. Goldstucker's *Literary Remains*, vol. I. p. 289. Max Müller, *Rig Veda*, translation pp. 117, 118. Colcbrooke's *Essays*.

²³ Numismatic Chronicle, 1874, Mr. Head's article, Pl. VIII. 7, 8, 4, 5, 6.

²⁴ *Num. Chron.* vol. XIV. Pl. ix. Nos. 11, 12—also Pl. vii. 4.

²⁵ *Num. Chron.* vol. XIV. Pl. x. Nos. 1—2. See also the Etruscan rendering of the Moon in Falsetti, Pl. xviii.

THE SWASTIKA.

BY REV. S. BEAL.

I have observed in the *Indian Antiquary* vol. VII. (1878) pp. 176ff. an article written by Mr. Walhouse, in which he refers to a paper by Mr. Westropp printed in the *Athenæum* for January 12th, 1878, relating to the origin and signification of the well-known symbol called the *Swastika*. As Mr. Westropp in the course of his remarks alludes to me by name, and points to some observations I had made (*Romantic Legend*, pp. 56, 196 nn.) on the same subject, I will ask you to permit me to state in the *Indian Antiquary*, somewhat more at length, what I have elsewhere written on this matter.

In order to open up the subject and lead to the explanation I have to give, I will quote Mr. Walhouse's words: "It is curious indeed," he says, "to find the same symbol used with a mystic meaning both in English and Japanese heraldry, and for the same office of repelling demons on Japanese coffins and English church bells." And without doubt it is a curious circumstance, and only to be accounted for by discovering whether the symbol itself does not embody a meaning equally widespread.

When I was located many years ago in the remote town of Hakodate, in the island of Yezo, the most northern of the Japanese islands, I was occasionally present at some of the religious functions of the Buddhist priests, who had several flourishing monasteries (*terako*) in that place. My attention was drawn on more than one such occasion to the mode of their accepting, or perhaps consecrating, presents, sent to the brotherhood by charitable persons. The gift was placed in the middle of a circle (*wagidala*), and the priests, in their canonical dresses, would march round it three times in single file, religiously keeping it on their right, i.e. with their right hands towards the centre of the circle as they moved. This of course brought to my mind the custom known for ages in India, and called *pradakshina*, commonly practised also in early times amongst the Romans, and styled *decurio*, equally common in Scotland down to the present day, and called *deasil*, and so well known in Ireland that the town of Tempo, in Fermanagh, is still in Irish called "*t'iompadh deasil*," which, as Mr. Joyce explains, is nothing more than a compound form of *iompadh*, mean-

ing "turning" and *deasil* "to the right." So that we here have a custom known from Japan to Ireland and common in India, the Roman Empire, Scotland, and doubtless throughout Northern Europe.

There is a volume before me, belonging to the Buddhist *Tripitaka*, printed in Chinese characters, and called "Account of the customs of countries in the Southern Ocean"; the 32nd cap. of the 2nd volume of this work is occupied by an account of the way in which the people of Ceylon mark their time by the sun's shadow, and hence the author says (he lived in the 7th century) is derived the religious ceremony known as *pradakshina*, i. e. turning to the right in conformity with the sun's shadow, in other words, turning "sun-ways."

I need hardly observe, in illustration of the same point, that in many Buddhist *Sûtras* the custom of circumambulating the Great Teacher three times, or seven times, with the right hand kept towards him, is mentioned as a religious custom generally practised at the time when these *Sûtras* were written: and in one *Sûtra* in my possession the entire argument is occupied in discussing the happiness (good fortune, or blessedness) of those who thus circumambulate *Topes*, or *Chaityas* in general, consecrated to Buddha or his disciples.

Enough then as to this widely recognized custom.

I come now to show that the figure called the *Swastika* symbolizes this idea of circumambulation, derived from the apparent movement of the sun from left to right round the earth. The idea is this, that if a person face the east at sunrise and follow its movement southward and westward, he will turn with his right hand fixed towards an object supposed to be placed like the earth in relation to the sun, in the centre of a circle.

Now the figure of the *Swastika* consists of two parts, 1st the cross + and secondly the *crampas* at the end of the arms. The figure of the cross + is one of the oldest symbols used to represent "the earth" or "the four quarters." General Cunningham in his recent work (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, p. 44) has shown that this sign, viz. +, is in the Khâlsî inscription

equivalent to "*chatura*," i.e. four. But in Pali the word *Chaturanta* (i.e. the four quarters, or points) is a word for "the earth," hence *Chaturanta* = Lord of the Earth, (vide Childers' *Pali Diet.*) In Sanskrit we have similar compounds with the same meaning. But proof positive is derived from the Chinese, in which we not only have the symbol \boxplus for "an enclosed space of earth," and the symbol 卐 (卐) for "12 o'clock," or noon, (the upper portion indicating the heaven, with the sun on the meridian, and the lower portion (the cross) denoting the earth), but we also have in so many words the fact stated that "God made or fashioned the earth in the shape of a cross," and the symbol used is exactly this 卐 . I refer to a passage in the celebrated Syrian inscription found by some Chinese workmen in the year A.D. 1625 near Si-gan-fu, the capital city of the province of Shen-si. In this inscription (which is given in the original characters), and with three translations in English, Latin, and French in the *Chinese Repository*, (vol. XIV. May 1845), we find the following passage towards the end of the first clause:—"he determined in the shape of a cross (*shih 'tes* in the original is represented thus 卐) to spread out the earth." So that at the time when this stone tablet was erected, i.e. A.D. 781, the symbol 卐 was known (in China at least) as an ideogram representing "the earth."

There may be other illustrations in proof of the same point familiar to students which for the present can be passed over.

The *crochets* at the ends of the arms of the cross are, in Buddhist symbolism, mostly, though not always, drawn to the right—denoting, as we argue, the sun's movement round the earth from left to right. Now it is plain that this is always the apparent movement of the sun in Northern latitudes, that is, in latitudes to the north of the Tropic of Cancer. In Northern countries (unaffected by Southern or Phœnician influences) therefore we find the *crochets* of the 卐 drawn to the right. But, as Milton has

observed (*Paradise Regained*, Book IV.) l. 70,

"Some from furthest South,

Syene, and where the shadow both way falls."

The shadow of the sun, or, in other words, his apparent movement, is not always from left to right, but sometimes in intertropical countries, apparently from right to left, and this has generally attracted attention. Thus the Phœnicians who were in the fleet despatched by Pharaoh Necho were surprised to find the sun on the north instead of the south—and so the ambassadors sent from North India to the Emperor Claudius expressed the same astonishment—and the first Portuguese navigators, who voyaged south along the coast of Africa, noticed the same fact—so that wherever sun-worship prevailed in such tropical countries, his path would be represented both from left to right, and from right to left. Hence the double form of the *Swastika*, the *crochets* being found on either side of the arms of the cross, apparently without distinction, as e.g. at Hissarlik, and on the altars found on the Roman wall in Northumberland (vid. *Lapidarium Septentrionale*; passim): and as the reason of this diverse form was gradually forgotten or lost, the figure would be drawn less carefully and without any regard to the symbolism pointed out.

The argument therefore amounts to this: that, as the figure of the *Swastika* is found scattered through countries reaching from Japan to England, so also the custom of turning 'sunways,' or with the sun, is equally widespread; and secondly, that as the *Swastika* is a sign of good luck, signified by its etymology, so also the practice of turning with the sun is considered a lucky or fortunate proceeding, and turning in the contrary way, especially among northern people, is dreaded as entailing a curse; (called by the Scots *wither-shins*; German, *wider-shins*) [vide the passage I have referred to above, in *Waverley* (Black's Ed. p. 76)]; the custom and the symbol therefore, we argue, are co-related.

THE BRANCHIDÆ.

BY REV. S. BEAL.

One of the most characteristic records left by Alexander the Great during his Eastern campaign is the massacre of the Branchidæ. These people, as is well known, claimed to be a

sacred gens, descended from Branchos, the mythic founder of the Temple of Apollo, near Miletus in Ionia. Their forefathers had yielded up the treasures of their temple to the Persian

king, Xerxes, one hundred and fifty years before. This surrender brought on them so much odium that when the dominion of Xerxes was overthrown on the coast, they retired with him into the interior of Asia. The Persian king also carried away with him to Susa the colossal bronze statue of Apollo, which had been cast by Kanachos. This statue was afterwards restored by Selenkos Nikator (about 300 B.C.) to the temple rebuilt by Paionios and Daphnis.

When Xerxes had carried away the Branchidæ, he did not retain them in Susiana, as Mr. Newton seems to imply (*Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, vol. II., p. 158), but transported them to a small town in Sogdiana, between Balkh and Samarkand, where their descendants were found by Alexander. They were now a "bilingual and partially dishellenized race, yet still attached to their traditions and origin" (Grote). "Delighted to find themselves once more in commerce with Greeks, they poured forth to meet and welcome the army, tendering all they possessed. Alexander, when he heard who they were and what was their parentage, desired the Milesians to determine how they should be treated. But as these Milesians were neither decided nor unanimous, Alexander announced that he would determine for himself. Having first occupied the city in person with a select detachment, he posted his army all round the walls, and then gave orders not only to plunder it, but to massacre the whole population, men, women, and children. They were slain without arms or attempt at resistance, resorting to nothing but prayers and suppliant manifestations. Alexander next ordered the walls to be levelled, and the sacred groves cut down, so that no habitable site might remain, nor anything except solitude and sterility. Such was the revenge taken upon these unhappy victims for the deeds of their forefathers in the fourth or fifth generation before. Alexander doubtless considered himself as executing the wrath of Apollo against an accursed race who had robbed the treasure of the god. The Macedonian expedition had been proclaimed to be undertaken originally for the purpose of revenging upon the contemporary Persians the ancient wrongs done to Greece by Xerxes; so that Alexander would follow out the same sentiment in revenging upon the contemporary Branchidæ the acts of their ancestors—yet more

guilty than Xerxes, in his belief. The massacre of the unfortunate population was, in fact, an example of human sacrifice on the largest scale offered to the gods by the religious impulses of Alexander, and worthy to be compared to that of the Carthaginian general Hannibal, when he sacrificed three thousand Grecian prisoners on the field of Himera, where his grandfather Hamilkar had been slain seventy years before."

Such is the brief account given us of this atrocious massacre. It would seem that Alexander, influenced by his feelings towards the aristocratic party in the Ionian cities (which had always been under the patronage of the Persian kings,) treated the Branchidæ as he had already dealt with the Milesians, that is, by simple extirpation. Be this as it may, there is much room for conjecture left as to the influence produced on the arts and philosophy of the neighbouring populations, by the residence of a colony of Ionian Greeks in Sogdiana during the one hundred and fifty years of their survival. There must have been some influence exerted. It has been a long question how and through what channels the civilization of India was affected by Greek intercourse. Both in literature and art the effect of contact is plainly visible, and this, too, apparently at an earlier period than the establishment of the Græco-Bactrian kingdom. We must look elsewhere, then, than to the court of Selenkos and his successors for the channel of this inter-action, and it would seem that the town of the Branchidæ, situated in the centre of Sogdiana, will provide us with some clue to the solution of the question.

That thus intercommunication of thought did take place at an early period may be gathered from several considerations. The *Rāmāyana* has been called the 'Iliad of India.' It was long ago observed by Turnour, and more recently by Weber, that some incidents, especially those connected with the adventures of Ulysses (in the *Odyssey*) and of Rāma and his followers in Ceylon, bear a marked resemblance to one another. But, as a more striking instance of agreement, let us take the myth of the birth of Apollo (the god of the Branchidæ) and that of the Indian Buddha. Mr. Cox, in his *Argan Nation*, Vol. II., p. 21, gives the following account of the birth of the Sun-God:—"Then, as she drew near (i.e. Eileithyia) Leto cast her arms around a tall palm tree

as she reclined on the bank of Kynthos, and the babe leaped to life. The goddesses bathed him in pure water, and wrapped him in a glistening robe, fine and newly wrought. . . while Thetis touched his lips with the drink and food of the gods. No sooner had the child received this nourishment than he was endowed with an irresistible strength, and his swaddling bands fell off from him like flax, as he declared his mission 'of teaching to men the counsels of Jove.'" Compare with this the Indian account of the birth of the child of Māya (the illusive dawn): "Having arrived at the garden, Queen Māya stepped down from her chariot, and surrounded by her dancing women (*i.e.*, female attendants), passed from spot to spot and from tree to tree in the garden, admiring and looking at all. Now in the garden there was one particular tree called the *Palāśa* (palm), perfectly straight from top to bottom, its branches spread out in perfect regularity, &c. Delighted at the sight, Māya paused awhile to admire it, and gradually approached under its shade. . . then taking hold of one of the branches, she looked up into heaven's expanse and the child was born. . . . At this time Śakra and the four Mahārljas advanced and wrapped the child in his swaddling clothes, but he advanced four paces each way, and exclaimed: 'Now have I arrived at my last birth, &c.'"

There are so many points of resemblance here that the two myths cannot be separated. It is indifferent whether we suppose the one to have originated the other, or merely to have been engrafted on it. Probably the two have a common origin in the distant ages, but were modelled by mutual intercourse. And the existence of the Branchidæ, the priests of Apollo, in the neighbourhood of North India for one hundred and fifty years, may give us an insight into the source of agreement.

It would seem, again, as though the Græco-Buddhist sculptures, about which so much has been lately written, were allied with the Ionian and Asiatic type of conception, rather than the pure Attic. Hence the resemblance has been traced principally with remains found at Cyprus and the islands bordering on the Asiatic coast. And we have farther corroboration of this theory in the actual remains still existing at Branchidæ (Geronta) compared with some Indian sculptures equally open to examination. Let

us take for example the form and general character of the chairs or thrones found along the "sacred way" leading from Port Panormus up to the Temple itself. Mr. Newton, in his second volume, p. 148, *Levant*, &c. has given us an account of one of these chairs. He gathers that they were evidently copied from wood. "Two of them are ornamented in front with a pair of pilasters, the capital of which formed a bracket, projecting at the end of the arm of the chair about three inches," whilst "the cushion on which the figure is seated is shown under the arm of the chair." He says nothing about a footstool. It would be pleasing to know if such an adjunct were provided in this case. At any rate, according to the Homeric formula, it ought to be there; compare for example the promise made by Juno to Hypnos (*Il.* xiv. l. 238):—

"Δῶρα δὲ τοι δῶσω, καλὸν θρόνον, ἀρβύλον αἰεὶ,
Χρόσσεω· Ἡφαιστοί δέ κ' ἐρύει παῖς ἀμφιγυροῖς
Τέλει δακρύοις, ἐκ δὲ θρόνου ποσσὶν ἔσει,
Τῷ κεν ἐπωχλοῖεν λαοοφύει νόστιμα εἰλαπιδάζων."

Here we not only have the normal idea of the throne and the footstool, but the added metaphors that the throne should be ἀρβύλον αἰεὶ. And so the seat or throne of Buddha on which he sat under the figtree is always designated as the *Vajrasana*, "the diamond," or "imperishable throne." And as we see both at Sānci and Amarāvati, there are the cushions and the footstools, and the pilasters, and more than this, on many of the sculptures the simple inscription of the donor's name, as at Geronta on the back of the lion (p. 155, *op. cit.*), where the names of five donors are recorded who dedicated the figure to Apollo. The resemblance here appears to be more than accidental. It is true there is no *τεῖχος* seated in the chairs at Sānci and Amarāvati, as there is at Geronta, but the absence of such a figure is in complete harmony with the Buddhist theory of the spiritualized condition of the founder of this religion, who could not, therefore, be represented under any human form or by any visible resemblance.

These resemblances or parallelisms may be accidental, but I do not recollect to have seen allusion made to these priests of Apollo dwelling in exile near the Oxus, as possibly influencing the progress of Indian art. It seems to me that the presence of the Hebrew exiles in Susiana and these Greek priests in Sogdiana are

elements from which we may gather some information as to the inciting cause of the Bod-

dhist development, so marked and in all respects abnormal, in the history of India.¹

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S.

(Continued from vol. VIII. p. 147.)

No. XXIV.—*Ethical Parallels.*

Old Hesiod in his homely way affirms—No saying wholly dies which many people commonly utter; 'tis God's very voice.

During the last twenty or thirty years there has been a growing disposition to recognise this truth. But although St. Augustine has said that "the substance of what is now called the Christian religion was in existence amongst the ancients: it has never been wanting from the beginning of the human race," (*Retractatio* l. 15); the idea that most nations have had Scriptures, in which the central and enduring principles of religion and morality are declared in diverse manners, would still perhaps be questioned, and impatiently heard in some quarters. In many pages of the *Indian Antiquary* Dr. Muir has largely illustrated the parallelisms traceable in the Old and New Testaments and Sanskrit literature, and I here venture a few references to the popular Scriptures of the Tamil and Telugu peoples of the Madras Presidency.²

The *Kural*³ is in all respects the Bible of Southern India: the earliest and best monument of the highly organized and elaborate Tamil language, and constitutes the ethical and literary rule and standard against which there is no appeal: nor undeservedly. Higher and more comprehensive moral teaching has never been set forth; like all ancient books it contains parts and passages which later culture passes by, and separates from the universal and enduring treasures. Its author Tiruvalluvar lived in the 9th, or perhaps as early as the 3rd century of our era. Brāhmins have tried to disguise the fact that he was, as his name implies, born in a low and impure caste, and have surrounded his birth with legends, but they cannot claim him; none could decide from his writings to what caste he belonged except that he was not a Brāhmin, and this from no attack upon priests or ritual observances, but from a simple constant

enforcing of truth, gentleness, justice, and charity without any reference to aid from priestly intercession.

When Europe lay blinded in the depth of the dark ages, Tiruvalluvar wrote "Letters and numbers are the eyes of man, and the words of the good are like a staff in slippery places," almost echoing the words of the wise Job, 'I was eyes to the blind and feet was I to the lame.' His answer to What is truth? might, if considered, stay many mocking Pilates; he says: "It is the speaking of words that are without the least degree of evil to others." Want of truthfulness is a reproach compendiously flung against Hindus, but it was a Hindu who declared—"If a man abstain from falsehood, though he practise no other virtue, it shall be well with him. Truth will lead to every virtue." Want of gratitude, even incapacity to understand it, is another failing alleged by European self-complacency, but verses, familiar to the Tamil people as any Bible-text, affirm: "He who has forgotten every virtue may escape; there is no escape for him who forgets a benefit: the wise will remember through seven-fold births the love of those who have wiped away their falling tears." The low-born Indian moralist gives these readings of the Golden Rule: "It is the resolve of the pure not to do evil in return to those who have done evil to them,—should a man inflict on others that which were grievous to himself?—Would you punish those who have done you evil? Then put them to shame by showing great kindness to them!" So would Tiruvalluvar heap coals of fire upon an enemy's head. He too saw clearly the little thank of lending to them from whom there is hope to receive. "To give to the destitute," he says, "is true charity. Other gifts may be returned." The following sentences show how true an insight he had into the sources of domestic

¹ From *The Oriental*, Oct. 9th, 1875,—revised by the Author.

² The texts used are *The Kural of Tiruvalluvar*, by the Rev. W. H. Drew, Madras, 1869; and *The Verses of Vāmana*, by Charles Philip Brown, Madras Civil Service, Madras: 1829.

³ When writing this Note I had overlooked the far more important and exhaustive *Notes on the Kural* by

the Rev. Dr. Pope, with which this brief glance at the same subject will not interfere. Dr. Pope considers the Christian Scriptures were not unknown to Tiruvalluvar, and that he derived many of his sentiments from thence. This cannot be positively asserted or denied; but the whole range of Gentile Scriptures shows that, as St. Paul too seems to admit (*Romans* ii. 14), the conscience of man can of itself reach to precepts of humanity and morality.

happiness:—"Is there any bolt that can shut in love?" "The pipe is sweet, the lute is sweet, say those who have never heard the prattle of their own children." "He best labours for future happiness who lives well and kindly in his household"; and he knew as well as the Roman mother that "good children are the jewels of the good wife." The *Kural* abounds with wise sayings on the conduct of affairs; take this for example on the necessity of forethought. "There are failures even in acting well. The work not done by suitable methods will fail, though many attempt to further it. The chariot is weak at sea, and the ship on land." And again: "Is aught difficult to him who works with the right instruments at the right time? he wins who can think silently, and bide his time." "Patience is finest gold; to bear with the ignorant is might of might." In *Wilhelm Meister's Travels* there is a passage full of Goethe's far-reaching meaning, when in the Pædagogic Province the elders inform Wilhelm that though a child may be born with many gifts, one there is which no child brings into the world with him, and yet on that one thing all depends for making man in every point a man, when Wilhelm could not discover this thing himself, "Reverence," they exclaimed, "Reverence, all want it, perhaps you yourself; nor is the fear felt by rude people for natural convulsions or similar awful occurrences, an exception, for Nature is indeed adequate to fear, but to reverence not adequate." Tiruvalluvar had also felt the weight and meaning of this sentiment when he wrote, "Never will reverence be found with those who have not received careful instruction."

With this small handful of ears from Tiruvalluvar's abounding grainfield, we now turn to Vēmana, emphatically a people's poet, the familiar oracle of the old Telugu race, much below the great Tamil Teacher in moral and poetic sentiment, and sweet reasonableness of perception, he excelled him in satirical force and vehemence of scorn. The mild wisdom of Tiruvalluvar is never aggressive, but Vēmana deals swashing blows at hypocritical sanctimoniousness, and never wearies in discharging shaft after shaft at Brahmanical assumption. Nothing certain is known of his life. Tradition

hands him down as a *Kāps* or farmer, and his translator, Mr. C. P. Brown, thinks he lived in the 16th century, but there is reason to think he lived long before. Several hundred quatrains are ascribed to him, a large number of which are probably popular sayings that in course of time gathered about his name. He embodies the popular distrust and hatred of Brāhmanas, and is one of the few singers whose works could be collected from the mouths of the people, who know him by heart, and are always delighted to fling one of his stinging sarcasms at pretentious purity and asceticism. He well discerned the emptiness of broadened phylacteries. "Sanyāsis," says he, "affect particular words and vests, they wear a brick-red garb and shaven pates. On these they pride themselves, their heads look clean, but are their hearts so? A tiger skin, a staff, bells, and smearing with ashes! what avail these for the worship of God, who is a Spirit?" In the same vein as Moses proclaimed that the commandment laid upon the people was not hidden nor far off, neither in heaven or beyond the sea, but very nigh to them, in their mouth, and in their heart, that they may do it (*Deut. xxx*), Vēmana exclaims, "Kāñi, they cry; why roam in pilgrimage to holy shrines to find the God that dwells within them? Wandering in the wilds will not discover sanctity, nor is it in the sky, nor at the confluence of holy streams. Make the body pure, and then shalt behold the king!" His version of the Golden Rule is very absolute: "Though an enemy worthy of death fall into thy hand, afflict him not, conciliate him by kindness, and bid him depart. This is death to him! Injure not others, O men, and live for ever!" The following expression is striking in the mouth of a Hindu:—"Why revile a Pariah? Of what caste is He who speaks in the Pariah?" Carlyle highly praises the words of the German Novalis, "There is but one temple in the universe, and that is the human body: nothing is holier than that high form, bending before men is a reverence done to this incarnation of the Divine." Long before him, however, Vēmana had written—"Why collect marble and build temples? The true temple is the body, the soul is the God therein," a strange unconscious echo of the words of St. Paul, "know ye not that

* See *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 102, where this forms the substance of the last verse of some very striking Metrical

Translations by Mr. R. Caldwell from the poetry of Sivavakkiyar.

ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?" Vēmana despised a fool as utterly as any Hebrew prophet: "should a fool," says he, "find even the philosopher's stone, it would melt in his hand like a hailstone." There is quite a ring of Emerson in this saying:—"That alone is yours which you have bestowed upon others, the rest is not at your disposal," and here is one of the last words of the philosophy of to-day:—"Lo, all fear is ignorance: when fear leaves us the divine spirit shall become our own." It is no bad Indian version of the maxim—"To thy own self be true," to say with Vēmana, "If dissimulation leave thy heart, none in the world will be deceitful towards thee."

It has been conjectured that Vēmana lived at Kondavid near Guntūr in the south-west Telingana country; certain passages in his writings seem to favour this supposition, but it cannot be held certain. Whether contemporary with Shakespeare, or living as early as Chaucer, it is clear that he had intellectual strength and insight enough to shake off the worst superstitions that swayed the people amongst whom he lived. He had no respect for the *Vedas* or the Hindu deities; declares all castes equal; and scoffs unsparingly at Brāhmanas, ascetics, ceremonial observances, and the respect paid to omens and auguries. In effect he was a Stoical Pantheist, and his countrymen to-day, though outwardly conforming to the Brāhmanas, have all his bitter sayings at their finger-ends.

It has long been the fashion in Europe to regard the Hindus, as beyond other races, bigoted, fettered by caste, and immoveable in their religion and customs, but in fact no country can show more signal instances of the revolt of the intellect and conscience against idolatry, superstition, and priestly domination. Indeed it may be asserted that Europe has lagged behind India in the sphere of moral and religious insurrection. The Jaina and Buddhist systems, older than Christianity, are examples on the largest scale of triumphs over priestly pretensions, at times too when Brahmanical law and ascendancy were strongest, and the view taken of Buddhism in the *Indian Antiquary* (vol. VIII. page 180) seems to me certainly correct. Again, no Puritan or Cove-

nant of the old stamp could have gone to work in a more root-and-branch style than Basava, the founder of the Jangam or Virāṣaiva sect in the 12th century. Himself the son of a Brāhman, he was led to rebel against the orthodox creed, even in its stronghold, and resolutely rejected all the Brahminical priesthood and principles, renounced the *Vedas*, *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Bhagavat Gītā*, on which they are founded, and discarded all the observances and purificatory rites so tenaciously enforced by the Brāhmanas, teaching in their place the doctrine that all men are equal by birth and holy in proportion as they are temples of the great spirit, and that worship is due only to Śiva conceived as the one God and Father of all. His teaching spread wide, many of the Rājas on the Western Coast were his followers, and they are still numerous in the Marāṭhā and Kanara countries and in Maisūr and Berar. Three centuries later in Bengal, where Brāhmanical tyranny was most fixed and supreme, Chaitanya, born in the same year with Luther, renounced caste and priesthood, proclaimed the sufficiency of simple faith without works, ceremonial, or observances, and died with four millions of followers, now said to be doubled. And Vēmana, surrounded by Brāhmanas, shot shafts at them and all their works unceasingly. But India also exemplifies the apparently ineradicable tendency of the human mind towards sacerdotal direction, authority, and ritual, for the Brāhman, though so often defeated and seemingly near extinction, is again supreme, and his rivals have faded away, or exist in comparison as but a few scattered dissenters. Still amongst all the follies and servitudes of idolatry and priestcraft there will never be wanting in India many whose daily aspiration will be as of old, the famous hymn ascribed to the Muni Agastya always prefixed as a motto to Jangam and Jaina books, and continually uttered as a credo or confession of faith.

The Being, endless, giver of goodness, image
of wisdom, whom pain and grief
Never can reach, the sky his emblem, whose
names are countless, and Truth the chief.
The One, everlasting, stainless, steadfast, who
knows all secrets, himself unknown,
Passionless ever, of perfect justice,—Him do I
worship, and him alone.*

* Brāhmanandam, parama sukhandam, Kēvala jñānamūrtim
Dvandvātman, gaganam adriṇam, tatvamaśyādūlakṣyam

Ekam, nityam, vimalam achalam, sarvadaś cākṣhi bhūtaś
Bhūvātman, triguṇa rahitaś, and param tam samāni !

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.A. C.S., M.B.A.S.

(Continued from Vol. VIII., p. 365.)

No. LXI.

At a short distance to the south-west of the village of Aihole, in Survey No. 72, there is a temple, small but highly interesting on account of the quaint and elaborate sculptures with which it is decorated, which is noticed by Mr. Burgess in his *First Archaeological Report*, p. 40. It is now disused, and is partly in ruins, the whole of the roof having been removed. Mr. Burgess considers it to be of about the same age as the Durga-temple. It appears to have been originally a Vaishnava temple, as there are figures of Garuḍa over the doors both of the *śaṅkha* and of the shrine, and a figure of Lakṣmī, with her elephants, over the entrance. But there is also a figure of Śiva, dancing, on the roof, with Pārvatī holding a child, which must be either Gaṇapati or Kārttikēya.

On the north side of the porch there is an Old-Canarese inscription of eleven letters, in characters of the ninth or tenth century A.D., of which a fac-simile is given in the *First Archaeological Report*.¹ It commences with the word *Seasti*, followed by *Ganasobba*, 'of Ganasobba'; the last four letters cannot be read satisfactorily.

And on a pilaster on the south side of the porch, there is the following inscription,² in the Sanskrit language and in characters of the seventh or eighth century A.D., which probably records the name of the builder of the temple:—

Transcription.

[1] Svasti [1*] Jambudvīp-āntarē kaśchit

[2] vāstu-prāsāda-tadgataḥ

[3] Narasobba-samō vidvān

[4] na bhūtō na bhaviṣyati ||

Translation.

Hail! There has not been, and there shall not be, in Jambudvīpa, any wise man, proficient in (the art of building) houses and temples, equal to Narasobba.

No. LXII.

Further to the south-west of the village, on the right bank of the river, in Survey Nos. 74

and 75, there is a large group of ruined and disused temples, mentioned incidentally by Mr. Burgess in his *First Archaeological Report*, p. 43.

The largest and most interesting of them is the temple of the god Galiganātha. On the front or east side of the courtyard there is a handsomely sculptured gateway, still nearly entire, after the fashion of the gates of the temples at Sāñchī and Amarāvati, but not nearly so elaborate in design, and on a diminutive scale, being only ten or twelve feet high. It is the only gateway of the kind that I know of in this part of the country.

Just outside this gateway, and a few steps to the south of it, there is a small cell, on one of the beams of which is an Old-Canarese inscription³ of the Rāṣṭrakaṭṭa king Kannara or Kriṣṇa, dated Śaka 831 (A.D. 903-10), the Prajāpati *śaśantsara*.⁴ I shall publish this hereafter in a separate paper on the Rāṣṭrakaṭṭa kings.

The only inscription, that I could find, belonging to the temple of Galiganātha itself, is on the north face of one of the four pillars of a small square unroofed structure, in the centre of which there is a *Viṣṇu*, standing in the middle of the courtyard. The characters are early,—perhaps of the sixth or seventh century A.D. The writing covers 4½ by 6½." A fac-simile⁵ is given herewith. The transcription is:—[1] *Vaṁṣiga-Biṭṭa*. [2] *ḥpitaṁ*; i.e., 'Made by V a ṁ ṣ i g a - B i ṭ ṭ a.' 'Biṭṭa' is probably another form of 'Bṛiṭṭi,' which is a corruption of the Sanskrit 'Viṣṇu'; *Vaṁṣiga* is his surname, and is a corruption of the Sanskrit *vaṁṣika*.

No. LXIII.

In front of the abovementioned temple of Galiganātha, there is a large unnamed temple with an Old-Canarese inscription, in one line, on the outside of one of the stones of the wall on the south side of the door, which is in the east wall.

The characters are of the eighth or ninth century A.D. The writing covers 1½ by 4½." A fac-simile⁶ is given herewith. The transcrip-

¹ Pl. LV., No. 34.² *First Archaeol. Report*, Pl. LV., No. 35; and No. 75 of Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, inscriptions.³ No. 79 of Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, inscriptions.⁴ There is some uncertainty as to the exact date; for,Śaka 831 was the Śaka *śaśantsara*, and the Prajāpati *śaśantsara* was Śaka 833.⁵ No. 81 of Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, inscriptions.⁶ No. 80 of Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, inscriptions.

ON A PILLAR IN THE COURT-YARD OF THE
TEMPLE OF GALIGANATHA, AIHOLE.

ಶ್ರೀಗಣಪತಿ
ನಮಃ



ON THE FRONT WALL OF A TEMPLE IN FRONT OF THE
TEMPLE OF GALIGANATHA, AT AIHOLE.

ಶ್ರೀಗಣಪತಿ ದ್ವಾರದ ಮೇಲೆ ವಿಶಾಖಾಬಾಯಿ

tion is:—*Svasti Śāṭ-kadapudān=undān=anlipō Bāddāya māgi.*

Mr. V. R. Katti explains *māgi* as a term applied to 'an old woman' or 'a goddess',—and proposes to correct *kadapudān* into *kadapudā*, which must then be taken as an irregular form of the instrumental singular of *kadapn*, *ka-dampn*, 'a cheek, a lip.' The translation would then be:—'Hail! The goddess (or, old woman) of Bāddāvi, who enforces that which is uttered (or, that which she utters) with the lip.'

This correction in the first word is rather a violent one. But I cannot suggest anything better,—with the exception, perhaps, of pointing out that Sanderson gives *māgi* as 'the membranous virile,' whence it might perhaps be used in the sense of a *liṅga*,—that *kada* may be for *kaḍa*, 'excessive, great, much,'—and that *pudā* may be for *budā*, which we have in *budakkane*, *budabuda*, *budabada*, 'with force, hastily.' From this point of view the inscription would refer to some *liṅga*, probably a *liṅga* brought from Bidāmi, and set up in this temple, which was supposed to have the power of immediately enforcing any vow made, or any promise given, in its presence.

No. LXIV.

In the same group of temples with the temple of Galiganltha, but in Survey No. 75, and rather closer to the river, there is a temple of the god Niryāṇa. It contains three separate shrines, all leading out of the central hall. The inscription, of which a fac-simile* is given herewith, and of which there is a partial transcription in the Elliot MS. Collection, at Vol. I., p. 502, is on the front face of a pilaster on the right side of the entrance to the south shrine.

The language is Old-Canarese. The writing covers a space about 2' 5" high by 1' 9" broad. At the top of the inscription there are the usual emblems; viz., in the centre, a figure of Basava, and a cow and calf; on their right, a *liṅga*, with the sun and moon above it; and on their left, a curved sword.

The inscription is dated in the forty-third year of the Chālukya Vikrama-Vārsha,* i. e. in Śaka 1040 (A. D. 1118-9), the Viṭambi *saṁvatsara*, and records the gift of certain lands to provide for the perpetual oblation of the god, and a grant of ten *gadyāṇas* to provide food for the *Pūjāri*, or officiating priest of the temple.

Transcription.

[¹] Svasti Jay [†] (yō)-bhivri(vri)lladhi(ddhi)ś-cha	[¹] Chālukya-Vikra-
[²] ma-varishada	43[ne [†]]ya Viṭambi-saṁvatsa-
[³] rada	ntarāyaṇa-saṁkrāṇṇad-am-
[⁴] da	Gaṇḍādhara-Saṇḍāgiyaruṇ Nārasim-
[⁵] ga(ha)-Saṇḍāgiyaruṇ	tanuma dāvara pū-
[⁶] jārige	nitya-ni(nai)vōdyakam(kkam) bitṭa Kaggala-mā-
[⁷] neya [‡] keyi	mattaru 12 Doḍḍana-māgi(ne)-
[⁸] ya	keyi mata(tta)ru 8 Saṇḍā [§] geya
[⁹] keyi	mata(tta)ru 12 Beḷu vāya ke-
[¹⁰] yi	mata(tta)ru 3 Banneya-kereya keyi
[¹¹] mata(tta)ru	3 Mādhavāna-kereya keyi
[¹²] mata(tta)ru	3 Jachcha-geya dāvara ho(?)ngipa(ppa?)tu(ttu?)-
[¹³] t... yalu	gaṇḍi-mata(tta)ru 2 bō janake(kkam)
[¹⁴] bitṭa	gadyāṇa hatu(ttu) [¹] Amt-ani-
[¹⁵] tuvā(vam)	dhārā-pūrbba(rvva)kam-māḍi bi-
[¹⁶] ṭaru	[¹]

Translation.

Hail! Victory and prosperity! At the time of the sun's commencing his progress to the north

in the Viṭambi *saṁvatsara* which was the forty-third (year) of the Chālukya Vikrama-Vārsha,—Gaṇḍādhara-Saṇḍāgi and Nārasimha-

* No. 82 of Pall, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions.

† See Vol. VIII., p. 187.

‡ See, *uḍḍa*.

§ In the lithograph this letter has come out as if it were *tt*; but the original has *dd*.

|| In the lithograph this letter reads as if it were *pa*, a

small mark at the bottom, which would have distinguished it as *ṭa*, having failed to appear.

|| It is not clear what the lower part of this character is meant for.

|| The original being rather damaged here, this letter has not come out properly in the lithograph.

Sapaṅgi allotted to the officiating priest of their god, for the purpose of the perpetual oblation, the cultivated land called Kaggala-mānya (*measuring*) twelve *mattars*, and the cultivated land called Doḍḍana-mānya (*measuring*) eight *mattars*, and the cultivated land of the tank called Sandhigere (*measuring*) twelve *mattars*, and the cultivated land of the well called Beḷavāvi (*measuring*) three

mattars, and the cultivated land of the tank called Banneyakege (*measuring*) three *mattars*, and the cultivated land of the tank of Mādhava (*measuring*) three *mattars*, and the cultivated land called Jacheṅgeyi, in of the god, (*measuring*) two *ganṭi-mattars*,—and, to provide for his food, ten *gadyāpas*. This much they allotted, with libations of water.

STRAY NOTES.

BY CAPTAIN J. S. P. MACKENZIE.

1. In the North-West Provinces, on an outbreak of small-pox, it is the practice with some people to place, in the centre room of the house, in a water-pot, a branch of the nim tree decorated with flowers as representing the goddess (Sitalā Māyī or Dēvi Bhawānī) of small-pox. The gardener's wife who furnishes fresh flowers every morning, worships the representation on behalf of the family. While small-pox is in the house, the inmates feed a donkey morning and evening with gram and jagari. The donkey is fed because it is the animal on which the goddess rides.

2. Among the Brāhmins of Bengal, eight out of the thirty-six castes into which the Hindus are divided, are considered clean. These eight are Ahirs (milkmen), Kumbis (ryots), Lohars (blacksmiths), Mālis (gardeners), Tumbolis (pān sellers), Kumārs (potters), Hajāms (barbers) and Kāhārs (bearers). Any one of these castes may come into the house, and touch the bedding or pots without necessarily defiling them. A Brahman will drink water out of the hands of any one of these. If any member of the other castes were to touch the things, they must be washed and purified.

3. While trying a case of adultery (in Mysore), in the course of cross-examination the headman of the village admitted that some time before the case had been brought into court, a panchāyat had enquired into the matter, but at the same time he showed a very marked reluctance to giving details of what then happened. It struck me that all the villagers were afraid they had done wrong in taking notice of the affair, and each pretended to know as little as possible of the doings of the panchāyat. The following facts were however elicited. A woman who could not get on with her husband

returned to her parents' home, and they, at the request of her husband, after some months, turned her out; but she declined to go back to her husband, went off, and lived with the co-respondent, an inhabitant of the same village. On this there was a general panchāyat convened—at whose request I could not learn—each house in the village sending one member, who was summoned to attend by the village (*kutwadi*) 'toty.' The meeting settled that if the woman were allowed to remain in the village, some misfortune would happen, and it was determined she should be expelled. The sentence was communicated to the headman, who said he had not been present at the meeting, but admits he executed the sentence by leading the woman out of the village, and dismissing her beyond the boundaries. I have often known cases where a breach of caste rules has been punished by a fine, but this is the only case I know of where the drastic course of expelling from the village an offending member has been followed.

4. The Holisars of Mysore are generally looked upon as outcasts of very low morals. On one occasion I was trying the headman of the caste, a reputed dacoit. The chief witnesses against him were members of his own caste. He tried to make out that the evidence of one of the witnesses was unworthy of any weight, since he was the offspring of a Holisar by a "Beder" woman. Now the Beder is admittedly of a higher caste, and yet a Holisar had been punished by a caste fine for marrying a woman even of a higher caste. And in the eyes of the caste a slur attaches to the offspring. Another witness he declared was unfit to give evidence because he lived with a woman without being married to her, and he had been fined by the caste for this. The incident is interesting as showing how even

among the lowest castes branch of the caste-rules is looked on as detracting from the respectability of the offender, and rendering his evidence of less value in their own opinion.

5. Among the lower class of Musalmans in the North-West, there is a belief that bad luck will attend a child through life unless a naked sword or knife is shown to it soon after its birth. There is also a belief among this class extending to the lower castes of Hindus that the goddess or angel of good luck will not visit a house in which there is no sword of some sort or other.

6. When talking to a Bengali gentleman on the subject of tree and serpent worship, he told me—but I had better give his own words:—"In reference to the conversation of last Sunday-morning, I have been, on the evening of that day, to a prostitute's house, and obtained the following correct information in respect to their system of marriage with flower plants.

"There are two classes of prostitutes:—One born of prostitute mother and carries on the profession from generation to generation. This class is married to flower plants, the daughters born of such prostitute mothers form no connection by rights of marriage with any living man, consequently any intercourse with this class of women is not considered a great social crime, as they bring no shame to any one by their pernicious profession.

"The other is the one who, on account of high metal, quits the protection of their guardians, leaving infant children, and thereby bring disgrace to the family which she had deserted. Intercourse with this class of women is in a moral and social point of view a heinous offence and sinfulness, as any assistance rendered to them encourages women of such disposition to enter into this profession.

"In the olden times, or what is called the *Satya Yuga*, according to Hindu mythology it appears from the *Purāṇas*, that there was a set of prostitutes of the first class such as *Urvasi*, *Mênakā*, *Rambhā*, *Tilottamā*, &c., and the mode of their living is also defined there. Each woman attaches herself for one night or successive nights to one man only, and during that period she has no connection with anybody else.

"The ceremony observed in the marriage with flower plants by the first class is—that the mother of the girl gives away her daughter to a flower plant, previously planted in her house for the purpose, in the presence of a priest of their class and of other friends invited for the purpose. A wedding feast is given on the occasion, according to the circumstances of the party.

"So long as the flower plant with which the girl is married is alive, she daily waters it, and puts a light near it at night. When the plant withers and dies away, the girl observes mourning for a period of three days, and abstains from meat or fish during those days, but lives on one meal of rice and vegetables. On the fourth day she bathes, cuts her nails, feeds friends and Brahmins, and then leads her usual mode of life.

"All flowers are of the female sex, except four, which are of the male species. As I am not acquainted with their English or botanical names, I give their names as pronounced in Bengal:—*Togore*, *Kund*, *Goluncho* or *Kulka*, and *Sephallika*. With these four species of flower plants the tree-marriage is contracted, and with no other kind of flower trees."

So far as I can learn, nothing is known around Allahabad of tree-marriage. The *nimb*, as I have already noted, is worshipped, during an outbreak of small-pox, by the people. The *pipal* is worshipped as *Mahādēva* by the Brahmins.

THE PERUMALS.

Mālabār or *Malayālam* denotes the country between the Western Ghāts and the Arabian Sea south of *Kōṭkaṇ*. Its Sanskrit name *Kēraḷa m* refers probably to the abundant growth of the *keram* or coconut in these parts.

According to tradition *Parāśurāma*, the sixth incarnation of *Vishnu*, reclaimed it from the sea, and established the principal temples and *grāmas*. To distinguish the people of

Mālabār from their fellow Aryans in other parts of the peninsula, certain changes were instituted in the manners and customs of the people; the principal of which are the wearing of the *kuḍam* or tuft of hair, on the forehead of the head, the restriction that the eldest sons only of the *Nambari Brāhmins* should marry, and the system of inheritance known as *Maramakatayam* amongst the *Śūdra* castes. The

lands in the newly occupied country were divided, rent free, amongst the temples and a few Brâhman proprietors called thence "Janmis." These had each a large number of tenants or dependents, and at first established an aristocratic form of Government, till the rapid increase in the numbers of the colony and the dissensions amongst the chiefs rendered it necessary to instal a supreme executive officer. About B. C. 60^a a great congress was held, when it was agreed that a governor or Pêrumâl should be sent for from the neighbouring kingdom of Chêda, comprising Koimbatur and parts of Mâlabâr and Travankor. Each viceroy was restricted to a rule of 12 years only.

List of some of the Perumâl Princes who reigned in Malayâlam, &c. :—

1. Kaya Pêrumâl,—Died before the expiration of the prescribed time.

2. Shoja Pêrumâl,—Assassinated by a Brâhman, who, with his associates, were expelled their tribe, and their descendants are called Nambidaimars.

3. Pâñjî Pêrumâl,—Described as an enterprising female who reigned under this name. She resigned her government.

4. Vânam Pêrumâl,—Described as having been converted to the Buddhist faith, and retired to Makka.^b

5. Talu Pêrumâl,—The division of Malayâlam into four provinces took place in the reign of this chief.

6. Inderam Pêrumâl,—Subdivided the country; the north he called Tulunâd, the south Malayâlam, and directed that the inhabitants of each should confine their alliances to those belonging to their own particular tract.

7. Âria Pêrumâl,—During the reign of this chief the country underwent a third change, from Gokarna to Perampalli it was called Tulunâd; thence to Pothupatnam, Kôraja Râj; thence to Kanîath, Mutlingunâd; and thence to Kanya Kumârî, Kavala Râj; each province was superintended by a Daldûeri or Brâhman Councillor.

8. Kuna Pêrumâl.

9. Kottai Pêrumâl,—Is said to have founded KottaiKolam, the modern Calicut.

10. Munda Pêrumâl.

11. Yailia Pêrumâl.

12. Kumbum Pêrumâl.

13. Vijayam Pêrumâl,—Is said to have built Kulam then called Vaddakenkolam.

14. Valuvam Pêrumâl,—Derived his appellation from his constant tours through the country.

15. Arechendron Pêrumâl,—His successor early disappeared. He built the Fort of Puraviyamalla.

16. Mallam Pêrumâl,—Traced his lineage from the Madara kings.

17. Kolashagara Pêrumâl.

18. Chêraman Pêrumâl,—He made Tirûwanjekolam his residence and encouraged commerce. A Shaiva temple there perpetuates his memory.*

The Pêrumâls had their capital at Kranganor or Kodungalûr, and preserved the tributary relation to the Tamil kingdom, till the fourth century after Christ, when the last Chêraman Pêrumâl made himself independent. The Jews and Syrian Christians had received the protection of the Pêrumâl as refugees and traders, and probably helped him to throw off the yoke of his sovereign.

Before the retirement of Chêraman Pêrumâl to Makka as a Buddhist (?) in A.D. 375,^c he divided his dominions amongst his relatives and dependants. The Râjas of Cochin are the descendants of the Pêrumâl in the Maramakkutayom line, and as such were entitled to the paramount position in Mâlabâr. They were crowned at Ponâni in the presence of the other Râjas till that town was forfeited successively to the Samorin of Calicut, the Sulân of Maisur, and lastly to the British Government.

From the native annals of Mâlabâr and their own traditions, it appears that ten thousand Jews arrived on the coast shortly after the destruction of the second temple and the final desolation of Jerusalem.^d It is supposed that some seven thousand settled at once on a spot

^a This period is called the Arichavattam or state of misrule.—Ed. ^b Some fix this about A. D. 280.—Ed.

^c The native History of Keraja appears to indicate more rationally that he became a Muhammadan; but if so, he must be placed very much later in the list. After mentioning the arrival in Mâlabâr of Mâr Sâghôr and Mâr Aphrôtta, the native Syrian Christian Brief History states that, "at that time the Jews and Arabs in this

country were at war. We and the Jews were allies. The Arabs commenced the war—destroyed a city—slew the two Râjas Vilyanvattale, and burnt their bodies." Whitehouse's *Lingerings of Light*, pp. 54, 305; conf. *Madras Jour. Lit. Soc.* vol. II. p. 71.—Ed.

^d Whitehouse's *Lingerings of Light*, pp. 2, 3.—Ed.

^e Others give A. D. 825 for this date.—Ed.

^f This is quite fabulous, see ante, vol. III. p. 323.—Ed.

then called *Mahādēvapaṭṇam*, but now Kuṇḍagalur, and applied themselves with their usual sagacity, economy and success to trade, and thence early obtained the respect and protection of the native princes. Some considerable time afterwards they procured a most valuable grant from the ruling sovereign, and had it engraved in old Tamil upon copper plates. These plates are still in existence at Cochin. They have been already given in facsimile with a translation. The following is the transliteration of the first plate:—

Swasti śrī—kōyōnamai kōṇḍam. kō śrī Pārkarāṇ-
Iraivāṇmar tīruvaḍi pala nūyirā-
ttāṇḍum āṇḍōl nadatti yālā niṇṇu yān-
ḍu irāṇḍam āṇḍāikk'ēṭir muppattāyām āṇḍu Ma-
yikoṭṭu iruṇḍa 'ruliya nāl piraśōḷiśā 'ru-
liya piraśōḷamāṇḍu: Issuppa Irappōṇḍukku
anjuvaṇṇamum vāḍiyāḷum pāyapaṭṭāḷu-
m pāyḍamum anjuvaṇṇappēram paṇalvi-
lakkum pāvāḍaiyūm andōḷayamum kuḍaiyūm .
[kōṇḍuttōm].*

The States formed on the dismemberment of the Pērumāl's empire were further weakened by smaller apportionments amongst Chiefs or Kaimals who were under a species of feudal subordination to the Rājas, and, subject to their control, exercised a tyrannical rule over the tenants and people included within their provinces. These subordinate Chiefs were styled Rājas again by their subjects, and were often at feud with one another. The army was raised by conscription from the Nāyars, and the inferior castes were pressed into the service as camp followers. When we consider that a loose patriarchal sort of government was all that pertained to the sovereign in those times, who levied no land taxes, and established no strong tribunals, it is not surprising that some of the chiefs latterly claimed sovereign rank for themselves, or were adjudged the same by foreigners, who found the lines of distinction between the honoured subject or tributary chief and the independent ruler too narrow to be perceived.*

FOLKLORE SCRAPS FROM BIRBHUM, BENGAL.

BY G. D. BYSACK.

Sujol, in the district of Birbhūm, is situated one and a half kos to the north-east of the railway station of Bolpur. Its correct name is *Sringalpur*. Tradition says that this place was the hermitage of the great ascetic Rishya Sringa. The country is undulating, and the village Sujol is built on an elevated site. One of its wards is called *Dēvipārā*, and to the north-east of *Dēvipārā* is a narrow mound of earth where the great Rishi used to perform his devotions. Near the mound was his *Kuṇḍa* or sacrificial fount. That *Kuṇḍa* is now called *Kunri* land.

This place is regarded as sacred, and dedicated to a lion-mounted goddess *Narā Durgā*. It is said that the father of Rishya Sringa, the great sage, Vibhāṇḍaka, established the stone image here. Cinders, rice and *bīḷa* leaves are still to be found in digging. A story prevails that a few years ago a European sunk an iron bar in the earth to know whether the place had a coal mine, when the bar was taken out of the ground he found it to be hot. This served to confirm the general belief or superstition that

the Munis still perform their devotions below the earth. There is a tank in the middle of the village called *Endo*—the hermitage of *Andhaka*. A tank was dug to the east of the village in the year 1231 Beng. San, and called *Morepakhar*. When digging it pieces of broken boats, rotten tobacco, and human bones turned up. It is said that formerly the *Ajai* river flowed through this place. *Daśaratha*, the lord of *Ajodhya*, when celebrating the *Putrestī yajna* (sacrifice to obtain a son) took Sringa to *Ajodhya* by the river. Rishya Sringa's father *Mahārishi Vibhāṇḍaka* was very old, and was by no means inclined to let his son go to so distant a place, but the mother was prevailed upon to assent to the Raja's earnest commands as there was no other alternative left for her. After the departure of her son, she became very anxious for him. The river which had helped *Daśaratha* to take her son away excited her ire. On the return of her son she stopped its course by a curse. From that time the river began to silt up, and

* In the eighth century A. D., see vol. III, p. 334.—Ed.

* I have added this from Dr. Bensel's *S. India Paleography* (2nd ed.) p. 146, in place of an unsatisfactory translation given in the *Report*. For his translation see

ante, vol. III., pp. 333E.—Ed.

* From the *Administration Report of Cochin for 1875-76*, communicated by H. H. Rima Varnā, First Prince of Travankore.—Ed.

ultimately changed its course. The climate of the place was then highly salubrious. It is only lately that it has become unhealthy, as the ravages of cholera and malarious fever indicated by the number of deserted and dilapidated houses prove. The village is said to be very old, an old long Digi or tank, and the debris of an old brick-built house are the only vestiges left to testify to its former existence. From the people also we gather that the place was the abode of a Rāja Basanta. His palace was to the east of the railway. Traces of buildings at the place are found to this day. There is also a story connected with this fort at Bhuharva. Once it is said the Rāja took shelter with his army within this fort. The

fort had only one gate, and a gate-keeper guarded the gate without closing it. One of the men from the enemy killed the door-keeper, and no one else could come out of the fort, so the Rāja was killed with all his army and followers. The men killed in the fort became ghosts after their death, and it is said that now and then during the dead hours of night they resume their former shapes and march about in battle array, and sounds are audible—the noise of chariots, &c. To the south of this village is a place called Makdamtala. The Muhammadans say that at this place a great battle was fought between the Hindus and Muhammadans, and the men who died in the battle were buried there.

MISCELLANEA.

A VILLAGE LEGEND.

Kelūr is a village three miles to the south of Aihole in the Hungund talukā of the Kalādgi zilla, and about a mile and a half to the west of the village is a *koj* or glen, in which is a temple of Siddhēśvaradēva. To the north of it is a cavern in the rock and another to the south. Once upon a time two cows used to come daily from the south cave, and graze on the pasture in the neighbourhood. A boy attending the village cattle observed them, and took it into his head to watch them so as to find out their owner, and ask wages for keeping them. Accordingly in the evening he followed them into the cave, where he found two Rishis engaged in their devotions, who, on opening their eyes, were surprised to see the cowherd boy. They questioned him who he was, and how he happened to come there. The boy explained all and asked for some wage for watching their cows. They gave him a ball of cow-dung and dismissed him, enjoining him not to reveal to any one what he had seen. The boy's mother finding her son had not come home at the usual time went out to seek him, and met him just as he had come out of the cave. She asked why he was so late that evening, when he told her the whole story, and shewed her the ball of cow-dung which he was carrying under his *dhōti*. The ball was found to be half gold and half dung, but the boy immediately expired on the spot. Since then nobody has ever attempted to enter the cave.

J. B.

THE GRAMMAR OF CHANDRA.

Kandy: Dec. 18, 1879.

1. At a time when the enquiry into the history and development of Sanskrit grammatical literature is engaging a large share of the attention of

Oriental scholars, it gives me great pleasure to announce to them the discovery of an important work in Ceylon which will throw much light on this interesting subject.

That a grammar by Chandra existed till about eight or nine centuries ago, and that it now exists in a Tibetan version only, are facts within the knowledge of every well-read Orientalist. Not only is there the absence of its name from every catalogue of existing Sanskrit works, whether published or still in MS., but we have the distinct assertion of Rājendralāla Mitra, LL.D., on p. 162 of his *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, published in 1877, that the work is lost.

We find the author mentioned in the twelfth century by Vopadēva in the second verse of the Introduction to his admirable *Dhātupāṭha* called the *Kavikalpadēvī*. There a list is given of the eight principal grammarians, the founders, no doubt, of eight different schools, to some one or other of which all the existing grammatical treatises are referable. These are Indra, Chandra, Kāśakṛitana, Āpīśali, Śākaṭāyana, Pāṇini, Amara, and Jainendra. The works of Indra, Kāśakṛitana, Āpīśali, and Amara are also lost, and MSS. have only been discovered of those of Śākaṭāyana, Pāṇini, and Jainendra. That Āpīśali and Śākaṭāyana were predecessors of Pāṇini appears from their being mentioned by him; and, although there is no mention of Indra in his work by name, yet there are reasons making it highly probable that the *Prāñcha*, frequently referred to by him belonged to his school. It is also clear that several works now extant, such as the *Kāṇḍa* and others, have been composed on the principles of the Aindra school of Sanskrit grammar. With

the exception, therefore, of Indra, more perhaps is known of Chandra from quotations in existing works than of any one of the other three whose works have shared the same fate—viz., Kāśakṛitaṇa, Āpīśali, and Amara. What is known of him, however, is so scanty that it would not enable us to form any definite idea of the character and extent of his work. To say that it consisted of sūtras, and that it was quoted by Bhaṭṭoji in the *Pravāhaṇanoreṇa*, by Ujjvaladatta in his commentary on the *Uddi-sūtras*, and by one or two other authors, would embrace perhaps all that could have hitherto been said of the Chandra grammar. But the MS. just discovered enables us to ascertain with certainty several important facts regarding this work and its relation to the existing systems of Sanskrit grammar.

From this MS., of which I shall give a short account before concluding this paper, we gather that Chandra's work was based on the model of, and was intended as an improvement on, Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Both works have adopted the same arrangement, which may be termed artificial, as distinguished from the natural arrangement according to subjects observable in the *Kāśikā* and *Mādhvabodha*, and, in fact, in all European treatises on grammar. The division into *adhyāyas* and *pādas* is also common to both works, with only this difference, that the number of *adhyāyas* in Pāṇini is eight, while that in Chandra is six. This has resulted probably from the latter embodying in one *adhyāya* the substance of Pāṇini's third, fourth, and fifth chapters, all of which treat of affixes.

Both works open with a peculiar arrangement of the letters, materially differing from the alphabetical arrangement, and styled by the Pāṇiniya school of grammarians the *Sirasūtras*. There is, however, a slight difference between the two schemes—viz., that the *it* or *anubandha* at the end of the fifth sūtra in Pāṇini's is omitted in Chandra's scheme, which thus contains thirteen sūtras, while the number in Pāṇini's is fourteen. This omission causes the absence from Chandra's work of only one *pratyāhāra*, *af*, the necessity for which is obviated by Chandra in an ingenious manner, as will be seen from an instance which I cannot help adverting to.

Pāṇini, after laying down in viii. 4, 1, that the dental *n* should be changed to the cerebral *ṇ* when it follows *r* or *ś* in the same *pāda*, states in the sūtra immediately following that the rule obtains even when the letters included in the *pratyāhāra* *af*, and those belonging to the guttural and labial classes of consonants, as well as the preposition

da and the augment *anu*, intervene between the *r* or *ś* and the dental *n*. Chandra, on the other hand, after giving a rule corresponding to Pāṇini viii. 4, 1, in nearly the same words, mentions in a subsequent sūtra a number of letters the intervention of which between the *r* or *ś* and the dental *n* prevents the operation of the first-mentioned rule. These letters are those belonging to the palatal, cerebral, and dental classes of consonants, those included in *śar* and the consonant *l*. The obvious meaning of this is that the intervention of any other letters—and the only others are those given by Pāṇini—does not prevent the cerebral change.

Af also occurs in Pāṇini viii. 4, 63, but in the corresponding sūtra of Chandra we find, instead of it, the more comprehensive *pratyāhāra* *aw*, which includes, besides the letters contained in *af*, the nasals and the consonant *l*. That Chandra's rule is the better of the two will be readily admitted when it is remembered that Pāṇini's sūtra was amended by a *vārtika* of Kātyāyana substituting this very *pratyāhāra* *aw* for the less comprehensive *af*.

Another *pratyāhāra* employed by Pāṇini but dispensed with by Chandra is the *ay* formed with the second *y* in the scheme. This occurs only in one solitary sūtra of Pāṇini, viz., I. i. 69, according to which the letters contained in it would also represent or imply their homogeneous modifications; for instance, the short vowel *a*, which alone is given in the scheme, would imply, among others, the long and prolated *ā*. Chandra finds no necessity for this rule, and omits it altogether, as the short vowel *a*, being a *jāti* term, would necessarily imply its long and prolated forms and its other homogeneous variations.

The only other *pratyāhāra* employed by Pāṇini and omitted by Chandra is *jāś*; but he employs in his grammar the four *pratyāhāras*, *ri*, *ṇam*, *ṇam*, and *clay*, which do not occur in Pāṇini. With reference to the last of these, *clay*, it must be stated that, though not employed by Pāṇini, it is used by Kātyāyana in a *vārtika* to viii. 4, 48.

With the aid of these new *pratyāhāras* Chandra has effected a decided improvement on many of the sūtras of Pāṇini, an instance of which may here be mentioned. The sūtra Pāṇini I. i. 51—*Uraṇ raparaḥ*—means, if we assign to the terms occurring in it their true and legitimate significations, that *ay*, that is to say the vowels *a*, *i*, and *u*, substituted for the vowel *ri*, should be followed by *r*. It was found by grammarians that this rule stated too little, as it did not teach that *ay*, substituted for the vowel *li*,¹ should be followed

¹ Almost all Oriental scholars transliterate this vowel by "li." I have my reasons for omitting the *r* and

retaining only *li*, but they are too long to be stated in a foot-note. See Max Müller's *Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 13.

by *l*. To remedy this defect Pāṇini's commentators were obliged to have recourse to several ingenious devices, attributing to Pāṇini doctrines he never inculcated and contrivances he never intended. They held that the vowels *ṛi* and *ṛi* are homogeneous, and that the former, according to i. 1, 69, implies the latter. This can scarcely be said to be a perfectly correct view, as *ṛi* is actually given in the *śiva-sūtras*. At all events the commentators are not consistent, as while asserting that *ṛi*, which is given in the scheme, is homogeneous with *ṛi*—which in point of fact it is not, the former being a dental while the latter is a lingual—they, in almost the same breath, assert, for certain objects which it is foreign to my purpose to mention here, that *ai* and *au*, which in point of fact are homogeneous with *a* and *o* respectively, are not homogeneous with them, because the former are given in the scheme at the beginning of a *sūtra*. Having, however, by this grammatical fiction brought in the vowel *i* by implication into the rule, they had a still greater difficulty to contend with, viz., to show that the consonant *l* is also mentioned in it. To meet this fresh difficulty they resorted to a step to which there is no parallel in point of subtlety in the whole range of grammatical invention. They contended that the *a* in the sixth *śiva-sūtra*, *lay*, is an *it*, and that the consonant *r* in the fifth *śiva-sūtra* forms with it the *pratyāhāra* *ra*, which includes the letters *r* and *l*. In this extraordinary way the commentators of Pāṇini have explained the *sūtra* in question to mean that *ay* substituted for *ṛi* and *ṛi* should be followed by *r* and *l*. If now we turn to the corresponding rule of Chandra—*riko'poralan*—we are forced to admit that the doctrine is taught there in the plainest terms, and that this has been effected by the adoption of the *pratyāhāra* *rik* not occurring in the *sūtras* of Pāṇini.

In both works the employment of *pratyāhāras* is not confined to letters, but their application is extended to affixes also, which appear to be enumerated in the same order, beginning with *an* and ending with *hṛp*. The affix *pratyāhāras* are also identical in the *sūtras* of both grammarians, with this difference: that in Chandra there are two *sep*, one formed with *an* and *sep*, as in Pāṇini, and the other with *an* and *hṛp*.

A remarkable feature in the system of Chandra is the absence from it of several technical terms invented by Pāṇini, or adopted by him from prior grammarians such as *gūṇa*, *ṛiddhī*, *pragṛīḥya*, *sarvaśāstṛaśāstra*, *ghī*, *nādī*, *śloṭ*, and several others. This circumstance led me at first to suppose that Chandra's work was prior to Pāṇini's; but a closer examination has convinced me that the omission was intentional. The reason for this

step appears to be that, while by the omission of these terms no obscurity or lengthening of the *sūtras* would result, there was the decided advantage of many *sūtras*, such as those defining them, or rather explaining the meanings assigned to them being omitted and, indeed, of others being actually shortened—a primary object according to the *Mahābhāṣya* in all grammatical *sūtras*. I shall illustrate this by an example or two.

Pāṇini's explanation of *ṛiddhī* is "*ṛiddhīr dāicā*" of *gūṇa* "*adāi gūṇa*." It must be remembered that these *sūtras* are not properly speaking definitions of the terms *ṛiddhī* and *gūṇa*, but that they merely give these names to the letters mentioned in the *sūtras*. Now these terms are by no means shorter than the convertible terms *dāicā* and *adāi*, and hence no advantage is gained by the use of the former in a *sūtra* in preference to the latter, which may be used to equal advantage, as they actually have been by Chandra.

In the case of *sarvaśāstṛaśāstra* consisting of six syllables, there is a considerable economising of space by its omission and by the retention of the dissyllabic *śloṭ* used by Chandra, and occurring in two *sūtras* of Pāṇini, explaining the technical term *sarvaśāstṛaśāstra*—viz., *śi* in i. 1, 42 and *śloṭ* in i. 1, 43.

The *Vipratishodha-sūtra*, Pāṇini i. 4, 2, and the *Asiddhā-sūtra*, Pāṇini viii. 2, 1, also occur in Chandra, the latter being placed in about the middle of the third *pāda* of the sixth *adhyāya*. The *sūtras*, therefore, in the latter half of the third *pāda* and in the whole of the fourth are, as it were, non-existent in reference to those in the preceding five *adhyāyas* and two *pādas*, and about one-half of the third *pāda* of the sixth.

2. I shall now advert to the work mentioned at the beginning of this paper, which has enabled me to gather the above-mentioned facts regarding Chandra's grammar and several other facts which the limited space of this paper precludes my stating here. It is called the *Bāṇabodhāna*, and is a reproduction of Chandra's grammar by a Buddhist priest named Kāśyapa, who lived in Ceylon about seven centuries ago, and of whom I hope to write a short account hereafter. The reader will be able to form some idea of the work and of its extent when I say that it bears the same relation, as regards matter and arrangement, to Chandra's grammar as the *Loghukamandī* does to that of Pāṇini. The *Loghukamandī* is an abridgement of a larger work called the *Siddhāntakamandī*, containing all the *sūtras* of Pāṇini, differently arranged and explained; but whether the *Bāṇabodhāna* is an abridgement of an already existing work bearing the same relation to

Chandra as the *Siddhāntakāṇḍikā* does to Pāṇini is a question which I am not yet in a position to decide. If, however, an introductory verse be any guide, I should be very much inclined to conclude that the work is an original one, or, in other words, that Kūśyapa has effected in the Chāndra system what Rāmachandra has done in the Pāṇiniya by his work called the *Prakriyāṣaṣṭikā* which, no doubt, afforded a model for Bhaṭṭoji in the composition of his *Siddhāntakāṇḍikā*. The verse referred to is the following:—

“Bhagavantam jagadvandyaṁ abhivandya tat-
thāgataṁ |

Bālāvabodhanam binduṁ Chāndrasindhaṁ karo-
my aham ||”

Here the author states that the *Bālāvabodhana* which he composed is a drop from the ocean of Chandra. If the work was an abridgement of an already existing re-arrangement of all or the greater number of the sūtras of Chandra, the author would most probably have referred to that work in the Introduction, just as Varadarāja, in the introductory verse to the *Leṅkāṣaṣṭikā*, has stated it to be an abridged *Siddhāntakāṇḍikā*.

The book begins with the usual adoration to Buddha as found in almost all Buddhistical works—*Namas tasmai bhagavate 'rhaṭe samyak-sambuddhāya*. Then follow the introductory verse given above, and the scheme commonly called the *śiva-sūtras*, together with a gloss explaining the use of the scheme and the classification and formation of letters. The extraordinary statement in the *Kaṇḍikā* that the vowel *i* has no long-form, though it has a prolated one—a statement quite opposed to the *Kīrtanī*—is also met with in the *Bālāvabodhana*. A reason is assigned for the repetition of the *k* in the scheme, which is that it is repeated in order that it may be included in the *pratyāhāra* *ai*. Such a reason is also mentioned in the *Pravāṇasūtras*, which enumerates, besides *ai*, the *pratyāhāras* *ai*, *ī*, *u*, and *au*.

According to the *Kaṇḍikā*, *ai*, *ī*, and *u*, *au* are concerned with the formation of letters, but in the work under notice a third thing is mentioned, namely, *karṇa*. The *karṇas* are the middle of the tongue, the vicinity of the tip of the tongue, and the tip of the tongue itself, as in pronouncing the palatals, the linguals, and the dentals respectively. In the case of the other letters the *ai* and *karṇas* are the same.

Before leaving the subject of the classification of letters and the mode of their formation, and passing on to the chapter on *śandhi*, a *kārikā* is given restricting the *pratyāhāras* to forty-two, which bears a close resemblance to that given

in the *Kārikā* for the formation of Pāṇini's forty-one *pratyāhāras*, as will be seen on a comparison of the two which I quote here for the purpose:—

“Nāṇāvāḥ syur ekasamācī caturbhyastakācīn-
nashan |

Dvābhyāṁ samāyo 'pi pañcābhyo las tu śaḍ-
bhyo vidhīyate ||”

Kārikā: “Ekasamācī śaṇṇavataḥ dvābhyāṁ
śas tribhyo eka kṣamācī synḥ |

Jūcyam cāyam caturbhyo raḥ pañcābhyāḥ
śaṇṇ śaḍbhyāḥ ||”

As regards the arrangement of the subjects in the *Bālāvabodhana*, I am very much inclined to the opinion that it is more logical and, strange to say, more in consonance with European ideas than the arrangement in the *Kaṇḍikā*. As an instance affording proof of this, I may mention that in the former the declensions of pronouns and numerals are given in separate sections, and not blended with those of nouns as in the latter.

The MS. in question belongs to the Lankātūlaka-vihāra, a Buddhist temple in the Central Province of Ceylon, about eight miles from Kandy, the mountain capital of the island. Mr. A. C. Lawrie, district judge of Kandy, and a member of the committee of the Oriental Library of that city, whose services to the library cannot be too highly valued, having received information of there being a good collection of MSS. in this vihāra, at once proceeded to the place and had the whole collection examined and catalogued. At his request, Kobbekaduwa Śrīnivāsa Buddharakkhita, the incumbent of the vihāra, lent the work to the library, and it was there that I found it about three months ago. A careful examination of the MS. led me to believe that its publication would be of immense service to Oriental scholars as tending to throw new light upon questions relative to the historical connexion of the different systems of Sanskrit grammar and upon other problems in the solution of which scholars are at present engaged. With a view, therefore, to its publication I made diligent enquiries for other copies of it, in every quarter where I thought any would be forthcoming, for the purpose of collation, but my search has resulted in the discovery of only two other copies. One of these belongs to the Sudulumpola vihāra, near Kandy, and the other to the learned high-priest, Samangala, Principal of the Oriental College, Colombo. All the three copies now in my possession—and I do not believe it likely that any more could be added to the number—are in the Sinhalese character; but the edition I intend publishing will appear in the Devanāgarī type, together with a preface, explanatory notes, and a

list of the sūtras alphabetically arranged. The work of collating is being vigorously carried on, and I hope to send the edition to the press in about two or three months.

W. GOOSEVILLER.*

NOTE.

The *Nirayānīyā Sūtra* by Dr. S. Warren (Amsterdam: J. Müller), is the text in Jain Prakrit, with notes and glossary, of five Jain *Upaṅgas*, forming the above *Sūtra*, and containing a legend of Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu, a Jātaka story by Mahāvīra, and several short *avadānas* or legends of Jain saints. Dr. Warren has not ventured on a translation, and confesses that he has not been able to understand all the text which he edits. The paucity of Jain texts compels us to welcome any new one, carefully edited, as this is, from four MSS.—*The Academy*, Jan. 17, 1880.

THE GĀTHA AHUNAVAITI OF THE PĀRSIS.

FORM XXX.

Now will I speak and proclaim to all who have come to listen.

Thy praise, Ahura-Mazda, and thine, O Vohumand. Asha! I ask that thy grace may appear in the lights of heaven.

Hear with your ears what is best, perceive with your minds what is purest,

So that each man for himself may, before the great doom cometh,

Choose the creed he prefers. May the wise ones be on our side!

These two spirits are twins; they made known in times that are bygone

That which is good and evil, in thought and word and action.

Rightly decided between them the good; not so the evil.

When these Two came together, first of all they created

Life and death, that at last there might be for such as are evil

Wretchedness, but for the good a happy blest existence.

Of these Two the One who was evil chose what was evil;

He who was kind and good, whose robe was the changeless Heaven,

Chose what was right; those, too, whose works pleased Ahura-Mazda.

They could not rightly discern who erred and worshipped the Dēvas;

They the Bad Spirit chose, and having held counsel together,

Turned to Rapine, that so they might make man's life an affliction.

But to the good came might; and with might came wisdom and virtue;

Armaiti, herself the Eternal, gave to their bodies Vigour; e'en thou wert enriched by the gifts that she scattered, O Mazda!

Mazda, the time will come when the crimes of the bad shall be punished:

Then shall thy power be displayed in fitly rewarding the righteous—

Them that have bound and delivered up falsehood to Asha, the Truth-God.

Let us then be of those who advance this world and improve it.

O Ahura-Mazda, O Truth-God, bliss-conferring! Let our minds be ever there where wisdom abideth!

Then indeed shall be seen the fall of pernicious falsehood;

But in the house where dwell Vohu-manō, Mazda, and Asha—

Beautiful house—shall be gathered for ever such as are worthy.

O men, if you but cling to the precepts Mazda has given,

Precepts, which to the bad are a torment, but joy to the righteous,

Then shall you one day find yourselves victorious through them.¹

The following is Dr. Hang's prose version of the same section of this Gāthā:²—

1. I will now tell you who are assembled here, the wise sayings of Mazda, the praises of Ahura, and the hymns of the good spirit, the sublime truth which I see arising out of these sacred flames.

2. You shall, therefore, hearken to the soul of nature³ (i.e., to plough and cultivate the earth);

* *The Academy*, Jan. 24 and 31, 1880, pp. 69d., 88f.

¹ Höltschmann, *Ein Zoroastrisches Lied, mit Rücksicht auf die Tradition überliefert und erklärt* (München, 1872). Compare Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Religion*, pp. 237–9;—Rawlinson's *Religions of the Ancient World in Sweden at Home*, June 1874, pp. 373, 374.

² Hang's *Essays*, by West, pp. 149–151.

³ *Ğušak wrod* means the universal soul of earth, the

cause of all life and growth. The literal meaning of the word, "soul of a cow," implies a simile; for the earth is compared to a cow. By its cutting and dividing, ploughing is to be understood. The meaning of that decree, issued by Ahuramazda and the heavenly council, is that the soil is to be tilled; it, therefore, enjoins agriculture as a religious duty. Zarathushtra, when encouraging men by the order of Ahuramazda to cultivate the earth, acts as a prophet of agriculture and civilisation.

contemplate the beams of fire with a most pious mind! Every one, both men and women, ought to-day to choose his creed (*between the Dēva and the Ahura religion*). Ye offspring of renowned ancestors, awake to agree with us (*i.e.* to approve of my lore, to be delivered to you at this moment! The prophet begins to deliver the words revealed to him by the sacred flames).

3. In the beginning there was a pair of twins, two spirits, each of a peculiar activity; these are the good and the base, in thought, word, and deed. Choose one of these two spirits! Be good, not base!

4. And these two spirits united created the first (*the material things*); one, the reality, the other, the non-reality. To the liars (*the worshippers of the Dēvas, i.e. gods*) existence will become bad, whilst the believers in the true God enjoy prosperity.

5. Of these two spirits you must choose one, either the evil, the originator of the worst actions, or the true, holy spirit. Some may wish to have the hardest lot (*i.e., those who will not leave the polytheistic Dēva-religion*), others adore Ahura-mazda by means of sincere actions.

6. You cannot belong to both of them (*i.e., you cannot be worshippers of the one true God and of many gods at the same time*). One of the Dēvas, against whom we are fighting, might overtake you, when in deliberation (*what faith you are to embrace*), whispering to you to choose the worst mind.* Then the Dēvas flock together to assault the two lives (*the life of the body and that of the soul*), praised by the prophets.

7. And to succour this life (*to overcome it*), Armaiti† came with wealth, the good and true mind; she, the everlasting one, created the material world; but the soul, as to time, the first cause among created beings, was with Thee.

8. But when he (*the evil spirit*) comes with one of these evils (*to sow mistrust among the believers*), then thou hast the power through the good mind of punishing them who break their promises, O righteous spirit!‡

9. Thus let us be such as help the life of the future. The wise living spirits§ are the greatest supporters of it. The prudent man wishes only to be there where wisdom is at home.

10. Wisdom is the shelter from lies, the annihilation of the destroyer (*the evil spirit*). All perfect things are garnered up in the splendid residence of the Good Mind (Vohu-mano), the

Wise (Mazda), and the Righteous (Asha),¶ who are known as the best beings.

11. Therefore, perform ye the commandments which, performed by Mazda himself, have been given to mankind; for they are a nuisance and perdition to liars, but prosperity to the believers in the truth; they are the fountain of happiness.

AVALAMBANA.

By REV. S. BRAL, B.A.

Mr. Eitel, in his very useful *Handbook for the Student of Chinese Buddhism*, arranges under the heading *Ulasba* the particulars which relate to the "sacrifice for the dead" common among Buddhists, at least in China and Japan, (and in Ceylon also, according to Spence Hardy; *Manual of Buddhism* p. 59), made on the 15th day of the 7th month. This title *Ulasba* should doubtless be restored to *Avalambana*, as Julien gives it in his *Méthode* (1315), and as the *Encyclopædia Yi-tai-king-yin-i* fully explains (*Review* xiv., fol. 25). This title *Avalambana* seems to be derived from the idea of the suspension, head downwards, of the unhappy occupants of the *Limbus patens*. This idea is not a new one in Hindu fancy. We all know how the "Baital" or "Vetal," in the tale is suspended head downwards from a tree, and how Vikram repeatedly cuts him loose and carries him away on his back. We may remember also in the *Mahabharata* (*Vana Parva*) how Agastya sees his ancestors suspended by their heels in a pit, and was told by them that they could only be extricated by his begetting a son (*Thirteen of the Iadus*, vol. I., p. 322 n.). These instances are sufficient to show that the term *Avalambana* is intended to signify literally the condition of those unredempted souls who suffer in purgatory (we have no other word) by being suspended head downwards, till the sacrifice made by their offspring on earth compensates to redeem them from their sufferings. How nearly this idea of the Buddhists approaches to that of the condition of souls in Limbus and their rescue by the offerings or sacrifices of their friends on earth is too plain to need comment. Mr. Eitel, however, would assign the origin of this custom of "sacrificing for the dead" among the Buddhists to the time of the Yogachâra school, introduced into China about A. D. 733. But we have, in fact, a *Sâtra* translated into Chinese in the time of the Western Tsin

preached by Zaratûstira, will be punished by God should they break their promise.

† In this passage we have the germ of the doctrine of the resurrection from the dead; see the author's German work on the *Châkris*, vol. I. pp. 140-142.

‡ These are the undamned (*Amahaspandas*).

§ Three names of archangels.

* *Akema manô* (superlat. *akshatara manô*) means literally "evil mind." It is a philosophical term applied by Zaratûstira to designate his principle of non-existence, non-reality, which is the cause of all evils.

† She is the angel of earth and the personification of prayers.

‡ That is to say, those who give to-day the solemn promise to leave the polytheistic religion, and to follow that

dynasty (i. e. circ. 265 A. D.), by the famous priest Dharmarakṣa, relating to this very subject. It occurs in the 5th chapter of the collection called *King-fo-ye-yo-shuo*, and is called *Po-shuo-u-lan-puan-king*, i. e. the *Sūtra Avalambana* spoken by Buddha. We shall proceed to give a translation of this short sermon, and so leave the matter in the hands of the student.

The Avalambana Sūtra.

Thus have I heard. Buddha at one time was residing in the country of Śrāvastī, in the garden of Jeta the friend of the orphans. At this time Mugalan having begun to acquire the six supernatural powers (*śrīdhī*), desiring above all things, from a motive of piety, to deliver his father and mother, forthwith called into use his power of supernatural sight, and looking throughout the world he beheld his unhappy mother existing without food or drink in the world of *Prētas* (hungry ghosts) nothing but skin and bone. Mugalan, moved with filial pity, immediately presented to her his alms-bowl filled with rice. His mother, then taking the bowl in her left hand, endeavoured with her right to convey the rice to her mouth, but before it came near to her lips, lo! the rice was converted into fiery ashes, so that she could not eat thereof. At the sight of this, Mugalan uttered a piteous cry, and wept many tears as he bent his way to the place where Buddha was located. Arrived there, he explained what had happened, and awaited Buddha's instruction. On this the master opened his mouth, and said, "The sin which binds your mother to this unhappy fate is a very grievous one, from it you can never by your own strength rescue her, no! nor yet all the powers of earth or heaven, men or divine beings: not all these are equal to the task of deliverance. But by assembling the priests of the ten quarters, through their spiritual energy deliverance may be had. I will now recount to you the method of rescue from this and all similar calamities." Then Buddha continued:—"On the 15th day of the 7th month the priests of the ten quarters being gathered together ought to present an offering for the rescue of ancestors during seven generations past, as well as those of the present generation, every kind of choice food and drink, as well as sleeping materials and beds. These should be offered up by the assembled priesthood as though the ancestors themselves were present, by which they shall obtain deliverance from the pains, and be born at once in a condition of happiness in Heaven." And, moreover, the World-honoured One taught his followers certain words to be

repeated at the offering of the sacrifices, by which the virtue thereof would be certainly secured.

On this Mugalan with joy accepted the instruction, and by means of this institution rescued his mother from her sufferings.

And so for all future time this means of deliverance shall be effectual for the purpose designed, as year by year the offerings are presented according to the form delivered by Buddha.

Having heard these words, Mugalan and the rest departed to their several places, with joyous hearts and glad thoughts.¹

THE TOOTH-SEAL OF ASOKA.

BY REV. S. BRAL, B.A.

In the curious legend given of Asoka in Burnouf's *Introduction à l'Hist. du Bouddhisme Ind.* p. 407, we read that his wife Tishyarakshita, determined to punish her son-in-law Kunāla, for his non-compliance with her wishes, by having his beautiful eyes put out. For this purpose, having got the king to grant her the royal authority for seven days, she wrote a letter to the magistrates of Takshasila giving orders to this effect—"That the eyes of Kunāla should at once be torn out." We read then that she caused this letter to be sealed with an "ivory seal," and to be dispatched to its destination. The expression "an sceau d'ivoire," used by Burnouf, has been shown by Julien (ii. 156n) to be really equivalent to the "seal of his tooth"—the Sanscrit *danta* meaning both "ivory" and "tooth," and the Chinese version demands the latter signification in the legend before us. We have here another proof of the advantage of studying the Chinese accounts in connection with these Buddhist legends translated from the Sanskrit or Pāli. But our object in drawing the reader's attention to this legend is that he may compare this tooth-seal of Asoka with the following verses which occur in the gift of lands to the Rawdon family (Marquis of Hastings), vide "Burke's *Poems*, sub. "Hastings":—

"I, William, king, the third of my reign,
Give to Paulyn Rawdon, Hope and Hopetowne,
With all the bounds both up and downe,
From heaven to yerthe, from yerthe to hel,
For thee and thyns there to dwell,
As truly as this kinglyright is mine,
For a crossbow and an arrow.
When I sal come to hunt on yarrow;
And in token that this thing is sooth,
I bit the whyt wax with my tooth.
Before Meg, Mawd, and Margery,
And my third son Henry."²

¹ From *The Oriental*, Nov. 6, 1875.

² From *The Oriental*, October 2, 1875.

METRICAL VERSIONS FROM THE
MAHĀBHĀRATA.

BY JOHN MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., &c.

(Continued from p. 52.)

THE INDIAN RATIONALIST IN ANCIENT TIMES.

Mahābhārata, xiii. 2194ff.¹

The man who on the Vedas looks
As on authoritative books,
Who breaks their rules, and spurns all law,
Down on his head must ruin draw.
The Brāhman who, in vain conceit,
With scorn those scriptures dares to treat,
Who, shallow, yet acute and smart,
On logic dotes—that worthless art,—
Who, versed in all its tactics, knows
His simpler brethren how to pose,
Who subtly syllogizing speaks,
In wordy war to conquer seeks,
Who Brāhman good and true reviles,
At all they say contemptuous smiles,
The truths they urge with doubt receives,
And absolutely nought believes,—
That man in speech so sharp, and wild,
Is nothing better than a child.
Nay worse: the wisest men and best
That wrangler, as a dog, detest.
For just as dogs assail their prey,
With savage growls, and rending, slay,
So too these noisy scoffers strive,
The scriptures into shreds to rive.

The following is a nearly literal version of the lines of which the above is a free paraphrase:—

“The opinion that the Vedas possess no author-

ity, the transgression of the *Śāstras*, and an universal lawlessness—(these things) are the destruction of a man's self. The Brāhman who fancies himself a Pūṣṭi (learned man), and who reviles the Vedas, who is devoted to the science of reasoning useless logic, who utters argumentative speeches among good men, who is a victorious wrangler, who continually insults and abuses Brāhman, who is an universal sceptic and deluded—such a man, however sharp in his speech, is to be regarded as a child. He is looked upon as a dog. Just as a dog assails to bark and to kill, so such a man aims at talking, and at destroying all the *Śāstras* (scriptures).”

Whatever conclusion might have been drawn from such passages as the preceding, the Brāhman of old were by no means indisposed to argumentative discussions; but, on the contrary, seem to have made a practice of indulging in them on important occasions when they met in large numbers. This is shown by two passages from the *Edugāya*, i. 14, 19 (Bombay edition), and the *Mahābhārata*, xiv. 2536, in similar terms, that during the *Aśvamedhas* (horse-sacrifices) celebrated, in the one case by Daśaratha, and in the other by Yudhishtira, where it is said that “wise and eloquent Brāhman, eager for victory, engaged in argumentative discussions about the reason of things.”

It was only when the authority of the Vedas was called in question, or anything decidedly heretical, or adverse to their own high caste pretensions (though in this last respect the *Mahābhārata* itself is often unorthodox), was asserted, that they took the alarm, and sought to silence argument.

BOOK NOTICE.

BRITISH BURMA AND ITS PEOPLE; being Sketches of Native Manners, Customs, and Religion. By Captain C. J. F. S. Forbes, F.R.G.S., Officiating Deputy Commissioner, British Burma. London: John Murray: 1878.

Captain Forbes tells us that his work owes its origin to a remark in the *Report* of the last Census. Nothing however could less resemble the bulk of the somewhat dry compilations which are produced under the impulse of Secretariates and gazetteer offices.

The statistical information occupies five lines of our author's preface, one-fifth of the space given to acknowledging the merits of pioneers in his own lines of research. Twelve chapters

treat successively of physical geography, ethnology, social life (two chapters), occupations, games, festivals, folklore, forest tribes, Buddhism in Burma, the monastic order, and the language and literature of the country; and are followed by a good index.

Captain Forbes is well known to have a close acquaintance with the Burma of to-day, and does not attempt the historical treatment of his subject, though there are indications here and there in his book of the power to do so if he chose. Probably the most interesting parts of the work are the chapters on “Social Life and Manners,” as

¹ The verses of which the following is a free translation have an interest, as showing that the same conflict with which we are familiar in our own day between the viadi-

cators and the opponents of a supernatural revelation was hotly waged in India in early times.

the most spirited are those upon amusements and festivals. In the former, it is pleasant to find him disinterestedly taking up the cudgels for the much abused opium-smokers, admitting the mischief of the habit when excessive, but reprehending the absurd generalizations under which all degrees of the habit are treated as alike ruinous and unconquerable. He gives an interesting case of an opium-eater whom he sent to jail (not for opium-eating, but as having no ostensible means of livelihood,) and who afterwards came to thank him for having thus begun his reformation. Captain Forbes considers opium eating much more injurious than the smoking. The present writer's observations in Western India lead to the opposite conclusion; which may probably be accounted for by some difference in the preparation and method of use.

Nothing Burman, perhaps, has been more discussed in British India than the peculiar position of the Burman women; especially as attention has been twice drawn to it by the well meant, but not very judicious, attempts of different Chief Commissioners to "moralize" the population by order numbered and dated. We are glad to find Captain Forbes, an excellent authority, bearing favourable testimony to the character of the Burman women. The freedom of divorce, very great indeed, but not greater than existed in Imperial Rome, and now exists in some of the United States, has led hasty observers to form unwarrantable conclusions against the general morality of the community. The fact seems to be, that while the position of women in Burma is decidedly freer and pleasanter than in peninsular India or most other parts of Asia, they are really much less apt there to abuse their liberty than their enslaved sisters are to cheat their servitude,—a result which might reasonably be expected, and for the details of which we can recommend our readers to our author.

Perhaps nothing could better illustrate one phase of this independence and community of interest with the men, than the description of a strange "tug of war" which is performed upon the funeral catafalque of a departed Buddhist saint. Two villages strive each to move the car in their own direction, tugging at huge man-ropes of cane or coir. "At first a few lads and idlers begin pulling at either side, without much effect on the heavy mass. Each side calls some more of their friends, then perhaps a headman of a village to which some of the lads belong joins in, the numbers gradually increase, and the car begins to oscillate; and as the attention of the crowd is drawn towards it, the villagers of A and B coming up, join their friends on either

side. Suddenly a headman of B village sees the headman of A pulling away and inciting his men: he gives a yell, shouts for all his people, and rushes to the ropes, which are now well manned. The car, strongly made as it is, shakes and quivers with the strain, while the lofty canopy of elastic bamboo rocks violently backwards and forwards. I have seen the struggle last for an hour or more without either party stirring the car more than a few feet. The crowd, as usual, get violently excited; every man that has an acquaintance or friend in either village joins in; I have seen policemen on duty frantically waving their staves to encourage the contending heroes, or rushing at some shirker to bring him back to the lists—it was no use taking notice of the want of discipline. Now perhaps one side gain the advantage, and with deafening shouts drag the car some paces; but lo! in rush fresh forces. Led by some excited old lady, all the women and girls of the losing village fly to the rescue; and mingle with their husbands, brothers, and lovers at the ropes. Now, then—if you are men—you *kya ba tsa'* pull for very shame till you snap the cables! Hurrah! *La hyes! La hyes!* it comes! it comes! and with a ringing cheer away we go triumphant, some hundred yards or so."

It is impossible to read this book, or for the matter of that any of the best works upon Burma, without remarking the strong resemblance between the characteristics assigned to the natives, and those of some of the older tribes in Western India, especially the coast Kulis, a race living under similar physical conditions, though politically depressed. There is the same physique, somewhat short and broad but active and of tougher fibre than is found among the more Aryan races, the same broad, almost Mongolian face and comeliness, rather than beauty, of the younger women; whose dress, too, the short *sari*, worn without the separate bodice, seems closely to resemble the Burmese *taasin*. And the cheerful, excitable character, and ready friendliness with any European who will take any trouble to approach them, contrasts strongly with the reserve of the superior Cis-Gangetic races, closest when it seems most thrown aside. Some speculations on this head are thrown out by our author, who mentions, besides, the Mongolian character of Buddhist sculptures at Sarnath, which can be paralleled from some of the Western caves, where dress and feature are frequently distinctly Kuli. This ground, however, on which we should like to accompany Captain Forbes further, is forbidden to us by caution and want of space.

W. F. S.

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. ROWORTH, F.S.A.

I.

SINCE writing the first volume of my *History of the Mongols* I have had the good fortune to meet with the Russian translation by Palladius of the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, or 'Secret History of the Mongol Dynasty,' which has been again translated for me by some of my friends. This work is by far the most important authority which we possess for the history of Chinghiz Khan and his ancestors. According to Dr. Bretschneider it was originally written in the Mongol language and was finished in the year 1240, at the time of a great assembly on the river Kerulen. The work is quoted in the *Hung-wu-shi-lu*, or 'Detailed Record of the Reign of Hung-wu,' under the year 1382, where, we are told, that it had been written in the Mongol tongue and in Uighur characters, and that a Chinese translation of it was made, to which the Mongol text was annexed, not in the original letters, but by rendering the Mongol sounds by Chinese letters. Palladius translated his version from a copy in Chinese contained in a collection of reprints published in 1848. After he had translated this he discovered a copy of the Ming edition, accompanied by the Mongol text in Chinese characters, and found that what he had translated, and what is alone therefore available, was only an extract of the original work which comprises 15 chapters, and has no title.¹ To this notice I may add that my friend Mr. Wylie met with a copy of the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, in China, written in the Mongol language in Chinese characters, as above mentioned. This was partially transcribed for him, but the original copy was lost during the rebellion, so that what he now has is only a fragment.

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* I believe to be the main source of the matter contained in the first book of the *Yuan-shi*, or 'Imperial Annals of the Mongol dynasty,' of which the first three books were translated into Russian many years ago by Hyacinthe, while the first one has been recently translated into English by my friend Mr. Douglas. From the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* the author of the *Altan Topchi* and Ssanang Setzen apparently also drew the earlier portion of their matter. The *Altan Topchi* or 'Golden

Epitome' is a Mongol chronicle discovered by the members of the Russian Mission to Peking, and published with a translation in the 6th volume of the *Mémoires* of the Eastern Branch of the Imperial Archaeological Society of St. Petersburg by a Buriat Lama named Galsan Gomboef. The last Khan mentioned in it is Lingdan, who mounted the throne in the year 1604, and the last redaction of the text was probably made during his reign, although from the many archaisms it contains, the original text is no doubt much older. It is apparently the *Erdeni Topchi* quoted by Ssanang Setzen.

The work of Ssanang Setzen entitled *Ssanang Setzen u Naiman* is more generally known by the translation of Schmidt. Its author, Ssanang-Setzen Khungtaiji, was a Mongol prince, who was born in 1604, and compiled his well known chronicle in the year 1662. (*op. cit.* 299.) Its text is of great use for recovering the correct form of names as they were current among the Mongols.

Pallas also, in his work entitled *Savvaugen historischer Nachrichten ueber die Mongolischen Völkerschaften*, (St. Petersburg, 1776), has related the traditional story of the origin of the Mongol Imperial house from the Lama work called *Bhadra*, which describes the origin of gods and men, and which, *inter alia*, gives a genealogy of Chinghiz Khan (*op. cit.* 17). This practically exhausts the material which is extant in China and among the Mongols for the discussion of the origin of the Imperial stock of Chinghiz Khan.

On turning to the Musalman writers who have left us such valuable materials for the history of this dynasty, we shall find that their accounts of its origins are derived almost entirely from the well known *Jawid Tawdrikh* of Rashid-u'd-din, who was the main authority followed by Abu'lghazi, as the latter himself tells us.

Fazl u'llah Rashid, the son of Abu'l-khair, was born at Hamadan about the year 1247, and was employed as a doctor in the service of the famous Ilkhan of Persia Gazan Khan, who in 1309 put him at the head of the administration of Persia, with the style of vizir. This post he continued to hold during the reign of Gazan's successor Ulja'it'u, to whom in 1309 he pro-

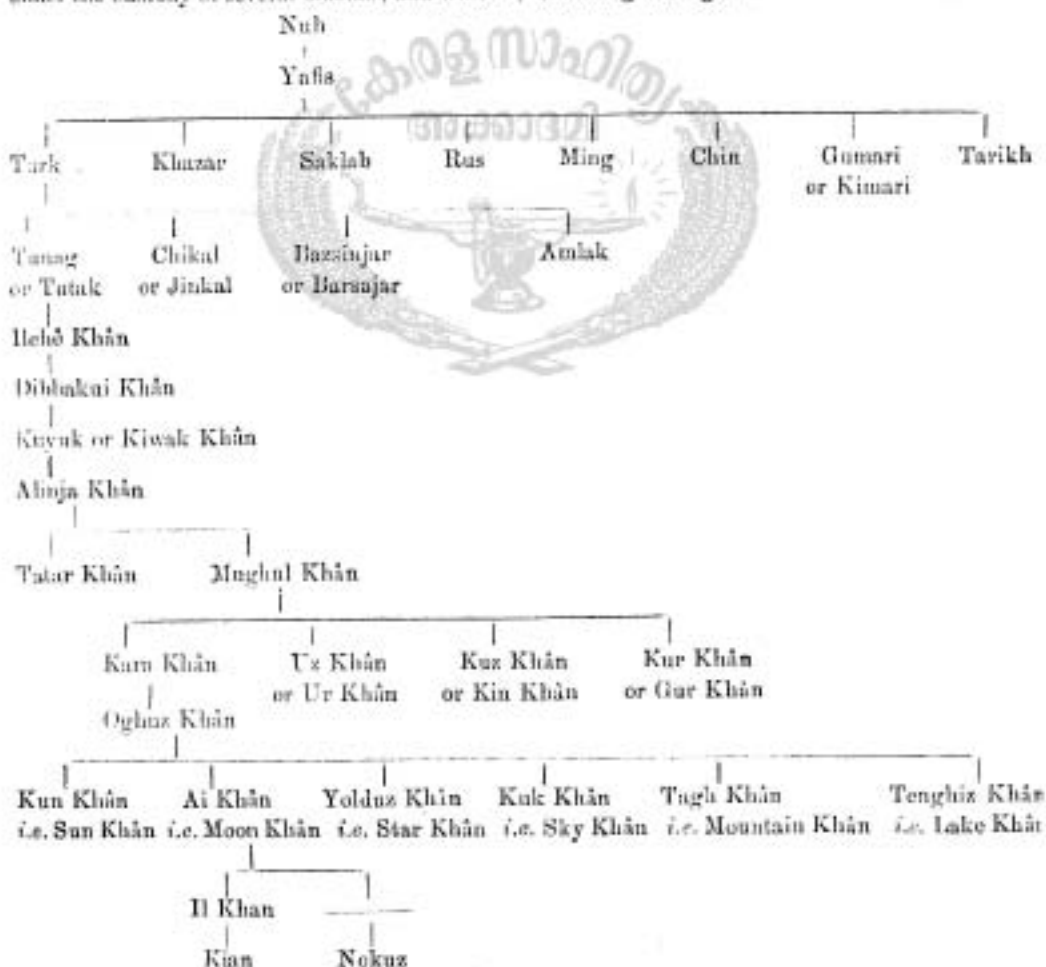
¹ Bretschneider, *Notices of Medieval Geography*, etc. pp. 14, 15.

presented his famous work. Falsely accused of having poisoned Uljaitu, he was put to death by order of the latter's successor Abu Sayyid on the 13th of September 1318.*

He tells us in his preface that there existed in the archives (*i.e.* of the Mongol sovereign of Persia) historical fragments of undoubted authenticity written in Mongol. These he had been ordered by Gazan to consult, as well as learned Chinese, Indians, Uighurs, Kipchaks, and others who lived at his court, and especially the generalissimo and administrator of the kingdom, Pulad Chingsang, "who knows," he says, "better than any one in the world the origin and history of the Turkish tribes, and especially of the Mongols."⁵ Elsewhere Rashid speaks of a book called the *Altun Difter*, or 'Golden Register,' which was deposited in the Imperial treasury under the custody of several officials, and which

he refers to as containing a history of the house of Chinghiz Khan.* The *Altun Difter*, as I believe, was either identical with the *Yuan-shi-pi-shi*, or contained virtually the same materials.

The servant and panegyrist of a royal house, famous for its zeal in religious matters, it is not strange that Rashid 'd-din should have connected it with the patriarchs who are equally prominent in the *Bible* and the *Koran*, and have derived it from Nuh and Yafis, and that further he should have found a place for the eponymous representative of the Mongol stock in the strangely artificial and inconsequent ethnographic genealogy, in which, like other Eastern historians, he affiliates together the various branches of the human family known to him. It will suffice us to tabulate the story as given by these curious genealogists.



* D'Olmeut, *Histoire des Mongols*, vol. I. p. xliii.

* *Id.* pp. xxxv. and xxxvi.

* *Id.* pp. 23 and 24 note 2.

In this table I have mainly followed the detailed list as given by Abu'l-ghazi, excluding only the three names of Yolduz Khân, Mingh Khân, and Tenghiz Khân, whom he places in succession after Ai Khân, and which do not occur in other authors. They have been clearly interpolated by him, and two of them merely repeat two names of brothers of Ai Khân. I ought here to add that the list has been recently illustrated at great length, and apparently with a full belief in its credibility, by Major Raverty, in the *Transactions of the St. Petersburg Congress of Orientalists*, but the whole is clearly fabulous. In it we have a curious medley of artificial and of real names, of mere eponymous creations, and of mythological fragments. They are clearly also derived from the legends of the Western Turks. Kara Khân, Oghuz Khân, and Il Khân are famous names in Turkish tradition. We are told by Rashidu'd-dîn and his followers that this race of princes lived in the Urtagh mountains and the Karakum steppe, that is in the old land of the Western Turks, and it was no doubt the anxiety of the courtly Persian historian to find a suitably dignified ancestry for his hero, which made him link him to the legendary heroes of Turkish tradition.

I need not say that these early links in the chain are entirely absent from the Chinese and Mongol recensions of the Saga about the origin of the Mongol royal stock, and may be accepted as of no value whatever, except as a proof of the religious loyalty and the diplomatic skill of Rashidu'd-dîn. From Japhet to the two chiefs Kian and Nokuz we may cheerfully erase the whole list of names from our memory as utterly irrelevant to the Mongols. Rashidu'd-dîn tells us these two last-named princes took refuge with their people in the retired valley of Irgene-kun—where their descendants remained for 400 years. We are not told who the princes were who reigned during this interval, and after its close the story really begins again. The gap is interesting as showing how the patchwork story was built up. After the interval of 400 years just mentioned the Mongols are said to have broken the yoke of the Tartars, and to have issued from the defiles of Irgene-kun under a chief named Barteichino, descended from Kian, and of the race of the Kurulas. Barteichino

and those who succeed him in Rashidu'd-dîn's story are well known also to the more primitive legend preserved in China and Mongolia, and to them we shall revert presently.

While Rashidu'd-dîn traces the Mongol Khâns to the Semitic patriarchs, the indigenous Mongol chroniclers in a similar manner trace them to the royal stock of Tibet, and through it to Hindustan to the sacred founder of their faith Śākya-muni himself. In this the *Altan Tpechi*, Ssanang Setzen, and the Kalmuk legend as reported by Pallas agree, and they all name the Indian sovereign, Olana Begükdöksen, as the stem-father of the race. The two former authorities deduce the Tibetan royal stock from this chief, and trace it through several generations to Digma-Danbo Dalai Sabia Aen Altan Shireghetu, who had three sons, Sivaghochi, Borocho, and Barteichino. We are told that their father having been killed by his minister Longnam, who usurped the throne, the three brothers fled; the first to the land of Ngangho, the second to that of Bubo, and the third to Gongho.²

The story of the usurpation of Longnam is told in the native Tibetan books, whence it has been abstracted by Schmidt.* In the original story the three brothers are called Ja-thi, Nia-thi and Sha-za-thi. *Thi*, which is written *Kêri*, means throne, and is the surname of all the early Tibetan kings. *Ja* means bird or fowl, *Nia* means fish, and *Sha-za* means the flesh-eater. The two former are similar in meaning to Sivaghochi and Borocho, which respectively mean the fowler and the fisherman. While the third brother, the flesh-eater, has been ingeniously identified with Barteichino, a name, as I shall show presently, meaning the 'blue-grey wolf,' assuredly a very typical flesh-eater. As Klaproth, to whom we owe the dissection of the story, has argued, it is clear that on the conversion of the Mongols to Buddhism in the 16th century, the Lamas naturally desired to connect their royal race with Buddha himself, and found in the plausible resemblance in meaning of the two names Sha-za and Barteichino a link by which to bridge over the incongenious lineage they desired *a priori* to establish. I need not say that none of this part of the story, any more than the earlier part of Rashidu'd-dîn's table, occurs either in the *Yuen-ek'ao-pi-shi*, or in the Chinese annals, which

* Ssanang Setzen, p. 25.

* Ssanang Setzen, p. 317 note 6; see also Schmidt, *For-*

schungen, etc. 15; Klaproth *Tableaux Historiques de l'Asie* p. 157-8, note.

preserve for us the earliest edition of the Saga, and that we must discard it all as an invention of the Lamas in the 16th century.

Having got rid of the accretions which the old tradition received at the hands of the Muhammadans of Persia and the Tibetan Lamas, let us now approach the older edition of it.

The authorities, old and young, eastern and western, agree in deducing the Mongol Imperial stock from *Burtechino*. First, as to the etymology of this name. *Chiao* in Mongol means a 'wolf,'⁷ *burte* means the bluish-grey colour which the fur of many animals acquires on the approach of winter.⁸ So that *Burtechino* means merely the blue-grey, or winter-coated wolf, and we find that in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* the ancestor of the Imperial family is simply called a blue wolf. This grey-blue colour is equivalent to that of the sky, and means in fact Celestial. Hence we find the royal race of the Mongols is known as that of the *Borjigs*, i.e. the grey or blue-grey eye, from *boro*, grey or grey-blue,⁹ the celestial being who visited *Alun Goa*, as I shall mention presently, having had eyes of this colour. Again *Ssanang Setzen* tells us *Chinghiz Khan* gave his people the name of *Köke Mongol*, i.e. Blue Mongols,¹⁰ and blue was the Imperial colour of the Yuan dynasty.¹¹ In all these cases it no doubt refers to the heavenly or supernatural origin of the family whose members are so often apostrophized by *Ssanang Setzen* as the sons of the *Tengri* or of Heaven. Let us now continue our story. *Burtechino*, we are told, married *Goa Maral*.¹² *Goa* means white or shining, and is used as a personal name, and given to noble ladies; *maral* means a hind.¹³ The blue wolf therefore married a white hind. In an abridgment of Chinese history written by *Yuan-liao-fan*, and quoted by *Visdelou*¹⁴ the wolf is said to have been white and the hind grey. Together they roamed across the *Tenghiz* (i.e. the lake or sea), and having reached the sources of the river *Onon* in the mountain *Barkhan*, they had a son, who was called *Bede tse Khan*. This is the story as told in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, in a Chinese work cited by *Klaproth*,¹⁵ and in a Chinese dictionary entitled *Wang-ying-fuag-pu*, in which last how-

ever the blue wolf has been converted by some rationalizer of the legend into a man of great size and a blue colour, and the white hind into a miserable and deserted woman.¹⁶ *Ssanang Setzen* has sophisticated the story after his own fashion; he has converted the river *Onon* into lake *Baikal*, and he adds a paragraph to glorify his protégés the Lamas. He says that on arriving at the mountain *Burkhan*, *Burtechino* lived for a while with the people *Bede* who dwelt there. When they had interrogated him on the motives of his journey, and discovered that he was descended from the Indian *Olana Ergük-dexen* as well as from the Tibetan *Tul Essen*, they discussed matters together, and said—"this young man is of high birth, and we have no one to rule over us, let us make him our chief." Thereupon they made him their leader, and followed all his commands. He had two sons *Bödö Khan* and *Bödötsö Khan*.¹⁷

The mountain *Barkhan*, the *Burkhan Khalduna* of *Ssanang Setzen*, the sacred mountain chain of the Mongols, is the famous *Kentei Khan* range, where the *Onon* takes its rise, which is called *Barkhan-ula* in the Chinese geographical work translated by *Hyacinthe* and *Klaproth*.¹⁸ There *Chinghiz* was buried. *Barkhan* in Mongolian means 'divine', and Buddha according to *Dr. Bretschneider* is known among the Mongols as *Śākyamuni Burkhan*. As we have seen *Ssanang Setzen* calls the inhabitants of the *Burkhan Khalduna* mountains the *Bede* people. The *Altan Topchi* calls this country the land of *Zud*, which is perhaps a corruption of *Bede*. Now *Bödötsö* or *Batachi*, according to *Palladius*, is a derivative of *Bede* or *Bata* (*Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, note 7). The name is in fact an eponymous one, created out of the race named *Bede*. This name *Bede* gave rise to a fierce polemic between *Klaproth* and *Schmidt*. I believe with *Remusat* that it is merely a corruption of the Chinese "*Pe-ti*," northern barbarians. In the Tibetan work named *Nou Charkoi Todunkhoi Töli* the Turkish tribes known as *Hor-pa* to the Tibetans are called *Bädi Hor*.¹⁹ Again, we are told by *Erdmann*, who is doubtless quoting *Rashid al-din*, that after the capture of *Yanghi-*

⁷ *Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta*, p. 284.

⁸ *Schmidt, Ssanang Setzen*, p. 372 note 1.

⁹ *Id.* p. 375 note 9.

¹⁰ *Id.* p. 375, and 380 note 22.

¹¹ *Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta*, p. 263.

¹² *Ssanang Setzen*, p. 36.

¹³ *Schmidt, op. cit.* p. 378 note 2.

¹⁴ *Bibl. Orient. Suppl.* p. 340.

¹⁵ *Tableaux historiques de l'Asie*, p. 159.

¹⁶ *Asia Polyglotta*, p. 263. ¹⁷ *Ssanang Setzen*, p. 37.

¹⁸ *Tinkoff's Travels*, vol. II., p. 226.

¹⁹ *Schmidt, Forschungen*, &c., p. 55.

kent-ling Juchi in 1218 the Ulus Bede returned home to its head-quarters at Karakorum, and was replaced by 10,000 Turkomans. Erdmann,²⁰ D'Ohsson,²¹ and Von Hammer all state the same fact of the Uighurs. This points to Uighur and Bede being synonymous terms, a view which is strengthened when we find the Turks of northern Tibet called Shara Uighur by Ssanang Setzen. Now it is very extraordinary that the neighbourhood of the Kentei mountains was the original homeland of the Uighurs, from which they in fact sprang. The meaning of the story then is—that Barteegino became the ruler of the Turkish tribe of the Uighurs, and the inference is *a priori* a reasonable one, that the legend belonged originally to the Turks, and not to the Mongols. On inquiring further this is amply confirmed. The story of the wolf is in fact a Turkish story. We are told of the Usian, a Turkish tribe, who were probably the ancestors of the Takiu or Turks proper, that the Hiong-nu having attacked them, and killed their chief, his son was, like Romulus, miraculously tended by a she-wolf who suckled him, and by a bird which brought him food. The ruler of the Hiong-nu having heard of this miracle deemed the child to be divine, undertook his education, and eventually gave him the command of his western dominions.²² But it is in the legendary history of the Takiu or Turks proper that we meet with the real parallel to our story. In one version of this we read that the ancestors of the Takiu lived on the western borders of the Si-hai or Western lake. There they were destroyed by a neighbouring nation, who killed them all without distinction, except a boy of ten years old, on whom the enemy had a certain compassion, and spared his life although they cut off his hands and feet. He now dragged himself to a great marsh, where he remained concealed. There he was tended by a she-wolf, who eventually became pregnant by him. As the enemy still sought to destroy the young man, the she-wolf, who was herself carried off by a spirit, took him with her, and transported him to the east of the Si-hai. She stopped with him on a mountain to the north-west of the kingdom of Kaochang, i.e. of the Uighurs of Bishbalig, where they found a cavern opening upon a retired valley more than

200 li in circumference. There the she-wolf bore ten male young-ones, who eventually married, and each one took a different family name. A-se-na, who was the cleverest was chosen as their king, and he ordered that the heads of his standards should be shaped like the heads of wolves, to show that he did not ignore his origin.²³

Another legend reports that the Turks sprang from the country of So, situated to the north of the country of the Hiong-nu. Their chief named Kha-pam-pa had sixteen brothers, one of whom was called I-chi-ni-shuai-ta. He had a she-wolf for a mother. His brothers were all weak and without spirit. He, on the contrary, was very strong, and could control the wind and rain. He married two wives, one the ruler of summer and the other of winter, by each of whom he had two sons. The eldest of these sons was called No-tu-lu-shi. His father's subjects made him king, and at the same time adopted the name of Tu-kiu or Turks. He married ten wives, whose sons took the family names of their mothers. A-se-na was one of these names.²⁴ *Sona* or *A-se-na* is the equivalent of *skino*, and means wolf.

In these Turkish legends we assuredly have the origin of the Mongol Saga. In both we have a wolf for the common ancestor, in both it lives near a great lake which it crosses. In both it goes to the East or North-East on leaving it.²⁵ In both it reaches a mountain, and then brings forth offspring.

Again, the derivation of the stem-father of the race from the Si-hai or Western lake, the Tengkiz of the *Yen-chi-ao-pi-shi*, exactly accords with what we know of the original homeland of the Turks proper, namely, the country round lake Issikul. Rashidu'd-din and his followers describe the valley in which the wolf settled as named Irgene-kun. This according to Abu'l-ghazi means a sharp-peaked girdle of mountains (*op cit.* p. 32), a description which applies admirably to the actual cradle-land of the Turks, namely, the mountain-girdled and secluded valley of Issikul, which district was still known in the 13th century as *Organnum*, and is referred to under that name by Rubruquis. I may add that the range of hills west of the Volga run-

²⁰ *Temadschin der Unerschütterliche*, p. 373-4.

²¹ *Histoire des Mongols*, vol. I. p. 213.

²² De Guignes, vol. II. p. 56.

²³ Visdelou, pp. 91, 92; Klaproth, *Journ. Asiat.* 1st ser. t. II., pp. 209, 211.

²⁴ Visdelou, *op cit.* p. 92.

²⁵ See Abel Remusat, *Nouv. Journ. Asiat.* tom. IX. pp. 136-7.

ning from Sarepta to the Manyisch are called the Irgene hills by the Kalmauks. Lastly, the western writers make Bartechino belong to the tribe of the Kurulas called by the Mongols Khorlut (*id.* 33), which, as I shall show further on, was a Turkish tribe. At all points, therefore, the legend proves itself to be Turkish. Bartechino and Goa Maral, the blue-grey wolf and white hind as we have said, had a son Bédetsé. Ssanang Setzen gives the latter a brother Bôdes, who is not known to any of the other writers, and who is no doubt an interpolation of his own. Bédetsé was succeeded by his son Tamatsak, or, as the western writers give his name, Timaj (Abu'l-ghazi, p. 63). He had a son Khoritsar Mergen, the Kichi Mergen of the western writers (*id.* p. 63). Rashidu'd-din makes him the eldest of five sons of Timaj, the other four being the ancestors of the tribe Darban—of which more presently—in which he differs from the more eastern writers, as we shall see presently. Khoritsar was succeeded by his son Aghojim Baghurul, the Kuchum Baghurul of Rashidu'd-din (*ib.*).

I have adopted the orthography of these names given by Ssanang Setzen, which is substantially the same as that given in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* and the *Altan Topchi*, as I prefer to take Schmidt's direct transliteration of the Mongol words to one taken at second-hand through the medium of Russian letters.

Aghojim Baghurul was succeeded by his son Sali Khaljighe, who is not mentioned by Rashidu'd-din nor in the *Bodhiyar* (*cited infra*). We may remark that one of the Mongol tribes named by Ssanang Setzen in the 15th century was called Khaligbochin (*op cit.* pp. 175, 191 and 259). This fact, and the omission of the name from two independent lists, looks suspiciously like an interpolation for the purpose of flattering some tribe or family. Sali Khaljighe was succeeded by Yeke Nidün, i. e. the large-eyed, so called both in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* and the *Altan Topchi*, and by Rashidu'd-din, while Ssanang Setzen has corrupted it into Nige Nidün, the one-eyed. Rashidu'd-din makes him the son of Kichi Baghurul. He had a son Samsuji, and he had a son Khali Kharchu, who is ignored in the *Altan Topchi*, but is named by the author of the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* by Ssanang Setzen and by Rashidu'd-din. The last author tells us these princes lived on the rivers Onon, Kerulon and

Tugali and on the mountains Berghad (i. e. Barkhan) and Bermi (?)²²

So far the lists virtually agree, but at this point there is a marked divergence. Rashidu'd-din makes Dubun Bayan the son and successor of Khali Kharchu, while the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, the *Altan Topchi* and Ssanang Setzen interpolate two names between them. That these names are interpolations seems probable. According to the authors last named Khali Kharchu was succeeded by his son Borjigetei Mergen. This name has been created out of *bor-jighin*, i. e. the blue-eyed, a term applied to the Mongol Imperial family, and derived apparently from the story of Alan Goa, to be referred to presently. This Borjigetei is said to have married Mongholjin Goa, a name as artificially created out of the name Mongol, and which is ignored by the *Altan Topchi*. These two had a son Torghaljin Bayan, which was perhaps created in a similar way out of the name Turak or Turk. He had for his wife Borokshin Goa, which seems also compounded of the particle *boro*, meaning blue-grey already referred to. The last named pair are said in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* to have had two horses named Tair and Boro, and a domestic named Boroldai. They also had two sons, namely, Doo Sokhor and Dobo Mergen.

This Dobo Mergen is the same person as the Dubun Bayan of Rashidu'd-din. As I have said, Rashidu'd-din ignores the names inserted by some authorities between Khali Kharchu and Dubun Bayan. In this he is supported by a very independent authority, namely, the Buddhist book cited under the name of *Bodhiyar* by Pallas. The list of names given in that work under a corrupt orthography may be profitably compared with those we have discussed. It is as follows:—

Buradachi	(i. e. Bartechino).
Berchen	(i. e. Bédetsé).
Temana	(i. e. Tamatsak).
Kakza Mergen	(i. e. Khoritsar Mergen).
Aiza Borogol	(i. e. Aghojim Baghurul).
Eke Dagon	(i. e. Yeke Nidun).
Sai Sunji	(i. e. Sam Suji).
Tebzu	(i. e. Kharchu).
Derben Zargan	(i. e. Dobo Mergen) ²³

Here we have the list as given by Rashidu'd-din confirmed in two respects; first, by the omission of Sali Khaljighe between Yeke

²² Erdmann's *Temutschin der Ueerschütterliche*, p. 545.

²³ Pallas, *op cit.* vol. I. p. 17

Niden and Sam Suji, and then by the exclusion of the names we are now discussing immediately before Dobo Mergen. This increases our faith greatly in the accuracy of Rashid, who was a singularly critical historian. He had the *Altan Defter* or 'Golden Register' before him and was besides assisted, as he tells us, by Pulad Ching-sang, a Mongol prince well versed in the traditions of his house. He is not likely to have excluded these names, especially the later ones with their peculiar colouring, the first of the line after Burtetchino, whose wives are mentioned, if they had occurred in the documents before him, while their artificial and evidently made-up character also points to some ingenious pedigree-maker. I have no doubt that originally the list at this point stood very much as Rashid-u'd-din gives it, and we shall presently mention a fact which makes this almost certain. According to the *Yuan-shi'ao-pi-shi* Doa Sokhor had four sons, who all lived together. On their father's death they behaved badly, separated from Dobo Mergen, and formed the family Durban (i. e. the four). Ssanang Setzen boldly tells us their names were Donoi, Dokshin, Emnek and Erke, and that they were the ancestors of the four Uirad tribes Ogheled, Baghatid, Khoit and Kergud, who in his day were known as "the Four" in contrast with the Mongols, who were known as "the Forty." Rashid-u'd-din, as we have seen, derives the Durban from four sons of Timaj. As I shall shew further on the Durban, who were contemporary with Chinghiz, were probably the four tribes of Tartars and not the four Uirads. Dobo Mergen married Alun Goa. It was from Alun Goa that the Mongol Khans traced their descent, not from him. He and his ancestors have nothing whatever to do, in fact, with them, beyond his having in the legend married their progenetrix. Who then were these legendary chiefs? This was very ingeniously explained by Schmidt. Dobo is in fact no other than Topo Khan, the famous ruler of the Turks who died in 581. Doa Sokhor is the equivalent of Sekin, Topo's brother, who was also called Moko Khan, and the division of the tribes among the sons of Doa Sokhor answers to the division of the Turks into four divisions on the death of Topo Khan (Ssanang Setzen, p. 374). I may add as a remarkable confirmation of this

view of Schmidt, and as a proof of the correctness of the fable as given by Rashid-u'd-din, that the immediate predecessor of Sekin and Topo Khan as ruler of the Turks was Kolo, otherwise called Meke Khan, who assuredly answers to the Khali Kharchu of the above lists. This completes the proof that the earlier part of the genealogy of the Mongol Khans, as preserved in its primitive form, has been adopted from the Turks. Here, however, the adoption is more or less legitimate, for, as we shall show presently, there is every reason to believe that the Mongol Imperial house was in fact descended from the old Turkish Khans.

We will now complete the Saga of Dobo Mergen. The *Yuan-shi'ao-pi-shi* tells us that Doa Sokhor, while he was one day on the Mountain Burkhan, saw a number of people nomadizing along the river Tunggeli, the Tuguli of Rashid-u'd-din (this Wolff identifies with the river still called Tunggeli, which springs on the western side of the Burkhan Mountains, and falls into the Kara Gol,²⁹ but as I shall shew further on it is probable that the Ingoda is really meant). Among the rest he noticed a black *kibitka* or tent on a waggon, on the driver's seat of which was a pretty girl, and he said I must secure her for my brother. This was the maiden Alun Goa, whom Dobo Mergen married, and by whom he had two sons, Belgetei and Begontei, called Belgayut and Bagaunt by Rashid-u'd-din.³⁰

Dobo died, according to Abu'l-ghazi, when he was 30, one of his sons being seven, and the other six years old.³¹

It was after his death that Alun Goa gave birth to three sons, whose father was a spirit, one of whom was the ancestor of Chinghiz Khan. So that, as we have said, Dobo and his ancestors have nothing to do directly with the lineage of the great conqueror, and it is remarkable that in the chapter of the *Yuan-shi* or 'Official Annals' of the Mongol dynasty, which has been examined for me by my friend Mr. Douglas, the dynasty is not traced beyond Alun Goa, and the earlier names are left out. M. D'Ohsson, in his well known history of the Mongols, has also excluded them, and has similarly commenced his story with the same ancestress.

(To be continued.)

²⁹ Wolff, *Gesch. der Mong.*, p. 14, note.

³⁰ Erdmann, *op. cit.* p. 535.

³¹ *Op. cit.* p. 64.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.A. C.S., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from p. 76.)

No. LXV.

Inside the village of Aihole, in the compound of the *Matha* of Huchchayya, there is an old and partially ruined temple of the god *Īvara*, one of the columns of which bears an Old-Canarese inscription. It consists of twenty-five lines of about fifteen letters each. The greater part of this inscription is now undecipherable. But enough is legible to shew that the preamble refers itself to the reign of the Western *Chālukya* king *Trailokyamalla* or *Sōmāśvara* I., and that it is dated in Śaka 989, the *Plavāṅga saṁvatsara*, on Sunday¹ the second day² of the bright fortnight of the month *Mārgaśīra* or *Mārgaśīrsha*.

No. LXVI.

On a column in another ruined temple in the compound of the same *Matha* there is another Old-Canarese inscription, consisting of nineteen lines of about ten letters each. This, again, is for the most part undecipherable. But enough is legible to shew that, though it does not refer itself to the reign of any particular king, this inscription, again, is dated in Śaka 989, the *Plavāṅga saṁvatsara*, on Wednesday³ the seventh day of the bright fortnight of the month *Kārttika*.

No. LXVII.

There is also an Old-Canarese inscription at the temple of the god *Rāmaliṅga*, in Survey No. 75 on the south of the village. A partial copy of it is given in the *Elliot MS. Collection*, Vol. I., p. 360. Without referring itself to the reign of any particular king, it is dated at the time of the sun's commencing his progress to the north on Sunday⁴, the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of the month *Pushya* of the *Yuva saṁvatsara*, which was the twentieth year of the *Chālukya* *Vikrama-Kāla*, i.e. Śaka 1017 (A.D. 1095-6). I had no leisure to examine this inscription when I was at Aihole.

No. LXVIII.

On a stone somewhere in the wall of the fort there is said to be an Old-Canarese inscription, which, without referring itself to the reign of any particular king, is dated in Śaka 1019, the *Īvara saṁvatsara*, at the time of an eclipse of

the sun when the sun was commencing his progress to the north on Sunday⁵ the fourth day of the bright fortnight of the month *Pushya*. This inscription, however, was not forthcoming at the time of my visit to the village.

No. LXIX.

Just outside the south-west gate of the village there is a modern shrine of the god *Hanumanta*, with a stone *dhvajastambha* standing in front of it. Into the pedestal of this *dhvajastambha* there has been built a *Vīṇagā* or monumental stone, with an Old-Canarese inscription on it, of which a copy is given in the *Elliot MS. Collection*, Vol. I., p. 410. The upper compartment of the stone is now hidden from view. But three lines of writing are visible, recording the date of Monday⁶ the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of the month *Śrāvāṇa* of the *Vishu saṁvatsara*, which was the twenty-sixth year of the *Chālukya* *Vikrama-Kāla*, i.e. Śaka 1023 (A.D. 1101-2). The next compartment of the stone has a figure of the god *Jinendra*, sitting cross-legged, with on each side of him a *Yakṣi* fanning him with a *chauri*. The rest of the stone is now hidden from view; but it records a grant by the five-hundred *Mahājānas* of *Ayyāvoḷe*.

No. LXX.

There is another ruined temple of the god *Īvara* in what is known as the courtyard of the *Arāṁg* or 'palace,' in Survey No. 86, not far from the *Brāhmaṇical* Cave. One of the pillars now lying in the *maṇḍapa* of this temple has on it an Old-Canarese inscription consisting of twenty-seven lines of about twelve letters each. A transcription is given in the *Elliot MS. Collection*, Vol. I., p. 640. But only enough is legible with certainty to show that it is dated at the time of a *śukramāsa* on Friday⁷ the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of the month *Śrāvāṇa* of the *Nāḷa saṁvatsara*, which was the sixty-first year of the *Chālukya* *Vikrama-Varsha*, i.e. Śaka 1058 (A.D. 1136-7).

No. LXXI.

Inside the village, in a temple of the goddess *Kontemma* or *Konterva*⁸, which has been appro-

¹ *Ādityavāra*.² *Budhivāra*.³ *Budhivāra*; or, *devittya*.⁴ *Ādivāra*.⁵ *Ādityavāra*.⁶ *Śukravāra*.⁷ *Sōmavāra*.⁸ *Kuntī*, the wife of *Pāṇḍu*.

piated as a house by the *Pájdri*, there is a black-stone tablet with an Old-Canarese inscription on it, of which a partial transcription is given in the *Elliot MS. Collection*, Vol. II., p. 239. I have published it in the *Jour. As. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XI., p. 274; but my version there was given from the photograph*, which, from the letters having been imperfectly filled in with whitewash, represents the original but indifferently. I now give a revised version from the original itself.

The tablet is 4' 3" high, by 1' 10" broad. The letters are well-formed, but rather shallow. The emblems at the top of the stone are:—In the centre, a standing figure of a four-armed god, or perhaps goddess, with a worshipper kneeling at

its right foot; on the proper right, a male and a female figure, kneeling and facing to the front, with the son, partially effaced, above them; and on the proper left, a curved sword or dagger, with a cow and calf beyond it, and the moon in the space above.

It is a Sinda inscription of the time of the *Mahámanúgalévara Chámanuḍa* or *Chámanuḍa II.* and his sons, *Bijjala* and *Vikrama*,—by his second wife, *Siriyádēvi*,—who were governing the *Kisukáḍ* Seventy, the *Bāgaḍage* Seventy, and the *Keḷaváḍi* Three-hundred. And it is dated in the *Virúḍhi sūvatseva*, which was the ninety-fourth year of the *Chálukya Vikrama-Varsha*, i. e. Saka 1091 (A.D. 1169-70).

Transcription.

- [¹] *Namas-tunaga-śiraś-chuñbi-chāndra-chāmanu-śāravē* *traiḷōkyā-nagar-āraṁbha-mūla-*
stambhā.
- [²] *ya Śāmbhavē || Svasti śrīmad-vinata-samast-āmara-makuta-nikaṣa-vasta-gabhasti-nya-*
[³] *st-āṅghri-pāhan-śaṁ sa(śa)stam paḍedaṁ dharitriyuman-a[n*]bodhiyuma[n*] ||*
[⁴] *Vri(vṛi) || Udit-ēṁdu Śrī-nivāsaṁ śaraṇagata-kubhri(bhṛi)dh(d)-rājita(taṁ) nūta-*
ratn-ābhyudaya-kṣētraṁ
- [⁵] *Mukunḍa-priya-āyana-taṁ kūrma-pāthina-nakr-ōṇmadamātaṁ-āli-kōḷi-chalita-*
[⁶] *jaḷachar-āspahā-kallōḷa-māḷā-nada-nady-embhahplav-āḷamkāraṇa nrijaḡad-āśāsa-mudraṁ*
samudra ||
- [⁷] *Kaṁ || Tad-udadhi-mēkhaley=enal=oppida vasudhege makutam=enipa Mēruge teṁkalu*
sad-amaḷa-Bharat-ā.
- [⁸] *vaniy=ant=adaṇḍam teṁkal=eseva Kuṁṭaḷa-viśa(śa)yaṁ || Adan=āḷdav(r)=araṁ(naṁ)ta-*
sukh-Aspadam=enipa Chāḷakya-vam.
- [⁹] *śa-ratnōttamaśa(sa)r=mmadavad-ari-basti-mastaka-vidalana-kaṁ(ka) pṭhīraṇa-pratāpar=an-*
kaṁ || Senati Śrī-Sindavaṁ.
- [¹⁰] *ś-ōḍbhava-kamaḷa-van-āḍityan-ānaṁ(na)mna(mra)-bhūbhṛin-mast-āḷamkāra-vasta-bra(vra)ja-*
vilajita-vinyasta-pād-āḷjan=a-
- [¹¹] *st-āri-stōmam Gōrjar-Āṁdra(dhṛa)-Draviḷa-Magadha-Nēpāḷa-bhūpāḷak-ādi-prastutyaṁ*
nitya-tējaṁ praba-
- [¹²] *la-baḷa-yutaṁ vīra-Chāmma(mu)ṇḍa-bhūpaṁ || Jayati vijaya-lakṣmī-narttya(ritta)ki-nātya-*
raṁgō || vijita-
- [¹³] *samara-raṁgō vaīri-dōr-ādarppa-bhaṁgaḷ || vitarāṇa-gaṇa-taṁgō viśva-vidy-āṁ(ā)ntaraṁgō ||*
vividha-
- [¹⁴] *vibudha-saṁgō(gaḷ) sūhasōttunaga-bhūpa[h*] || Anat-ārāti-nripāḷaram bedare beṁkoṁḍ-*
aṭha(rittha)maṁ
- [¹⁵] *vasta-vāhanamaṁ peṇḡira taṁḍamaṁ guḍigaḷaṁ gūḍāramaṁ nāḍumaṁ munisind-irkkuḷi-*
[¹⁶] *goḷvud=embude vinūdaṁ taṁ(ta)nnol=emḍ-amdu pēḷa ghana-sa(śa)ṛyyaṁ-baḍa(ḍe)d-*
ippar=ār=ttoḍarōḍu(rdu) Chā-
- [¹⁷] *mūḷḡ-āvanipāḷanoḷn || Ant-enisida śrīmaṇ-mahāmaṇḍalēvaram Chāmma(mu)ṇḍ-araṇa-*
[¹⁸] *var=ardhdhām(rddhām)ga-lakṣmī-Siriyādēviyara dāśa-dig-vartti-kṛtiy=ent=emḍade ||*
Kaṁ || Pati-bhaktiyi[n].*
- [¹⁹] *p(d)=Ara[n*]dhati matiyiṁ Bhārati subhāgyadim Ratiy=emḍ=i kṣi[tiyo]ḷn Chāmmaṇḍa-*
bhūpana sa-

- [⁹⁰] *tī* Siriyādēviyaṁ jagam bhaṁsugam || Va || Ant-enisida Siriyādēvigam Chāhan(mum)ḍ-
āvanīsam-
[⁹¹] ga[ṁ*] [puṭe*] negarttegam pogarttegam neley-enisida vira-Bijjaladēva-Vikrava(ma)dēva-
kumārara śri-
[⁹²] mata-Kisukūḍ-eppattum Bāgaḍagey-eppattum Keḷavāḍi-[mūnūru]maṁ su[kha]-
sāmkathā-[vi]-
[⁹³] nōdadiṁd-āḍu rājyaṁ-gēyattam-ire || Śvasti Śrīmach-Chāḷukya-[Vikrama-varshada] 94neya
[⁹⁴] Virūḍhi-saṁvatsarada ⁹⁰

Translation.

Reverence to (*the god*) Śambhu, who is made beautiful by a *chaurī* which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds! Hail! He, the lord, the excellent one,—whose footstool is placed upon the substantial rays of all the diadems of the glorious immortals, who bow down before him,—acquired both the earth and the ocean!

(L. 4).—The ocean,—from which the moon arose; which is the home of the goddess of fortune; which is adorned by the mountains that fled to it for protection; which is the place of the production of ever-new jewels; the surface of which is the favourite couch of (*the god*) Mukanda¹¹; and which is decorated with the streams of rivers, large and small, and with lines of surging waves caused by the motion of the aquatic animals which are driven to and fro by the play of the tortoises and the *pāṭha*-fishes and the alligators and crowds of elephants in rut,—is marked, as if with a signet, with (*the earth which is*) the habitation of men and animals.

(L. 7).—To the south of (*the mountain*) Mēru, which is esteemed the tiara of the earth which is charming as being considered to have that same ocean for its girle, there is the good and spotless land of Bharata; and to the south of this there is the charming country of Kuntala.

(L. 8).—Many (*kings*).—who were the jewelled earrings of the nœe of the Chāḷukyas, which was considered to be the receptacle of endless happiness; and who were as mighty as lions in rending asunder the heads of the infuriated elephants which were their enemies,—governed it.

(L. 9).—Hail! The brave king Chāmunḍa is the son of the white waterlilies which are those who are born in the Sinda lineage; the waterlilies, which are his feet, are shaken to and fro and are pressed down by the many head-ornaments of the kings who bow down before him; he has driven away the assemblage of his enemies; he is worthy to be praised by the kings of Gūjara, Andhra, Draviṇa, Magadha, and Nēpāṇa, and others; his glory is perpetual; he is possessed of a very powerful army. Victorious is he, the king who excels in impetuosity;—who is the stage for the dances of the dancing-girl who is the goddess of victory; who has conquered (*in*) the battle-field; who has broken the pride of arm of his enemies; who excels in the virtue of generosity; who is deeply versed in all knowledge; and who associates with learned men of various kinds. Tell me now; who are those who have acquired sufficiently great courage to withstand the king Chāmunḍa, when they consider that it is his delight to frighten and pursue the hostile kings who bow not down before him, and then in his anger to assail their wealth, the vehicles in which they convey their goods, their troops of wives, their temples, their tents¹², and their countries?

(L. 17).—And as to the glory, which extends to the ten regions of the heavens¹³, of Siriyādēvi, who was the wife of this glorious Mahāmunḍaśāra king Chāmunḍa:—Mankind praise Siriyādēvi, the virtuous wife of king Chāmunḍa, saying that she is a very Arundhati in devotion to her husband, a very Bhārati in wisdom, and a very Rati in beauty.

(L. 20).—While the princes, the brave Bijjaladēva and Vikramadēva,—[*who were*

¹¹ There are faint traces, here and there, of two more lines of writing; and after that, the rest of the stone appears to have been left unpolished and blank, unless the details of the grant have been intentionally effaced.

¹² Vishnu.

¹³ Gūjara, gūjara, is not exactly a text in the English

meaning of the word. It is a large cloth which may be used indifferently as a carpet, or a curtain, or, suspended over a cross-bar supported at the extremities, as a rough kind of tent open at each end.

¹⁴ The four cardinal points of the compass, the four intermediate points, the south, and the nadir.

born] to this Siriyādēvi and king Chā-
m n ḍ a; and who were considered the abiding-
places of glory and the objects of praise,—were
governing, with the delight of pleasing conversa-
tions, the glorious K i s u k ā ḍ Seventy, and the
B ā g a ḍ a g e Seventy, and the K e l a v ā ḍ i
Three-hundred, and were reigning:—

(L. 23.)—Hail! On
of the Virōdhi
śaṁśatsara, which was the ninety-fourth year of
the glorious Ch ā ḷ u k y a Vikrama-Varsha, . .

Transcription.

[1] Śva-dattam¹⁴ dvi-guṇam puṇyam para-datt-aṁpūṇam | para-datta-pahārēṇam | śva-dattam
nispūṇam

[2] bhavētu | (||)

[3] Prajōtpatya-saṁbhacharada | Chayitra ba l lū | śrīmatu rājē-śrī Baregedēvenāyaka-voḍeyara

[4] Rāmalīṅgāna stānika Māpēkhānara Chika-Sōmaṅganāyakarige Kotapadebenakanavore-
grāma-made Tusabuka-

[5] Chikereya stāḷa sahāvāgi koṭa pāṭeya ||*|| Yilake āvan-ān-obba tappidare Hīndu tappida-

[6] re Kāsiyali ākālā koṁda pātake hōhara Musulamāna tappidare Makkedalli

[7] musāpa bisāṭa pātake hōharū ||*|| Yī dharmamake ārobbaru tappal-āḡadū ||*||

Translation.

The preservation of the gift of another is
twice as meritorious as making a gift oneself;
by confiscating the gift of another, one's own
gift becomes fruitless!

On the first day of the dark fortnight of
(the month) Chaitra, of the Prajōtpatti śaṁśat-
sara¹⁵, the glorious and royal lord Baregedēva-
nāyaka gave a strip of land in the village of
Kotapadebenakanavore, together with the site
of (the tank, or village, called) Tusabuka-Chik-
kere, to Māpēkhānara-Chikka-Sōmaṅganāyaka,
who belonged to the shrine of (the god) Rāma-
liṅga.

If any one offends against this (grant),—if he
be a Hindu, he incurs the guilt of killing a cow
at Kāśī; and if he be a Musulmān, he incurs the
guilt of at
Makka! No one may offend against this (act of)
religion!

No. LXXIII.

In the season 1876-7, I thoroughly examined
all the inscriptions which were known to exist at
Bādāmi in the Kalādgi District, and at the
same time succeeded in discovering a few new
ones that had never previously been brought to

No. LXXII.

The last and latest of the Aihole inscriptions¹⁶
is the following¹⁷ on a rock in the bed of the
river, below the temple of Parnāśrīma in Survey
No. 75. It is hardly worthy of notice, except
as an instance of the extent to which corrupt-
ness of diction can be carried in the more
recent inscriptions. The characters are of the
fifteenth or sixteenth century; but the in-
scription is not specifically dated. The in-
scription contains no fact of any historical im-
portance.

notice. Among the latter, is a very interesting
fragment low down on the north side of a large
and shapeless rock lying to the north-west of the
temple of Teggina-ṭrappa, or 'ṭrappa of the
hollow,' which is on the north bank of the
tank at the back of the village.

A lithograph¹⁸, from the *stampage* made by
myself, is published herewith. It includes
fragments of two inscriptions, which cover on
the rock a space of 4' 2" broad by 3' 11" high.
The upper six lines are in beautifully-cut char-
acters of radically the same class with those
of the early Chālukya and Kadamba grants
which I have published. They have, however,
certain distinct peculiarities and refinements of
their own; and the only inscriptions known to
me, the characters of which are of precisely the
same type, are—1, the Pallava grant of
Viśhṇugōpavarmā, which I have published
at Vol. V., p. 50,—and 2, the Pallava grant
of Attivarmā, which I give below. But in
Plate XII. of his *South-Indian Palaeography*,
Second Edition, Dr. Burnell gives an alphabet
from a Pallava stone-inscription at the Seven
Pagodas, referred by him to about A.D. 700, the
characters of which are of the same type, though

¹⁴ Concluded from Vol. VIII., pp. 237 to 246 and 284 to
288, and pp. 74 to 76 above.

¹⁵ No. 84 of Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, In-
scriptions.

¹⁶ It would take up too much space, and make the trans-

scription too unsightly, to correct the mistakes in this
inscription.

¹⁷ Probably Śaka 1173 (A.D. 1451-2), or 1433, or 1493.

¹⁸ No. 23 of Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, In-
scriptions.

slightly modified and evidently of later date; he names them the Eastern Chōra or Pallava Alphabet, and, at p. 35 of his book, states that it was confined to the old Tondainādu or Pallava kingdom of Conjeveram, and that the introduction of this alphabet into Tondainādu is probably to be placed about the fourth century.

Owing to the peeling off of the surface of the rock, the greater part of this inscription has been entirely destroyed; and it is of course impossible to say how far the lines may have extended at the sides,—though ll. 3 &c. cannot have extended so far as l. 1 may have, owing to natural obstacles in the stone and to some square sockets which, for some reason or other, were cut on each side of the inscription. I give below a transcription of what remains; it is too fragmentary to translate. The fragment is of extreme interest as mentioning Bādāmi, in l. 2, under its ancient name of Vātāpi, and as speaking, in l. 4, of “the Pallava the

foremost of kings.” From this, and from the inscription being at Bādāmi itself, there can be no doubt that Vātāpi was originally the Western India stronghold of the Pallavas, and that it was from them that the Chalukyas wrested it. It is probable that Vātāpi was temporarily recovered by the Pallavas from the Western Chalukyas after the reign of Pulikēśi II.; and there seems to be an allusion to this, in the later Pallava traditions, in l. 14 of the copper-plate grant published by Mr. Foulkes at Vol. VIII., p. 273.

The date is, unfortunately, entirely obliterated; but this fragment is, of course, of at least earlier date than the earliest Chalukya inscription at Bādāmi, which is dated Śaka 500 (A.D. 578-9). And this is, in fact, the earliest stone-inscription as yet known to exist in these parts.

Lines 7 to 9 contain a few letters of another inscription of later date. The characters show it to be a Chalukya inscription of the sixth or seventh century A. D.

*Transcription.
First inscription.*

- [1] [sañ]vatsarē ātmanō
rājya-varshē cha varādhamānē tm[yōdhisē]
[2] hēna Mahāmali[ś]na vidvishām Vātāpi-
atimā
[3] pa(?)ja rishpur-atulām gōtram guṇair-ātma
[4] t tayah kshatibhujām-agrēsarnh Pall[avah]¹⁸
[5] l. m(?)ha-Vishpur²⁰-a[p]i yah stambhañ-jaya
[6] pē(?)r-hbahu-matē prakhyāta-
[7]
[8]
[9]
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Second inscription.

- [1] [Sva]sti Śaka-varsha-ss[ūvatsara]-
[2]
[3] mē i
[4]
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No. LXXIV.

This is the grant of Vijayaśuddha-varma, of which I have spoken at Vol. V., p. 175. I now give the text from the original plates, which belong to Sir Walter Elliot. They

were obtained for him by ‘Baktavatchaliah’ from a man named Mādhavarn, who found them at ‘Gunnadeya’ in ‘Kondakur’ in the Guṇṭūr District. They, therefore, come from the eastern coast of India.

¹⁸ There can be no doubt as to the correctness of the letters that I have supplied here. Half of the ll. is distinctly visible. And the metre requires the sup. to complete the verse.

²⁰ There was possibly here some such name as the

Sūbhaviśān or Narmadavishān (either of which would suit the metre) of Mr. Foulkes' grant at Vol. VIII., p. 273, — except that the vowel of the syllable preceding su(?)ha appears to be i not e, and the *Avastika* is to a certain extent doubtful.

ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 विजयबुद्धवर्मः ॥
 ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

I.

ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 विजयबुद्धवर्मः ॥
 ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

IIa

ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 विजयबुद्धवर्मः ॥
 ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

IIb.

ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 विजयबुद्धवर्मः ॥
 ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

III.

The plates are three in number, about $5\frac{1}{2}$ " long by $2\frac{1}{2}$ " broad. They are thin and smooth, having no raised edges; and they are much better preserved than I thought from the appearance of the ink-impression from which I first spoke of them. Together with the ring and seal, they weigh $33\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. The second and third sides are numbered. The ring had been cut before the plates came into my hands; it is about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and $3\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The seal on it is circular, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter; and has, sunk in the surface of the seal itself, a standing animal, which looks more like a deer than anything else, facing to the proper right.

I am unable to give a translation, as the body of this inscription is in Prākṛit. But the purport of it is clear. It records a grant to the god Nārāyaṇa by the queen-consort of the *Yacamahārāja* Vijayabuddhavarṃā in the reign of the *Mahārāja* Vijayaskandavarṃā, whose name occurs in its Prākṛit form as *Vijayakhandavarmā*. And Vijayabuddhavarṃā is said to be a Pallava, and of the Bhūratīyana or Bhūradvāja-gotra.²¹ There is, therefore, no genealogical connection between the Vijayabuddhavarṃā of this grant, and the Vijayanandivarṃā of the Veṅgi grant at Vol. V., p. 175, who was of the Śālaśākāyanagotra.

There is nothing in this inscription to indicate

its date, or the position of these two kings in the Pallava genealogy. But it is unlikely that the Vijayaskandavarṃā of this grant is identical with either the first or the second Skandavarṃā of the grants at Vol. V., pp. 50 and 154. And, having regard to the rudeness of the characters in which it is engraved, and to its being in the Prākṛit language, and to the emblem being sunk in the surface of the seal, and to the fact that it records only one generation anterior to the donor,—the probability is that this is the earliest Pallava grant that has as yet been brought to light.

The grant, as in the case of many of the Eastern Chalukya grants, ends with an *ājāyati*, or, in the Prākṛit, *āyati*. It gives us practically the same forms of the numerals 2 and 3 as are given by the Pallava grants at Vol. V., pp. 50 and 154, and the Veṅgi grant at *ibid.*, p. 175. In line 9, there is a form of 4, which differs in detail from the 4 of the three plates mentioned just above, but exactly resembles the third form of the Gupta 4 given by Pandit Bhagawānlāl Indrajī at Vol. VI., p. 44. And in l. 10, there are two more numerical symbols, which are somewhat uncertain, but which seem to be either 200 and 40, or, combined, 440,—and, perhaps, a third which is altogether doubtful.

Transcription.

First plate.

[¹] Siddha	Siri-Vijayakhandavarmā-mahārājassa	saṃvachhara	²²
[²] yuamahārājassa	Bhūratīyana		Pallavā-
[³] nam	Siri-Vijayabuddhavarṃassa	dēvi	²³
[⁴] kūjanavīhā(?)rudēvi	kadā(?)viya		²⁴

Second plate; first side.

[⁵] rājana	līchha(?)pē(?)tē(?)	pāṇiya ²⁵ . . .
[⁶] pād-uttarē	pāsē	ānyakassa
[⁷] chhennam	dālgī(?)rē	kūmi-mahā-naraka
		dēva-ku lassa

Second plate; second side.

[⁸]	bhagavan-Nārāyaṇassa	abāh(?)	āyati	bala	vadilhan-	
[⁹]	yuā	kātūga-bhūmī	nivattunē	chattāri	4	adhat(?)ha
[¹⁰]	samya	dattātām	tātūga-gāṇē	yōkā	200(?)40(?)ttara(?)	
[¹¹]	samya	[? pa]rihārihiparibhāradhuparibhaya				[?]

²¹ *Conf.* No. XII., l. 15 (Vol. V., p. 51), and No. XV., l. 11 (Vol. V., p. 155). The same statement is made in l. 10 of Mr. Foulkes' grant at Vol. VIII., p. 167; but I doubt the genuineness of this inscription. And the genealogy is traced through Bhūradvāja in l. 10 of Mr. Foulkes' grant at Vol. VIII., p. 273.

²² One numerical figure is illegible here, or perhaps two.

²³ Two letters, containing the first part of a proper name, are illegible here.

²⁴ One letter is illegible here.

²⁵ One letter is illegible here; and perhaps also one before the pē of *pāṇiya*.

²⁶ One letter is illegible here.

Third plate.

[¹²] Bahubhīr-vvasudhā	dattā	bahubhīr=ch=ānupālītā
[¹³] yasya yasya yadā bhūmih tasya tasya tadā phalam	[*]	
[¹⁴] Sva-dattām para-dattām vā	yō	harēttā(ta) vasundharām
[¹⁵] gavām śata-sahasrasya hantuh	dē(pi)vati	dushkrītam
[¹⁶] Āṇatti Rōhaṇi-guśvātti		

No. LXXV.

This is another copper-plate grant from the original plates, which belong to Sir Walter Elliot, and were obtained for him by Sūrasundara Mudaliyār from Gōrnāṭṭa in the Guṇṭūr District.

The plates are three in number, and measure about $8\frac{1}{2}$ " long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ " broad; they are thin, and quite smooth, having no raised rims. Together with the ring and its seal, they weigh 35 tolas. The ring had been cut before the grant came into my hands; it is about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The seal is circular, about $\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter. The emblem on it is probably the figure of some god, sitting cross-legged on an altar; but it is anything but clear, even in the original. Like the emblem on the seal of No. LXXIV. above, it is sunk in the flat surface of the seal itself,—instead of being raised in relief on a countersunk surface, as is usually the case. The language is Sanskrit. The characters will be remarked upon below.

The inscription covers both sides of two of the plates. One side of the third plate is blank, but parts of three lines of writing, in the same characters as those of the extant inscription, can be distinctly discerned about the centre of the other side of this plate; thus, in l. 2 I can clearly read *para-[da]tt[ā] vā*, and, in l. 3, [*pē*]vati *kilbiśu*[u], and many other letters are recognisable, though I cannot make a connected passage out of the first line. This obliterated writing has all the appearance of having

been beaten down with a hammer, by way of cancellation, after heating the plate. And the plate was evidently then attached to the other two, as a guard to protect the writing. Probably there was another blank plate, now lost, attached to protect the writing at the other end of the grant.

The inscription records that king Attivarmā, of the family of king Kāṇḍara, granted the village of Antukkur, and a field of the measure of eight hundred *poṭṭis*, or a field called *Aśṭaśatā-poṭṭi*, at the village of Tānthikontha on the south bank of the river Kṛishṇaberyā, to a Brāhman named Kottisāraṇi. The grant is not dated.

The names of Attivarmā and Kāṇḍara are unknown to me. But, from the style of the characters, which are of the same type as those of No. LXXIII. above,—and from the fact that this grant comes from the same locality as No. LXXIV. above,—and from there being the same peculiarity in the way of marking the emblem on the seal in both this grant and in No. LXXIV.,—and from the statement that Attivarmā was descended from the god Hiraṇyagarbha, or Brāhmā,—there can be no doubt that this also is a Pallava grant, and that it is one of early date.

A transcription of this grant is given in the second Elliot *MS. Collection*, entitled *Telugu Śāsanaṃ*, Vol. I., p. 13; but it is wrongly attributed there to the Early Chalukya king Kīrtti-varmā I.

Transcription.

First plate; first side.

[¹] Svasty=Atala-vipula-yāsai	śrīmaty=Ānanda-maharshi-vaiśa-samudbhūtē	bhagavatē
Va(?)vāṇ)kēśvar-ādhi-		
[²] vāsinas-tri-bhuvana-kartuh	Śāmbhūś=charaṇa-kamala-najā-pavitrikritē	Kāṇḍara-nripati-
kulē samu-		
[³] dbhūtēna	sundara-sujāta-pēśala-jana-parichārēṇ=āpramēya-Hiraṇyagarbha-prasavēna	prajāp-ōpana-

First plate; second side.

[⁴] ta-sukala-sāmanta-maṇḍalēna	Mahēndra-sama-vikramēṇa	sara-guru-saḍṛiśa-buddhinā
samyak-prajā-pālan-ō-		

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।
श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ।

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥

[illegible]

This image shows a fragment of a palm-leaf manuscript. The leaf is narrow and has a central circular hole. The text is written in Tamil script, which is a South Asian script. The script is arranged in a single column, reading from right to left. The leaf is dark and shows signs of age and wear.



[*] pârjita-kîrttinâ rûjâ Attivarmma²¹ annaparata-dharmma-kriyâ-parêna Kâsyapa-gûtrâ-
[²] ya Âpastambha²²-sûtra-vidê yama-ni[ya*]mavatê Rîg-Yajus-Sâma-vidê brâhmaṇaya
Brahma-kalpâ-

Second plate; first side.

[²] ya Kottisarmma²³ Kṛishṇabepṇâ-dakshinâ-kûlê Tântikontha-grâmê chatur-ddisam-ashṭa-
śata-pa-
[³] tî-kshêtrañ=ch=Āntukkûra-grâmâ=ch=ôdaka-pûrvvan=dattâḥ ssa(sa)rvvâ(rvva)-bâdha-
parihâram [11*] [S]v[a]-dattâm pa-
[⁴] ra-dattâm vâ yô harêta vasundharâm gavân śata-sahasrasya hantuh. pibati kilbisham [11*]

Second plate; second side.

[¹⁰] Bhûmi-dânât=paran=dânan=na bhûtan=na bhavishyati [tas]y=[aiva haraṇât=pâpa]n=na
bh[ûtan=na bha]vish[y]at[i] [11*] [Babubhi]-
[¹¹] r=vasundhâ dattâ bahubhi=ch=ânupâlita²⁴ yasya yasya yadâ bhûmin=tasya tasya
[tadâ phalam] [11*]
[¹²] Brahma²⁵-svam visham ghôran=na visham visham=uchyatê visham=êkâkinam hanti
brahma-svam putra-pautrikam [11*]

Translation.

Hail! By king Attivarmâ,—who is born in the family of king Kândara²⁶, which is possessed of unequalled and extensive fame, and which is glorious, and which is descended from the lineage of the great saint Ānandâ, and which is purified by the pollen of the lotuses which are the feet of (*the god*) Śambhu, the holy one, who resides at (*the temple of*) Vukê-śvarn²⁷, and is the maker of the three worlds; who is attended by beautiful and well-born and clever people; who is of the posterity of the inscrutable (*god*) Hiranyagarbha; who has reduced the territories of all chieftains by his prowess; who is equal in valour to (*the god*) Mahêndra; who resembles in intellect the preceptor of the gods; whose fame has been acquired by properly governing his subjects; and who is intent upon (*maintaining*) the uninterrupted practises of religion,—a field of (*the measure of*) eight hundred *yajñis*, including (*its boundaries on*) the four quarters, at the village of Tântikontha on the south bank of (*the river*) Kṛishṇabepṇâ, and also the

village of Antukkûra, were given, with libations of water, free from all opposing claims, to the Brâhmaṇ Kottisarmâ, of the Kâsyapa gûtra, who knows the Âpastambha²⁸ sūtra, and who practises the major and the minor observances, and who is acquainted with the Rîg and the Yajur and the Sâma (*Vêdas*), and who is a Brâhmaṇ, and who is almost equal to (*the god*) Brahmâ himself.

(L. 8.)—He incurs the guilt of the slayer of a hundred thousand cows, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another! There has not been, and there shall not be, any gift (*better*) than a gift of land; there has not been, and there shall not be, any sin (*greater*) than confiscating the same! Land has been given by many, and has been preserved in grant by many; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the benefit of it! The property of a Brâhmaṇ is said to be a terrible poison, (*but, in comparison with that*), poison is not called poison; (*for*) poison kills only one person, (*whereas*) the property of a Brâhmaṇ, (*if confiscated*), kills one's sons and sons' sons!

THE GAROS.

BY THE REV. W. AYERST, M. A.

The Garos are a type of the more primitive and savage of the clans, and all of this clan have more or less of a family likeness to each

other. They believe in the existence of a Supreme Being, who is "God over all." But they do not worship him by sacrifice, believing him to be

²¹ The occurrence of this form of the name, instead of *Āpastambha*, is, I believe, sufficient proof in itself of the early date of this grant. Dr. Böhler has written on this point; but I have not his remarks to refer to.

²² First *lâ* was engraved, and then it was corrected into *lâ*.

²³ The note requires us to correct this into *brâhmaṇa*.

²⁴ *Sc.*, Krishna.

²⁵ Or, perhaps, Vukêśvarn.

²⁶ See note 27 above.

benevolent, and therefore not in need of propitiation. Their numerous inferior deities are the objects of their dread, and they do sacrifice to them, whenever they believe that they have incurred their displeasure. Among the direct objects of their worship are the sun and moon. To ascertain which of the two they should worship on any given occasion, the priest takes a cup of water and some wheat; he then calls the name of the sun, and drops a grain into the water; if it sinks, that is a sign that they should worship the sun; if not, he drops another grain into the cup, in the name of the moon, and so on till one of the grains sinks.

Their minor deities are so numerous that even the votaries themselves cannot tell their names. *Rishi* is the chief of them. He is the same as the Hindu *Śiva*, and is also called *Surjong*. *Rishi* is said to preside over crops and health, *Surjong* over cotton. They are one, but divided into two. Their worshippers do not know of what gender they are, or where they live. *Rishi* is not displeased at murder.

Owing perhaps to their having no written language, the mythology of the *Gāros* varies with the age. In this way they have come to regard our gracious Queen, "the mother of all the *Feringis*," as one of their divinities. Unhappily they have brought into the same pantheon the Hindu deity *Mahādeva*, whom they consider the spirit of evil.

They claim for themselves a divine origin, and practise hero-worship, making an offering to the newly-burnt ashes of the dead, and preserving the images of the deceased in their houses. They regard the higher mountains as the abodes of the blessed, the word *Aruk*, which signifies *mountain*, signifying also *heaven*, the abode of the gods. In the same way the Hindus regard the *Himalayas* as the dwelling of their deities.

The first created man is believed by the *Gāros* to have been a priest, but their priesthood is not hereditary. It is the duty of the priest to perform certain rites at weddings and funerals, and at the investiture of chiefs; he also names children on the day of their births, but his most important ministrations are in time of sickness. Every house has one or more altars before it. The type is a certain fantastical disposition of bamboos, with festoons of cotton and

other light appendages that wave in the breeze. This is the general shrine for all common occasions, and is referred to in all cases of sickness or scarcity.

In time of sickness, the priest is sent for to offer sacrifice to the particular deity he may pronounce to have been offended. With his peacock's feathers in his hair, and his official sandals on his feet, and with little other covering, he takes his seat on a low stool in front of the altar, and addresses it (there is no image) in a low monotonous chant. Meanwhile another person leads the victim round and round the shrine. It is taken away from time to time for lustration, and then led back to the priest, who caresses it and feeds it with salt; after this has been repeated, the head is struck off, and the altar is smeared with the blood. If a second blow should be needed, it would be thought of ill omen. The sufferer, in whose behalf the sacrifice is made, lies near the priest during the ceremony. At the burning of the dead, if the deceased was of rank, a bullock was sacrificed, and the head buried with the body. If he was a chief of the upper *Gāros*, the head of one of his slaves is cut off and burnt with him. If he was of the first rank, it was formerly customary for a large body of his slaves to sally forth and seize a Hindu, and cut off his head, and burn it with their chief's. At weddings a cock and a hen are slain by the priest, but rather for augury than for sacrifice.

The dead are kept four days. They are then buried at midnight. The pile is erected at the distance of a few yards from the *clannag*, or house. The pile is adorned with stripes of red cloth, and the head of the victim named above, and the remains are placed in a small boat, and laid on the top of it. It is fired by the nearest relation, and the ashes are buried near the spot, and covered with a small thatched building surrounded by a railing. A lamp is lighted every night for a month in the building. Moreover, the wearing apparel of the deceased is hung on poles fixed at each corner of the railing, and left there for six weeks or two months, after which they are broken and allowed to hang downwards till they fall to pieces. The railed graves of chiefs are decorated with rude representations of animals placed over the graves, and the railing is often decorated with fresh flowers.

The dead are moreover kept in remembrance by means of monumental images, placed in the porch of the dwelling-house. Those in a single house frequently amount to a great number, a reproduction, perhaps, of the Hall of Ancestors among the Chinese. The figure is adorned with the earrings or other ornaments worn by the person represented, but in other respects bears no resemblance, or hardly any, to anything human. Their belief is that a Gāro, as soon as he is burnt, is born again a Gāro in some unknown spot far away in the hills. It is probably on account of their custom of representing their dead by images that the Gāros are unwilling to be sketched. They believe that the production of a likeness of themselves is ominous of their death.

Colonel Dalton describes one of these rude representations as "a full-length figure, decorated with all kinds of finery, and with an old silk umbrella supported over it." He thus describes the offerings made at the grave of a young girl. "In front of the house was a bamboo frame six feet long, two high, and three broad, at the corners of which carved posts were placed diagonally, and a lid of open lattice-work was lying ready to be placed on the top. Within the frame a small opening had been made in the earth, into which the remains, collected from amongst the ashes of the pile, were reverently placed by the nearest female relatives, the mother and the aunts, and then covered with earth. This done, the same mourners filled the bamboo framework with various offerings, of which I noted the following:—Three baskets of raw cotton, four baskets of unthreshed dhan, two grilled fowls, a few dozen shrimps, boiled rice, red pepper and salt, and gourds full of mūd or fermented liquor. After these, earthen vessels were broken and thrown in. The reason given for their being broken was that all this provision was for the use of the dead maiden, and that her spirit could not use the vessels till they had been broken, but that the fragments would reunite for her. The trellis-work covering was then laid on the top, and a coarse silk cloth, stretched upon hoops, spread over it. Meanwhile the boys of the community were beating drums, striking gongs, and blowing horns. Above all, a bull-fight was exhibited, and attracted crowds. Indeed, but for the grave carriage and

silent grief of the poor mother, as she slowly and quietly put one offering after another into the grave of her child, all looked like a merry making. The bamboo frame is allowed to remain a year, and is then burnt amidst fresh rejoicings."

Their marriage ceremonies and customs are different from the European. If a young Gāro should make advances to a maiden, and she rejecting him, chose to tell her friends of it, it would be regarded as an insult to her whole clan, which the blood of the offender must atone for if among the Upper Gāros, but a feast will conciliate resentment among the lower clans. The custom is for all Gāro maidens except heiresses (and these can only marry according to certain laws of kindred) to indicate their own choice of a husband. When the wedding day arrives, and the bridal party begin to lead off the bridegroom, his parents and family feign uncontrollable grief, and make loud lamentations, and some force is used to tear the bridegroom from them.

The investiture of a chief consists in a horn ring being placed on each arm by the priest, who is to be presented with one ring, which he is entitled to wear on his left arm. The feast, which forms a necessary part of the ceremony, is so costly that none but the most wealthy can afford it.

When a man has been killed by a tiger, they believe that he appears in a dream, bidding his relatives change their names, whereupon his parents and brothers and sisters adopt new names. The object is to prevent the tiger from discovering the kindred of the man he has slain, and thus attacking them too. The tiger's nose is worn as an amulet, to facilitate child-birth.

These simple people have great reverence for truth. Their mode of attestation on oath is very solemn. The oath is taken upon a stone, which they first salute, and then, with the hands joined and up-lifted, and with their eyes steadfastly fixed on the hills, where they believe their god to reside, they will press him in the most solemn manner to witness what they are about to declare as true or false. They then again touch the stone, with all appearance of the utmost fear, and bow their heads to it, again calling upon their god. They also look steadfastly in the direction of the hills, and keep

their right hand upon the stone during their narration. In some of the hills they place a tiger's bone between their teeth before they give evidence. On rare occasions they swear with their weapons in their hands. When a Gâro is sworn in the Gcalpara Court a little chalk scraped from the wall answers the purpose of earth. Amongst themselves, a lie is punished with instant death, not so much as an act of justice, as of indignation. In case of murder, the relatives of the slain are bound to demand blood for blood, and ought according to Gâro custom to put to death either the murderer or one of his kindred, or at least one of his slaves. The offending family is then bound to retaliate, and so on without ceasing, unless the Council succeed in bringing about a reconciliation. The mode of effecting this is by inducing the injured party to accept a fine from the other as the price of the blood.

In a deadly feud the weaker party flies to a distant hill to elude the stronger. Both parties immediately plant a tree bearing a sour fruit called *okulaka*, and make a vow that they will do their best to eat the fruit of that tree with the head of their enemy. A generation may pass away without opportunity of revenge. In that case the feud descends to the children. The successful person carries off his enemy's head, and boils it with the fruit of the tree which had been planted; he then drinks of the juices thus mingled, and the feud is at an end.

When head hunting parties have succeeded in massacring sufficient victims they call vast numbers of their friends to see the "reeking heads," which they fill with wine and food, and dance round them, singing loud songs of triumph. After these rejoicings the heads are buried for the purpose of rotting off the flesh. When arrived at a proper stage, they are dug up and cleansed of their putrid flesh, and then the warriors sing and dance round them again in triumph, and finally hang them upon the houses of the slayers as trophies. "Skulls so taken have a marketable value, varying with the position of the owner, and the degree of hatred entertained for the victim." Thus the skull of a Gomaista, who bought Kalumabopara, was valued at a thousand rupees, and that of an India-Talukdâr, an agent of the

Kanibani Zamindâr at five hundred rupees, while the price of a ryot's head is from ten to twelve rupees. Hence the Gâros are careful to reduce the skulls of their own kindred to powder, lest by accident or for gain they should find their way into the market. Of late years the British Government has brought its influence too near to admit of such raids.

In case of disputes between clans,—and among a people so impatient of unjust disputes these are very serious—the territories of the hostile clans are mutually proscribed. Neither may eat or drink within the territories of the other, food so taken would not nourish, water so drunk would be poison. The difference may be adjusted by the intervention of a third party. The angry clans may be brought together on neutral ground, that the cause of quarrel may be discussed. If the arbitrator succeed in effecting peace, the parties swear to observe it, by biting their swords: as a sign that friendly relations have been restored, the representatives of the clans must put food into each other's mouths, and pour *whud*, the festival beverage, down each other's throats.

I will only add Colonel Dalton's account of a building "bee" among the Gâros. He witnessed the process, and has thus described it: "At the Luahkar's (chief's) village, there was a considerable gathering of young people from all the neighbouring villages, not often seen at this season, as the inhabitants are occupied on their farms, either planting cotton, or preparing their ground for cultivation. But I was most fortunate in finding here a house-building party, and a merry one it was. All the young men and young women of the Gaudupara clans were employed, and most rapidly and yet neatly they worked. The framework was ready, and they were thatching; curiosity at the sight of the stranger stopped them; but, on being reminded by some of their elders that the day is short, they went briskly to work again. The girls dived down the hills into the valley, and reappeared laden with bamboo-leaves, while the lads on the roof covered it in with them. A feast was in preparation for the house-builders, provided by the individual who profited by their labour, and this is all his house cost him."¹

¹ From a paper on "The North-east frontier considered as a Mission field," in *The Indian Christian Intelligencer*

vol. II. (Dec. 1878), pp. 365-377. For an early paper on this tribe by John Eliot, see *Asiat. Res.* vol. III., pp. 17-37.—E.

MISCELLANEA.

JAMES WALES THE PAINTER.

To the Editor, "*Indian Antiquary*."

SIR,—In the *Indian Antiquary* for February, page 52, there are several curious details regarding the Indian career of James Wales, artist, in connection with which the following additional facts may possess some interest for your readers.

In Stanley's edition of Bryan's *Biographical and Critical Dictionary of Painters*, it is stated in the notice of Wales, written by Stanley, that he died at Bombay in November 1796, and the article also mentions that he "made all those splendid drawings of the caves of Ellora and the plans which were, after his death, published by Thomas Daniell."

In the well known work, *Oriental Scenery*, by T. and W. Daniell, there will be found twenty-four views of the mountains of Ellora and the Hindu Excavations, (or as we now call them, Rock-Cut temples) drawn by James Wales, and engraved under the direction of Daniell.

It would appear, however, from a statement in the introduction to a small oblong quarto book in the possession of the writer, entitled *Sketches illustrative of Oriental Manners and Customs* by Robert Mahon, that Wales was assisted in his archaeological undertakings by Mahon, who says in his preface, dated Calcutta, February 1st, 1797:—"The following sketches were made during my travels, while engaged in an arduous undertaking (which took me five years to accomplish, for a Mr. Wales, lately deceased;) viz:—Oriental Antiquities, or Drawings of all the excavated Hindoo Temples in India, particularly those at Ellora, near Aurungabad, Ekvers, near Poona, and those on the Islands of Elephanta, and Salsette, near Bombay."

"Being requested by a few Friends to favor them with Drawings illustrative of the Manners and Customs of the Asiatics, to send to their Relations, who had never been in India, I concluded a small Pocket Volume, containing Twenty sketches, would be very acceptable to them, and the Public in general; and accordingly published my Proposals for the present Work."

"I return the respectable few, whose Names are here annexed, my grateful thanks, for the readiness they have shown to encourage the undertaking; and sincerely wish it may answer their expectations on the subject."

The plates, 19 in number, are hand-coloured engravings, of considerable merit, each plate being accompanied by an interesting letter press description, full of allusions to "the Archaeological Survey" work on which the artist was engaged.

Robert Mahon appears to have been a good architectural draughtsman, as may be seen from those of his sketches (such as Nos. 9 and 16) in which buildings are introduced.

I have not been able to trace any reference to Mahon as yet, but doubtless a search in the *Calcutta Gazette* for the years 1790—1800 would discover some particulars of this English artist in India.

The Governor General of India, Sir John Shore; Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay; and many other well known names are among the subscribers to the book, which unfortunately bears no imprint whatever.

The title page, which is engraved, was given, as stated by the author, in substitution for the 20th plate, promised in the proposals for publishing the work, and is thus described by Mahon:—

"I have introduced a Frontispiece to this work, instead of the last mentioned subject in my proposals:—In the Vignette of the Frontispiece, the emblematical Figures are *History* directing the attention of *Painting* to Indian subjects, a part of one of which is represented on a Tablet, which she supports. I have given the Figure of *Painting*, the attitude of striking the Rainbow with her pencil, to denote the Power which this art has in giving a just representation of nature, and her many varied Tints." The "Indian subject" on the tablet is an Elephant, with a howdah on its back, kneeling down.

The following brief epitome of the contents of this book will, it is hoped, prove of interest, as this volume is, it is believed, the earliest published collection of authentic plates illustrating the manners and customs of the natives of any part of India. The Calcutta edition of Balthasar Solvyn's plates, illustrating the manners and customs of the Hindoos, was not published till 1799, although the prospectus or proposal for publishing them will be found in the *Calcutta Gazette* for 8th February 1794. The better known French edition of Solvyn appeared in Paris in 1808, in 4 volumes, atlas folio, the publishing price being 100 guineas the set.

Plate I.—The manner of crossing the river at Wanker, near Poona, during the monsoons.

Seated on a trunk, on the top of a raft formed of "calibashes" lashed together, is an officer dressed in uniform; three natives swimming by the side of the raft are urging it over a river. "In the background I have introduced coolies with his baggage; distant from these, his bearers and palankeen, floating in the same manner. Since the year 1793, this mode of crossing the river has been discontinued, on account of accident.

which have happened, people having often been carried down by the strength of the current, notwithstanding the united efforts of those who conducted the calibashes."

Plate II.—Savoy Mahadowrow Pundit Purdhum, late Peshwa of the Mahratta Empire, seated on the Musnud, at the Durbar of Poona, in which is introduced Nana Farnavese.

The Peshwa is seated "do-zanu" on the musnud, to the left is Nana Farnavese. "In surveying the Peshwa seated on the musnud, the eye is dazzled with the immense riches about him, but his effeminate dress and the unmanly-like attitude which the customs of the people make him under the necessity of observing, takes away from that dignity in appearance, which an European might expect to see in a Prince seated on a throne."

Plate III.—Savoy Mahadowrow, late Peshwa of the Mahratta Empire, exercising the long spear, with other Bramin Chiefs, near Parbuttee, at Poona.

Plate IV.—Savoy Mahadowrow Pundit Purdhum, late Peshwa of the Mahratta Empire, mounting his elephant on his return from Parbuttee, to the Durbar.

Plate V.—The late Mahadjee Scindia, the celebrated Mahratta Chief, seated in his tent.

Plate VI.—Mahratta Pindarees returning to camp, after a plundering excursion during the late Savoy Mahadowrow Pundit Purdhum, late Peshwa of the Mahratta's expedition against Nizam Ally Khan.

Pindarees, on elephants, mounted on horses and on foot, driving before them villagers laden with sheaves of ripe grain.

"This sketch was made on my way to Ellora in order to make drawings of the stupendous excavated Hindoo temples there. At that period Savoy Mahadowrow had taken the field against Nizam Ally Khan, on account of the latter refusing to pay some tribute due to the Mahrattas."

Plate VII.—A Sutte, or ceremony of a Hindoo woman proceeding to the funeral pile, to be burnt with her deceased husband.

"While at Poona, I was present at three ceremonies of this kind: the annexed sketch was taken from the first I saw. The unfortunate victim was a beautiful young Hindoo woman. On the death of her husband, she declared her resolution to the court of Poona, that she would burn upon the same pile. They immediately issued orders, that every honor should be paid her; sepoy and a number of other attendants were sent, as also palankeens, and musicians, elephants, camels, horses, and in short everything which could form a grand procession. She went attended by these through the streets of Poona,

making a salam, (the token of her departure,) indiscriminately, to almost every one she met, after which she proceeded to the funeral pile, attended by a vast concourse of people. The pile was erected at the side of the Mulna and the Motta, two rivers which form a conjunction at Poona. The construction of the pile was very simple—it consisted of four poles, about eight feet high, struck slightly in the ground, at the distance of seven feet by five. Billets of wood were placed regularly within the space marked by them, to the height of four feet; between these were placed gobar, or cow-dung, baked in the sun, straw and other combustible matters;—over these, oil was poured to accelerate the dissolution of the unfortunate victim. From the top of the poles others were tied across, so that the whole had the rude appearance of a bedstead. On the top of all were laid a great many billets of wood.

"On her arrival at the pile, her husband's corpse (which was carried before her to the place) was immersed in the river, during which the Bramin priests, who attended on the occasion, muttered some prayers, and laid it on the ground. She sat some distance from it. Her head was adorned with flowers; her relations presented her with beetlenut and sweetmeats, of which she partook: and they placed upon her wrists, bangles or bracelets. She seemed to be almost in a state of insensibility, on account of their having previously given her gunja. After taking an affectionate leave of her friends she rose; her husband's body was carried beside her, and laid upon the pile, she ascended and laid down by it, embracing the corpse;—afterwards, four or five people laid hold of the poles fixed on the ground, and pulled them down, by which means, all the billets of wood, which were placed at top, fell upon them. In the interim, her nearest relations were employed in setting fire to the pile below, which they speedily effected, on account of the combustible matter contained: in a few minutes it was in an entire blaze—they retreated, applying their hands to their mouths, making a most lamentable noise: this with the shrieks of the unfortunate woman, were drowned by various music. She endeavoured to extricate herself from the flames, on which a Bramin, with a large billet of wood, struck her on the forehead; which effectually stunned her, or perhaps deprived her of life—as after it, she was at rest. In a few hours, all that remained of this faithful pair was ashes; those were thrown with some degree of ceremony into the river.

"Nothing could have induced me to be a spectator of this horrid scene, but a wish to give an exact representation of it."

Plate VIII.—A group of dancing girls.

Plate IX.—Getterha, or Annual Fair, held in front of the excavations of Ekvera, in the Mahabatta Country.

"This wonderful work is very near the top of the Bhanr Ghaut, and almost opposite to the fort of Logur."

Plate X.—Mohometans performing the Mohur-rum, or mourning of Hossein.

Plate XI.—Parcees assembled for devotion at sunset.

Plate XII.—Different modes of conveyance used at Bombay.

"In this sketch, I have introduced palankeens, chair-palankeens, mehannas, doolies, and a hackery, or cart; these being the modes of conveyance prevalent there, and indeed all over India."

In the "chair palankeen," which is like a sedan chair, is seated a stout Englishman, in white clothes, reading a book, very like General "Koir Wig" in Rowlandson's sketch, in the '*Adventures of Qui Hi? in Hindostan*,' London: 1816.

Plate XIII.—Bombay Subadars, Jemadars, Sepoys, &c.

Plate XIV.—The launching of the ship Carron from the Bombay Dockyard.

Plate XV.—Artificers at work.

Goldsmiths at work on the steps in front of an Englishman's house, a lady and two gentlemen looking on.

Plate XVI.—Gentooes at devotion.

"In this sketch I have introduced the Bramin priest at Ekvera, with other two Hindoos worshipping in the temple there, the Lingam or Mahdew."

Plate XVII.—Gentooes lamenting the death of a deceased relative, or friend.

A group of six Hindu women at the door of a native hut, beating their breasts with the palms of their hands: through the doorway of the hut is seen the dead person, covered with a white cloth, laid out on a charpâi.

Plate XVIII.—Snake catchers exhibiting a cobra de capello.

Plate XIX.—Fakcers or devotees of different casts.

In this plate Mabon delineates, two Hindus, two Muhammadan and one Sikh Fakir.

ARCHD. CONSTABLE.

A HINDOO SHRINE ON THE CASPIAN.

In our walks about the streets of Resht our servant Gopal, with his red turban and Indian costume, attracted great attention among the Khurds and Kosaks, who frequently inquired if he was a Türk. The Persians seemed to understand better his belongings, called him a Mul-

tâni, and declared he had come to join his brother. I inquired what they meant, and learned in reply, that one of the "lions" of the place was Surakhani, a temple some ten miles away, which all visitors made a point to see, containing images that were worshipped. It was lighted by sacred flames, which shot up out of the ground, and for centuries it had been under the faithful guardianship of Multânis. Who the Multânis were I did not at first comprehend; but, finally, it occurred to me that a Multâni must be synonymous with Hindustâni, or a native of India; that the city of Multân on the Indus must have been in the distant past an important centre, commercially and politically; and Multâni might have been used by the Eastern nations to designate the people from that city itself, as well as those who hailed from portions south of the Indus. We were now very anxious to see what we concluded must be a Hindu temple in Russia; and especially to interview the Hindu priest, if such he could be, in charge of the sacred spot, as we should then settle all doubts, and learn how it came to pass that the natives of Hindustan, who have such an antipathy to wandering to any great distance from their own country, were induced to make such an extensive journey, exposed to every kind of danger, both by sea and land, and finally be willing to erect a temple in such an out-of-the-way place, among people who were perfect strangers to their faith. Still more surprising was it that they should keep up so faithfully the guardianship of their idols, by constant recruits sent from time to time all the way from India, as we were told. These were points that cast an air of improbability about the whole matter, causing it to seem most unlikely, and made us very desirous of solving the mystery. If the pagoda was a fire-temple belonging to the Guebros, such a circumstance would be not at all strange, but would rather be the most natural thing that could happen; and that it is such a temple is distinctly stated in the works of several travellers, who are regarded as authority on matters out here, but who evidently would not know a Hindu were they to meet him, and to whom a fire-temple and a heathen pagoda were one and the same thing. As much as a century and a half ago, Jonas Hanway mentioned the existence of forty or more Hindu devotees residing at Baku. Why, then, we thought, might there not be some descendant of them still living, who would be a curiosity to behold, and whose acquaintance it would be profitable for us to make? Accordingly in the afternoon, we hired a fine-looking droschky with a span of fast hardy Kalmuk ponies, who took us all about the town for only sixty kopeks (one shilling and

eightpence) for the first hour, which is the government regulation. The charge for the next hour is about one-half that of the first. An hour later, we had arranged with our driver to take us in his droschky to Surakhani, and bring us back, for the sum of five roubles (fourteen shillings). In addition to the span of horses we had, a third horse was quickly harnessed abreast of the other two, which we learned was the custom when driving off for some distance. We started from Baku at a quarter to four o'clock. Our driver was a Kosak, with a tall, black Astrakhan hat on; and, what is more, he was a regular Jehu, as he drove us over the undulating and poorly constructed roads, full of ruts and sand, at a ten-mile-per-hour rate. We passed through two small villages, and in sight of many oil-factories, which from the dark smoke they emitted, showed that they were running on full time. The air around was filled with an outrageous odour.

On approaching Surakhani, a place composed simply of two large oil factories, we readily distinguished the Hindu temple, whitewashed, and surrounded by a high stone wall, with a large wooden gate for its main entrance. Gopal could hardly contain himself. We got out of the carriage; but found the door locked, and could see no one in the inside. We then walked around into the nearest factory yard, where we were told that the priest had gone that afternoon to Baku, and that without him we could not enter the temple. However, by persuasion and the offer of a keran, the key to a small backdoor was forthcoming, by means of which an entrance was easily effected at a point where the walls of the factory and the temple joined. We passed through and out of one of the cells, several of which are built into the high surrounding wall, where the devotees lived. In the centre of this almost circular enclosure, with a diameter averaging about one hundred feet was the temple proper,—a strong, quadrangular structure, bearing marks of age, but in good repair, surmounted with a dome some thirty to forty feet high. From the dome hung a rope on the inside; and to its end, some three feet from the floor, was fastened, suspended in the air, a good-sized copper bell, just such as is rung by Hindus in their temples when performing their devotions. Besides the bell, nothing was to be seen, save a metallic tube, which protruded a foot or two out of the floor, and had some cotton batting stuck into it. This the man who furnished us the key pulled out, and in its place held a lighted match. The result was the same as when one lights a gas jet. We then were shown into the only cell still occupied. In it we readily recognized articles peculiar to the Hindus. There were pictures of Ganpati, the

four-armed elephant god of Siva, and a few other deities. The last were Penates, or household divinities, cut out of small pieces of silver and gilded ware. They were arranged on a small raised altar in the middle of the cell: and about them were gas-jets like the one already described, and which our ciceroni lighted, one after the other, whispering audibly that the place we were in was very holy. The man, though a Mahamadan, had evidently witnessed the Hindu priest in profound earnestness at his prayers; and the darkness of the room, lighted up with flames fed from the spirit world beneath, had impressed him with an awe that characterized his every action. Having noticed all that was to be seen, and satisfied ourselves that, though miles away from India, we had not yet got away from India's gods, we started to return to the city; hoping to find the old priest there, and get out of him something about the temple and its wonderful history. It was already growing dark. The fires from ignited gas in ditches, dug here and there for burning lime and baking brick, lighted up the sky, and enabled us to realize, to a very exact degree, the appearance of the country when under an extensive illumination gotten up by the citizens of Baku to celebrate some festive occasion, or in honour of the visit of some important official to their city. Few, if any, places have such natural resources for an illumination on so grand, yet economical a scale as Baku; and the idea that we were riding over "gas-works" on a gigantic scale, it must be confessed, suggested thoughts quite peculiar to the time and place. Our Jehu drove back even faster than when we came, breaking the harness twice in his efforts to urge on the horses, regardless of deep ruts and steep banks. We gave the palm to Russian steel and Baku carriages, manufactured, we were told, in St. Petersburg, for withstanding all strain when a Kosak is the driver, and three Kalmak ponies harnessed abreast are making for home. We were back in the city by seven o'clock; and were just dashing round a corner, before drawing up by our steamer, when the driver suddenly reined in the horses and stopped. We wondered what had happened. The driver, pointing to a group of men seated on the steps of a liquor shop, informed us that the priest we wanted to see was there. I turned and spoke in Hindustani, asking the man to come to us. The sound of his native tongue startled him; and he stared at us wildly as he approached. When we told him that we had just come from his country, and as a proof showed him Gopal, the man's joy knew no bounds. His story, in brief, was, that he was a native of Lahor. Nearly ten years had elapsed since he left Karachi by native

craft, in company with two associates, and arrived at Bandar Abbas, after a narrow escape from drowning in a storm. From Bandar Abbas, they came on by hard, exposed marches to Kirman, Yazd, and Teheran, and thence by the same route that we had taken. They were twelve months making their long journey. At Baku, they found the temple in charge of an old priest, who, on being relieved, returned to India, there to induce others to follow his footsteps, just as his predecessor had secured these three fresh arrivals. One of the associates died after a stay here of a year or two. Shortly after, the other became so homesick that he returned to India, promising straightway to send substitutes in his place. No one as yet had appeared; and the priest, still a man in the prime of life, was getting very much discouraged. He declared he could not stay any longer a voluntary exile from friends and country, even though he should have to commit the unpardonable sin of leaving the divinities unattended,—a circumstance without a precedent, he said; for no break had yet occurred in the guardianship by Hindus of the temple since its erection, over eleven hundred years ago, but about which he evidently knew as little as he did about its subsequent history. Further than this, he was rapidly forgetting his mother-tongue, and talking a mixture of Armenian and Turkish: so that, outside of a plain, ordinary conversation, he not only had difficulty in expressing himself, but often failed to complete his Hindustani sentences, making it very hard to understand him. One thing was evident: the man was losing faith in the virtue and efficacy of his Penates, and declared that they were not what they used to be. To prove this, he went on to show how much wealth had been slowly accumulating for ages at his shrine, part of which had come all the way from India; but the rest was the result of offerings from many people not so far away, who, though of a different faith, visited the sacred spot,—partly from curiosity, and partly from a general superstition in the vague belief that it is wise to appease deity under all forms. This wealth had lately been carried off in the night by parties who could not be found; and, if the gods could not take care of what was their own, the priest seriously doubted whether they could look after him and his interests, and that of those gone before him. Evidently this idea had made a strong impression upon him; for on the next day, when our steamer was advertised to start, this orthodox Hindu urged and besought me to take him along as my servant, just as I was doing by Gopal, even at the risk of his losing

caste and undoing the accumulated merit, which was the direct result of so many years of self-sacrifice and penance. From England he said he would return with Gopal to India. On finding I could not take him, he determined he would abandon the idols to the tender mercies of some Muhammadan friends, and go back the way he had come; declaring this life he was leading to be a humbug!

PROF. SCHIEFNER.

The death of Anton von Schiefner, which was announced in the *Athenæum* of November 29th of last year, leaves such a sensible void in more than one department of Oriental and linguistic research that a fuller notice of his life and literary work may, it is hoped, be welcome to many students to whom his name has long been familiar as one of the foremost Oriental scholars in Russia.

Schiefner was born on July 18th, 1817, at Reval, where his father, who had emigrated from Bohemia at the end of last century, was established as a merchant. After passing through the grammar school of his native place, he matriculated in the University of St. Petersburg in 1836, and at the wish of his uncle, W. Schneider, who held the professorship of Roman Law and was anxious that young Schiefner should succeed him some day, enrolled his name as a student of jurisprudence, while he continued at the same time his philological studies under Prof. Graefe, who had been the first in Russia to write and lecture on comparative grammar. After creditably passing the usual examination at the end of a four years' course, he went to Berlin in 1840 to attend the lectures of the celebrated jurist F. C. von Savigny; but soon the classes of Boeckh, Bopp, Lachmann, and Trendelenburg had greater attractions for him, and eventually he gave himself entirely up to his favourite philological pursuits. The influence which the lectures of those far-famed professors exerted on him is traceable throughout his literary career. On his return to St. Petersburg he was made, in 1843, Professor of Latin, and subsequently of Greek, in the First Grammar School, and devoted himself exclusively to the study of the classics and more especially the Greek philosophers. A few years later, however, he took up the serious study of Tibetan, for which the libraries of St. Petersburg offered special opportunities. After being appointed in 1848 one of the librarians of the Imperial Academy, he was elected in 1852 a member of that learned body, the cultivation of the Tibetan language and literature being assigned

* From *Midnight Marches through Persia*. By H. Balantine of Bombay, (Boston, 1879), pp. 229-233.

to him as his special function. Simultaneously he held from 1860 to 1873 the professorship of the classical languages in the Roman Catholic theological seminary. In the last-mentioned year he was promoted to an ordinary membership in the Imperial Academy, with the predicate "Excellency." After a fortnight's illness, which from the very beginning gave rise to the gravest apprehensions, he died on November 16th of the year which has closed.

It is in three directions that Schiefner has made his mark in literary history. In the first place he contributed to the *Mémoires* and *Bulletin* of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg a number of valuable articles on the language and literature of Tibet, of which the following are of special interest:—*Additions and Corrections to Schmidt's Edition of the Dzungian*, 1852; *The Life of Odgyan-muni*, translated in abstract from the Tibetan, 1853; 'On Foucaux's Edition and Translation of *Egya tek'er rol pa*,' 1859; *Studies on the Tibetan Language*, 1851, 1856, 1864, 1877; *On the Periods of Tibetan Decadence, from a Buddhist Point of View*, 1851; *Translation of the forty-two Sâtras*, 1851; *On some Eastern Versions of the Logical of Rhampsinitus*, 1869; *Buddhist Stories*, translated from the Tibetan, 1875-7; *On Vasubandhu's Gâtthasangraha* (the Tibetan *Dharmapada*), 1878. Besides, he separately published in Tibetan and German *Vianlapenkaustharatamaila*, 1858, and *Tirandha's History of Buddhism in India*, 1869; in Tibetan and Latin, *Rkanda's Answers*, 1875, and the ancient Sanskrit-Tibetan-Mongolian glossary *Mahadogutpatti* (1859). When his fatal illness overtook him he was busy collecting and arranging materials towards a work on the Bonpo or pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet.

Schiefner possessed also a respectable acquaintance with Mongolian; but, unlike his predecessor I. J. Schmidt, who was a far better Mongolian than Tibetan scholar, he confined his principal labours to the Tibetan language.

In the second place, he was for a considerable number of years engaged in arranging and preparing for publication the memoirs and linguistic materials left by the great Finnic ethnologist Alexander Castrén, who, after spending twelve years among the various Ugro-Finnic tribes of Norway, Lapland, and Siberia, had finally succumbed in the prime of life to the hardships which he had had to endure. Of the twelve volumes brought out by Schiefner from 1853 to 1861 only two are narrative; seven treat of the languages of the Samoyedic tribes, the Koibal, Karagass, Tungusian, Buryat, Ostiak, and Kottic tongues, and three contain Castrén's researches on the mythology, ethnology, and literature of the

tribes he had visited. This mass of valuable material would probably long have remained dormant in the University library at Helsingfors had not Schiefner, at the instance of the Imperial Academy, arranged it and made it generally accessible in a lucid translation from the Swedish original into German. His independent works under this head comprise translations of the great Finnic epic *Kalevala* (1832), the heroic poetry of the Tartars of Minussin (1839), and the lays of the Wotes (1856), as well as a number of highly interesting essays on Finnic mythology (1850-62).

While he was still in the midst of these studies, the languages of the Caucasus began to engage his attention; and it was in the first place the Tush language on the analysis of which he brought to bear his wonderful philological acumen. After a preliminary report on that language, which he laid before the Academy in June, 1854, he brought out two years later a full treatise upon it. It was mainly through the study of this work that Baron P. Uslar was stimulated to investigating on the spot also the other languages of the Caucasus. In a full account by Schiefner of recent researches on these languages, which will be found incorporated in the Annual Address of the President of the Philological Society, just published, the author speaks of his own share in those most difficult researches with a modesty and reserve which might well be commended to linguistic scholars of far inferior abilities and attainments.

As that statement can easily be referred to for further details, it may here suffice to enumerate the various memoirs by Schiefner on those languages:—*Essay on the Awar* (1862), followed (in 1872) by a more comprehensive account of that language and a collection of Awar texts, with a translation; *Essay on the language of the Udes* (1863); *on P. von Uslar's Abchazian studies* (1863); *Researches into the Tschetcheu language* (1864); *Report on P. von Uslar's Kasi Kanak studies* (1866); *Reports on P. von Uslar's investigation of the Harkasian* (1871), and *Kirinian languages* (1873). Also of the Ossetic language (which, though locally Caucasian, belongs to the Iranian group) Schiefner had made himself master; a number of translations from that language by his pen, several of them accompanied with the original text, appeared in the *Bulletin* of the Academy in the years 1862 to 1867. For many of his linguistic investigations he had, with as much tact as patience, availed himself of the presence in St. Petersburg of natives (soldiers chiefly) of the districts on the languages of which he happened to be engaged. The importance, however, of the vast mass of linguistic material thus opened up by him, and of the results to which his investigati-

tious led, has not yet been fully realized, except so far, perhaps, as his numerous contributions to our knowledge of Eastern fables are concerned, for which branch of literature he evinced throughout his works a keen appreciation.

While his loss as the representative authority on all matters concerning Tibetan literature and the languages of the Caucasus is felt to be irreparable, it is not less deplored by many *sansons* in this country, as well as in France, Germany, and

Austria, with whom he was allied by ties of intimate friendship.

He visited England three times for the purpose of literary researches—in 1863, 1867, and 1878—and he will long be remembered here for his single-heartedness, his sprightly conversation, and his unswerving devotion to the scientific pursuit which he had made the task of his life.¹

R. ROSE.

January 1, 1880.

BOOK NOTICES.

BUDDHA GAYĀ, the Hermitage of Śākya Muni. By Rājendraśāstra Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E., &c. &c. Published under orders of the Government of Bengal. Calcutta, 1878.

First Notice.

Outwardly this is a large quarto volume, handsomely printed, of 258 pages of text and 16 of preface, contents and errata, with fifty-one plates—34 tinted and 5 plain lithographs, and 12 photographs. Published by orders of the Bengal Government, no pains has been spared to make it look well by printers or lithographers.

Buddha Gayā, the birthplace of Buddhism, the Holy City of the great monastic religion of Eastern Asia, is a place of much interest, and the illustration of its history and antiquities is well deserving the patronage of Government. Its remains had already been to some extent illustrated by Buchanan Hamilton, Major M. Kittoe, General Cunningham, Mr. Fergusson, and others, and in this bulky volume Dr. Rājendraśāstra Mitra takes up the subject with a view, we might expect, to an exhaustive treatment of it. It may therefore not be out of place here to examine, somewhat in detail, how he has performed this public task, and to indicate the quality of the contents of this large volume. The author has such a reputation as a scholar, that no one can wonder that the Bengal Government entrusted him with so important a duty. But of late he has so frequently contradicted our greatest authorities in Indian Antiquities—J. Fergusson, D.C.L., and General Cunningham—men of true genius, who have done lasting service to the subject of their special study,—that it seems desirable to learn whether he or they speak with the greater knowledge and authority, or whether the Bengali Doctor is not liable to mistakes of even more serious character than the authorities he differs from.

The great point aimed at in the volume seems to be to prove that Mr. Fergusson is wrong in attributing the building of the great Buddha-Gayā

temple to the Burmese,—though his opinion is fully borne out by the style, especially when compared with that of existing remains of temples of about the same age in Burma,² and supported by the evidence of inscriptions, one of which records the repairs or rebuilding of the temple in 1106 A.D.,³ and the other distinctly states (p. 208) that this temple "was constructed a fourth time and finished on Friday the 10th day of Pyadola in the Sakkardj year 667 (1305 A.D.)." The author on the contrary holds that—as there was a great temple here in the 7th century,—that still existing must be the same; the Burmese could only have plastered it and done some trifling repairs!

At p. 102 we meet a statement that might have been expected in Baron Munchausen, and there is no correction of it in the Errata: it is to the effect that the author measured ten bricks, and the first was $15' \times 5' 6'' \times 4' 5'' \times 2' 7''$;—that brick of four dimensions would be a puzzle for mathematicians who assert that there are only three dimensions; and the other nine were also extraordinary bricks, for they measured from 14' to 16 feet in length, some $9' 8''$ and others $10' 5''$ broad and $2' 3''$ to $2' 7''$ thick! We have seen big bricks of great age, but nothing like the size of these; possibly, however, it is a mistake or rather a series of mistakes, of which the author as well as the printer must share the blame.

We pass from the author's ideas on the representation of the sizes of bricks, to those on Palæontology, which are as strange. At p. 213 he remarks that the "Chhadanta" elephant, so well known in Buddhist mythology, could have been neither a *Mastodon trilopodon* nor *M. tetralopodon*, nor yet an *Elephas* of the *stegodon*, *lucidus* or *enclipsis* species, but probably the extinct *Hippopotamus Sivollensis*! This long extinct fossil animal he believes to have been remembered by the early Hindus (p. 153). Are the representations of the Chhadanta Elephant like a Hippopotamus?

¹ From *The Athenæum* of January 24.

² It is nearly a counterpart of the Buddhadrma temple at Pagan which was erected by king Jayasinha, 1204-1227

A.D.—See Crawford's *Embassy to Ava* (2nd ed.), vol. I. p. 117.

³ See *Jour. A. S. Soc.* vol. XXXVII. p. 97.

Some of the illustrations will amuse, if they do not perplex, the reader: thus on plate vii. is given a photograph of the 'Southern Façade of the Great Temple', which is intelligible enough, but the next plate is the same thing "restored." No one looking at it would suppose that the first could ever be restored so as to look the least like the second; their proportionate heights to the bottom of the finial (which is destroyed in the first) are as 3 to 5. We turn to the text p. 79, and are told in a footnote that the plate is wrong; "the number of storeys above the terrace should be eight as in the photograph" (the first we suppose) "and not nine." But even this correction would not make the two in any way comparable. The author in trying his hand at a 'restored drawing' has failed to see that both the proportions and the details of the original should be followed; and, not having attended to this, his restoration is a delusion. After comparing these two plates, on looking next at the 'restored Porch of the Great Temple' in plate xix, of which "there is at present no such structure," the reader will have no hesitation in concluding that it never did nor could have existed—unless it had been put up in the 19th century.

This failure to comprehend what is before him, must seriously affect the value of any reconstruction Dr. Rājendralāla may attempt. We doubt if he so understands the elements that enter into the distinction of successive forms of a style, as to be able to judge of the value of a restoration of any building.

From architecture we turn to the sculptures represented in his many tinted plates; and of these we first remark generally that the features given to the figures are not such as are usually met with in Hindu or Buddhist sculptures: the faces are too narrow below, and just such as students from our Schools of Art are most apt to draw if not carefully watched and kept right. In the smaller details also there are errors of carelessness and inaccuracy that the author ought not to have tolerated: some of these we shall remark below.

Dr. Rājendralāla, however, whilst intent on contradicting what he considers the mistakes of General Cunningham, Mr. J. Fergusson and Professor Weber, has but short space to devote to the description and explanation of the details of the sculptures he presents; but being a native of India, and having a great reputation for scholarship, it could hardly be supposed he would make any mistake in mythology. We are sorry, however, to have to point out even in this department such errors as he might surely have easily avoided.

* Here the draughtsman has omitted his tail.

* Here again the elephant's head, represented in the sculpture, is omitted in the drawing.

At p. 133 is a very meagre account of the sculpture on plate xx. fig. 3. The central figure is Buddha under the Bodhi tree conventionally represented by two leaves; and round him are some of the principal scenes in the legend of his life. Below, on his right, is a representation of the story told by Hiwen Thsang, of Buddha at Mathurā, when the monkey brought him a pot of honey and then fell into a tank,* and was drowned, but, for this meritorious act, became a man in the next birth. Above this is the well-known incident at Rājagṛīha, in which the elephant let loose to kill Buddha, is represented kneeling at the feet of the teacher. Above this, again, is the Banāras scene of Buddha seated (in the *dharma-chakra mudrā*) and first preaching his law. On the opposite side a similar representation is perhaps intended to represent him on his visit to Svarga to teach his mother; and just below it is the scene where Mahā Moggallāyana requested him to descend. Below this is Māyādevī holding the branch of a tree;† and on the lowest compartment is represented, according to custom, the maker of the image. Above all is the *Nirvāṇa* scene. Such slabs are abundant about Buddha-Gayā, all representing the same favourite scenes, none of which need be mistaken. In the Pāñch Pāṇḍava temple there is a very good example of it where the monkey in the first and the elephant in the second scene are very well cut; also the deer below the Banāras scene, and a *sāl* tree at the head and feet of the *nirvāṇa* figure; while in the Svarga scene a disciple is making *namaḥkṛā* to the standing Buddha, as related by Fa-Hian; and the infant Buddha is represented as being born from the side of Māyā—Śakra making music at the great event. Round the nimbus is the formula *Ye dharma hetu, &c.*, and on the pedestal is an inscription, dated in the 11th year of King Mahipāla's reign which reads thus:—

- [1] तद्वक्तानायेति ध्यायमातापितृवृद्धं कृत्वा
सकलसम्पदाशेरनुत्तरज्ञानावाप्तय इति महा-
[2] मेधपरमभारकपरमसंगतशीमन्महीपाल-
देवपदं मानविजयराज्ये एकादशमे समस्तरे भवितुं
[3] पञ्चम्यां विधौ गन्धकुटीद्वयसहितदुष्कभस्मि ...
कारितविति ॥

Why has Dr. Rājendralāla passed over all this in entire silence? The details are just what give interest to the sculpture, and the inscription so far fixes its age.

On plate xxx. are represented three figures, which he regards as 'Buddha and attendants or disciples' (p. 135): but if we look at the two

* This is so badly drawn that no one would recognise even the attitude.

attendants, the *ushnîṣ* (turban) or top-knot at once indicates that they are not *disciples* (who are never so represented), but all three are Buddhas. On plate xxi. fig. 3 is another similar sculpture which he has failed to explain (p. 135), though it is plainly enough Buddha travelling, with *Indra* the *rāja* of *Swarga* carrying the umbrella over him, and *Nāgarāja* the king of *Pātala* with the *saptaphala* or seven-hooded cobra¹ and bearing the *kaṣaṇḍala* or water bottle.

The object in the lap of Buddha (plate xxiii. fig. 2) seems to have perplexed our author (p. 134), yet it is quite common in the later representations of Buddha, and indicates no penance, as he imagines, but is simply the *bhīṣakapātra*.²

With the representations of the Bodhisattvas he seems to be even less acquainted than with those of the Buddhas; for, (on p. 136) he makes out fig. 2³ on pl. xiii, with the *chakra* *chakra* on his hand, to be *Avalokiteśvara*—which is certainly is not. On pl. xx. fig. 1, the figure now worshipped as *Tārādevī*, was indeed originally a form of *Padmapāni*, though it is hardly ever recognised as such, but is well known as *Simhaśāṭha* *Lokēśvara*—easily recognised by the lion which attends him, and on which he is sometimes represented as seated. At the right side of this figure is cut, in letters of the 8th or 9th century, the words *Sri Buddhadgaya*, which neither the artist nor the author has noticed. The figure on pl. xxii. fig. 3 may be *Padmapāni*, as he says,—but it is much more like *Minauātha* or *Manjughosha*; and that on plate xxiii. fig. 6, is not *Padmapāni*, for it has a bell in the one hand and a *jala pātra* in the other, and is a figure frequently seen in temples of the *Ābhyanāra* sect of Buddhists. Figure 3 on the same plate is similarly wrongly called *Padmapāni* (p. 136), for it has the northern style of dress, described by *Varāha Mihira* as appropriate to *Sūrya*, with stockings on his feet and two lotus flowers in his hands.

Figure 2 on pl. xxii is the image now worshipped as *Vāgīśvara*. This the author mistakes for *Vajrapāni*, whilst it is undoubtedly a form of *Manjuśrī*, the Buddhist god of learning, of which *Vāgīśvara* (*Vāk-guara*) is a well known name among the Buddhists of *Nepāl*,—a fact that might have kept the learned author right. The three figures (pls. xxix. and xxvi. figs. 1 and 3) which he calls *Māyādevīs* (p. 137), we suspect are not so, for what the *Bābu* calls a

tilaka is really a third eye which *Māyādevī* is never represented with;—these are most probably Tantric forms of *Tārā*.

The supposed female Demon, plate xxxi. fig. 2, is *Vasudhārā*,—and here again the *Bābu* perhaps forgot his spectacles when he examined the original, for there are no horses on the stone (as on his drawing) but pigs! This figure is common on the east side of the great tope at *Sānci*: at least three lay there, not long ago, among the ruins. In *Banāras* there is a fine black stone one with seven hogs below, and an inscription; and there one of the faces of the *dēvī* is also that of a pig.

Again fig. 1 plate xxxi. is another image of *Vasudhārā*, which he "fancies" is "intended for *Sāvitri Dēvī*, who has apparently seized an opportunity to have a drive in the chariot of her husband the sun-god *Sūrya*" (p. 132). Where in India did he get hold of such an idea? and the horses!—why, he has indeed represented them by seven horse heads, but the stone has bears!

Plate xxxi. fig. 3 represents an image of a *dēvī*, brought from the ruins of the monastery to the north of the temple:⁴ by estimation it is about 7½ feet high by 4 broad. This figure with its nine pairs of hands⁵ is not accurately described by our author, (p. 138) nor does he notice the inscription below it in letters of the 9th or 10th century, which reads,—

[¹] देवमूर्तिं प्रसन्नमहागयायिने महाभयलब्धकरवि-
रुद्धशुभकुरस्य कवच पुण्यं तद्वत्ताचार्योपाध्यायमाता-
नृपतिद्रुम कुला सकलस-

[²] ललाटेनुरज्ञानावापये.

What he calls in the text (p. 138) "another representation of this *dēvī*," but on the plate (xx. fig. 2) "a figure of Buddha,"—is a form of *Tārā*.

Figure 2 on pl. xxi. he calls a *Nāgakanyā* (p. 138): why a mother with her child in her lap should be called a *kanyā* or "maiden," he does not tell us. The dress is sufficient to show that his "devotee," on pl. xxiii, is only a *śālika* or figure of a laic, such as were often presented by worshippers to the temples.

Even Hindu gods, the author misnames; thus (p. 139) he calls fig. 4 on pl. xx. *Prithvidēvī*, whereas it is evidently *Yamunā* on the tortoise, as represented again and again at *Elurā*, at *Udayagiri* in *Bhopal*, and elsewhere. Fig. 4 on pl. xxxi. he has not recognised as the Buddhist *Mahākāla*. The subject represented in plate xxvi. fig. 2 is at the Mahant's monastery, built into

chakra *mudrā*; the right hands from below are,—2nd broken; 3rd in the *vare mudrā* (blessing with prosperity); 4th, holds the *khadga* or sword; 5th, in the *varjita* attitude, or bidding begone; 6th, holds the *śyāma* or citron; 7th, the *śālika*; 8th, the *vajra*; and 9th, the *pariṣāṭa*. Of the left, the 2nd is broken, the 3rd holds the *danḍa*; 4th, the lotus stalk; 5th, the *kalāśa*; 6th, the *pāśa*; 7th, the *chakra*; 8th, the *dhruva* (?); and the 9th is broken.

¹ This again is quite misrepresented in the plate.

² It is almost always so represented in the images in *Nepāl*.

³ He says "fig. 1,"—but mistakes of this kind are numerous; on p. 139 he refers to fig. 4 on "plate xxx," when he must mean pl. xxi. On p. 125 he has *Saka* 1239=1153 A.D.

⁴ So an old man informed the writer.

⁵ The front or proper pair of hands are in the *dāyaka*-

the south-east corner of the surrounding wall, outside: below is an inscription in characters of the 8th or 9th century:—*Paindapatika Dhiyendrabhadra*—"Gift of Paindapatika Dhiyendrabhadra." The two figures on which the third stands are—Bhūti under the left foot, and under the right Bhūti: it is a Tantric or secret image of a Bodhisattva,¹² but Dr. Rājendralāla passes it off (p. 139), simply as a figure of Bhairava.

On plate xxxiv. fig. 2 he has a long story (pp. 155-56) to tell, which seems to have little to do with the sculpture except that it relates to a Kinnari: but the Buddhist Kinnaras had human busts and birds' wings and feet. We may refer for examples to the Barabāt tope, early Mathurā, and Māvallipuram sculptures, or the wall-paintings at Ajantā. But the figure here has not a horse's head even (as the Brahmanica legends represent the Kinnaras), it has the short mane and long ears of an ass.¹³ How would it wear the "jewelled coronet" he speaks of? On the inner side of a pillar of the rail of the second stūpa at Sānci is a similar sculpture where the second figure is a child with three mangoes in his hand, and carried on her side over the rocks by this asinine mother. So here, we suspect, it is her son she holds by the hand. A third example was found recently by Mr. Burgess at Bhājā where it occurs in the midst of a crowd of other figures. It most probably relates to some story of a *Gāḍadhī devī*, as yet unknown.

Plate xxxv. fig. 5 represents a man sitting in front of a cave on a rocky hill,—not a stone house as the Bāhu has it (p. 157). In all sculptures and paintings of the Buddhist period, hills are represented as in this figure.

The "acrobatic performance" (p. 158) in fig. 1 plate xxxvii. is familiar to us in Buddhist sculptures as a *Gandharvayogin*, or a *Gandharva* and *Apsara*; and fig. 6 is well known as a *Kṛttimukha* (also plate xlv. fig. 5).

Plate xliii.—the *Dharmadhātumandala* perplexes the learned doctor (p. 143)—he does not even give its name. But in the area of almost every Buddhist temple two or more of these are to be seen of stone or brass or other metal.¹⁴ They vary in details but are all of the same type. The outer band is not "of leaves" as he describes it, but flames, and the circle is called *jagatī*; the 2nd, *vajradatī*; and the 3rd, *padmadatī*. Inside this is the *jagatī* (or surrounding wall) with its four doors, and in the centre is the *dhama* or seat, upon which is sometimes laid a large *vajra*. At the Svayambhūth tope in Nepāl is a large gilt copper *Dharmadhātumandala* and on it lies a huge *vajra* with an inscription of

the time of Pratāpamalla. The Mahāyāna sectaries say that Indra made such a throne for Śākyā Muni when he was about to become a Buddha: it closely resembles the *armasavarṇa* of the Jainas.

More than two pages (160-63) are devoted to prove that General Cunningham was quite wrong in supposing that the figure in plate I. represents Apollo or Sūrya. Now General Cunningham's account is quite correct—he speaks of the "two attendants" however without stating that they are females. What the Bāhu thinks the sculpture does represent he does not make very clear. We hold that it is Sūrya in his chariot; and similar figures may be seen at Elurā and Sānci, and always with his two wives Chhāyā and Prabhā, shooting at the Rākshasas. Mortal women do not usually shoot or fight for their husbands in Hindu poetry; the goddesses only do so: and this alone is fatal to the idea of its being any rāja or human being who is driven in the chariot.

We have now indicated sufficient mistakes, we think, to show how unscientific Dr. Rājendralāla is in his treatment of these parts of his subject, in which he ought to be most at home, and the reader will be surprised to learn from these specimens that the great native savant of Calcutta should have been guilty of so uncritical a spirit. If these criticisms are liable to occasional errors, he himself is quite as much so. We reserve the examination of the inscriptions for another occasion.

(To be continued.)

DR. RIVANAYANA, Vol. 8. GOLDSCHMIDT, (1st part.) Strassburg; K. J. Trübner, 191 pp. 4to.

The first instalment of Professor S. Goldschmidt's long-promised edition of the *Bhāgavata* (more generally known as the *Setubandha* or *Setu-prabandha*) has recently appeared at Strassburg. It gives the Prākṛit text with various readings and critical notes, a complete Index (Prākṛit and Sanskrit,) and an introductory essay on the materials from which the editor has constituted his text, and the principles of criticism by which he has been guided. A full account of this important publication will be rendered in the *Indian Antiquary* when the second instalment shall have appeared, which will give a German translation, explanatory notes, and a general introduction on the author and his work. Suffice it here to say, that this edition, the outcome of many years of patient labour and research, will be sure to secure for Professor Goldschmidt the thanks of Sanskrit scholars for having so successfully accomplished what may fairly be considered as one of the most difficult tasks in Indian philology. R. R.

¹² A counterpart of this figure may be seen in a plate in Raffles's *Java* (vol. II. p. 86), from a metal cast found near the mountain Dieng or Praha.

¹³ We always refer to the originals: the plates, as already noted, not being quite trustworthy.

¹⁴ They can be bought in Nepal for Rs. 10 to 12.

THE GANGAI-KONḌAPURAM ŚAIVA TEMPLE.

BY COLONEL B. R. BRANFILL.

THE great Śaiva temple at Gaṅgai-konḍapuram, in the extreme north-east part of the Trichinopoly district, twenty miles south-west of Chidambaram, and five miles north of the Kollidam (Coleroon), is the finest and grandest Indian temple I have seen, but is simple in design and chaste in ornament. This style of temple, built on anything like this scale, is very rare. The great temple at Tanjore and one other near Kumbakonam are the only comparable examples I can recall. That it is no common specimen may be gathered from Mr. Moore's *Trichinopoly District Manual*, p. 343, whence the following extracts are taken:—

"In a letter published in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Dr. Caldwell has remarked that he has reason to hope that future enquiry will firmly establish a supposition formed by him, that this temple is one of the great, if not the greatest of, parent Hindu temples. He believes that the old and splendid temple of Tanjore is probably merely a model of it."

Mr. Moore's description is erroneous in several particulars. The size of the outer court, 584 by 372 feet, is an interior measure for the length, which is actually 610 from wall to wall, and the breadth apparently includes the additional court of the Amman Kōvil (lady-chapel) attached, only that would bring up the width to 400 ft. There is only one Gopura (or "gate pyramid") instead of six as stated, and a wrong impression is given of the ruinous state of the buildings, which is true only of the accessories and minor parts. The principal is in very fair order, but the stone of the inscribed portions is beginning to decay and peel off.

The first object of interest here is the great stone vimāṇa dedicated to Śiva, conspicuous from its situation and size, for many miles around. Roughly speaking, it is a fac-simile, possibly the prototype, of the Great Śaiva temple at Tanjore, which it closely resembles, but it is larger in plan, built of better stone, and less spoilt by stucco and white-wash.

A strict comparison however cannot be made without studying the two temples together by means of comparable photographs, or by visiting them in succession.

The Gaṅgai-konḍapuram temple, as it is now miscalled, consists of a nine-storeyed *śālī* (steeple tower) or *vimāṇa* over the shrine or sanctuary, 99 feet square at the base,¹ and about 165 feet high. This appears to be larger, though not higher, than any Indian temple of which the size is given by Mr. Fergusson in his volume (*The History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*). The two lowest storeys are vertical, and composed of five towers or compartments on each face; a large one in the centre, with two narrow ones beside it, and two of medium size outside, next to the angles of the building, all of them ranged in the same line forming a side of the square. It would seem more usual in Hindu temples for the central compartment of each face to project or stand forward most, the intermediate next, and the outer, or corner towers, to stand back, or be withdrawn so as to form the angles of a smaller square than would contain the central and intermediate projections. The base of this temple conforms to a precise square. The central tower or compartment of each face is ornamented simply by 16-sided pilasters at the angles, and has a deep niche between half-pilasters in the centre, containing a well sculptured figure or group in full relief or free standing. The blank wall-space, of which there is plenty, is covered with bas-relief scenes in which Rishis bear a prominent part in company with country-folk, herdsmen, and others, in great variety. The abundance of these tableaux is a characteristic of the temple. The intermediate narrow partitions are ornamented in the same manner except that the pilasters are octagonal, whilst the outer compartments or towers at the four corners of the temple have plain square pillars and pilasters. Each storey is marked by a bold projecting cornice of single (convex) flexure, an older form than that of double flexure. Above the second storey, the tower rises in seven steps or terraces pyramidally, each terrace having five small domed cells, which cap the five tower-like compartments before mentioned, diminishing in size to the top of the pyramid. According to Fergusson, these small domed cells may be supposed

¹ On a basement terrace 106 feet by 104.

to simulate the monks' dormitories that surrounded the many-storeyed halls of the Buddhist viharas or monasteries, of which the monolithic temples of 'Seven Pagodas' are early imitations. These ornamental cells form a more conspicuous characteristic of this temple than is common elsewhere; at Tanjore for instance, where there are thirteen storeys of cell terraces, the cells being only about half the size, are consequently far less noticeable individually. Above the seventh or highest row of cells, there is a roomy terrace occupied by four large bulls couchant at the corners, and from the centre rises a comparatively slender neck surmounted by an umbrella or semi-dome crowned by the usual kalasa or finial. The entire temple from base to summit is of hard stone, brought from a distance, for there is none in the neighbourhood. On the east side of this great *Stūbhi* or *Vimāna* stands the *Velimāṇḍapam* or 'outer hall,' a plain rectangular building 160 feet long by 83 feet wide, with a flat roof supported by four rows of plain stone pillars and without any windows. This grand hall or covered court was evidently designed to be of two storeys in height, and was begun on that scale at the west end, but never completed, being only one storey, eighteen feet high, throughout.

Between the *Velimāṇḍapam*, or outer court, and the great *Vimāna*, there is a three-storeyed building joining them together, called *Māṇḍapam*, covering the transverse aisle between the north and south entrances by which the shrine is approached.* This portico or transept is designed and completed in keeping with the grand scale and style of the *Vimāna*. The interior is too dark for its arrangements and details to be seen, nor are strangers permitted to enter the doors. A third entrance is provided at the east end of the *Velimāṇḍapam* by a plain rectangular door in the centre, which is approached from without by a double flight of stone steps from the north and south sides, similar to the two other pairs of stairs by which the transverse aisle doors are approached. Gigantic stone warders (*dvarapālas*) guard each entrance. This triple building (*Vimāna*, portico, and outer hall) stands upon a grandly moulded plinth 5 or 6 feet high, no part of which is flat, and the whole is supported by a basement or

terrace 5 feet above ground level, which projects $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet beyond the plinth and forms a procession-path completely round the building. It is termed in Tamil *āḷḷai* = "man-way" or "service-course." The mouldings below the procession-path are very bold and good, the ornament of the vertical or flat portion simulating a range of pillars or palings, alternately plain and sculptured to represent *Yāti*, (conventional lions) and various scroll-enveloped animals.

There is no trace of horizontal rails or of any wooden form of structure below the top of the plinth-moulding which is the floor level of the temple and 10 or 12 feet above the ground. Above that, wooden forms are frequent, as for instance in the projecting beam heads at all the angles, which are only slightly ornamented. The string-course of griffin heads between them, probably, also represents the ends of the intermediate timbers. The whole structure points to a style of architecture in which the basement was of masonry and the superstructure of timber.

The brackets underneath the lower projecting cornice represent rampant animals with attenuated bodies like greyhounds, of a rather wooden pattern.

The panel or flat part of the back wall of each recess, between the projecting tower-like compartments, is ornamented by a vase or some very florid object called *pārapakambam*. This is a common feature at Tanjore and elsewhere, and seems to correspond to our *cornucopia*.

The rounded plinth-moulding just above the procession-path is covered with inscriptions, mostly in old Tamil. Many of the letters correspond with those on the base of the Tanjore temple as shewn in plate xviii. of Burnell's *S. Indian Palaeography*, but others seem more modern, approximating to those on his plate xix., of the fifteenth century A. D. To the un-instructed, the architecture seems uncommonly good, chaste and archaic compared with the common great Hindu temples of Southern India. The sculptured figures and groups that occupy the niches in the middle of each compartment are very good indeed, both in design and execution. They are carved in very hard, fine grained, light coloured stone, occasionally approaching a cream colour. The figures are representations of Śiva,¹ Viṣṇu and Brāhmā, all

* It measures 50 feet by 30.

¹ Among some sketches by the writer, is one from a

niche representing Śiva appearing out of the side of the *Linga*, four armed, with *paraśa* and *triśula*, and a figure

of them less conventional and more natural than is common elsewhere.

The good state of preservation in which the temple generally now is, may be due to the hardness and durability of the stone, and to the fact that the site is very secluded and out of the busy paths of men, the highways of commerce, and tracks of armies. It has also escaped the fanatic zeal of the bigoted Moslem.

The temple stands in a courtyard 610 feet long E. and W. by 350 ft. wide N. and S., which contains several good subsidiary temples,* and the remains of a double-storeyed arcade or cloister which once surrounded it entirely. The *gopuram* proper or gateway tower in the centre of the east wall, is very fine, but quite subordinate to the temple (*vimānam*) itself. It is of good stone throughout, but has begun to fall down, and will shortly be a complete ruin.[†] In style it assimilates more to that of the Viṣṇuam than the Tanjore temple *gopurams* do, they being florid and highly ornate, whereas this is more severe and chaste than its principal. The chief adornment of the temple at Gangai-konḍapuram is the repetition everywhere on the eells and cornices of the fan-like window ornament resembling a spread peacock's tail.

The name Gangai-konḍapuram occurs frequently on the inscriptions, and would seem to indicate 'the city of Gangai-konḍa-chōḷa.' There is a place called Gangai-konḍān some 24 miles farther north, and the name is believed to occur elsewhere in Southern India. The local legend, perhaps invented to account for the name, states that a pious pilgrim, whose life and strength were spent in fetching water from Banāras for the worship at Rāmōṣvaram, had a vision in which it was revealed to him that he should find a spring of Ganges-water at this spot, a result which his great faith enabled him to effect, doubtless to his great material comfort; and a fine well of good water countenances the tradition. 'Gangai-konḍa' might signify something like "a vision of Gaṅgā," or "water;" *gaṅgā* is not uncommon in Southern India with the meaning of water, especially for running water, and very many

river names in India and Ceylon have the word Gaṅgā affixed to them. Gaṅgai-konḍa or Gaṅgai-konḍān may mean "he who obtained (or brought) water," a title that might well have been given to, or assumed by, the prince who constructed the Ponnéri-karai, a great embankment in this neighbourhood designed for the storage and distribution of water, no less than 16 miles in length. A supply channel 60 miles long was designed to keep this great reservoir supplied with water from the Kolliḍam river, and it seems likely that the prince who designed this great water project, should have been also the founder of the great temple at the city which was to be benefited by it. The city has disappeared entirely, and the rural population is now scanty and poor, but the great temple and the skeleton of the great irrigation scheme remain to testify to the grand works that could be conceived by the minds and executed by the hands of the former rulers and people of this country. The high road from Madras to Kumbakōnam passes within a mile or so of the spot, but there is a cross road from Chidambaram railway station *viā* Mannārguḍi, that leads directly to the place, the distance being about 20 miles.

For the age of this temple consult the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. XIII. (1844), the following quotations from which are taken from Captain Carr's Collection of *Descriptive and Historical Papers relating to the Seven Pagodas* (Māvalivaram), where Sir Walter Elliot attributes this temple to Vira Rājendra Chōḷa surnamed Koppa-Keśarivarman, and cites "inscriptions of this same prince on the magnificent temple at Gangondaram on the north bank of the Cavery, of which he appears to have been the founder," "one of these, in the 5th year of his reign (Ś. 991, A.D. 1069) runs thus; Ko-virāja-kesarivarman named Rājendra Deva, wielding the sceptre, &c. &c." "Son of Rājārāja (Narendra) Chōḷa whom he succeeded in Ś. 986" (= A.D. 1064) . . . From the remoteness of the quarries, the hardness of the stone, the great size of the building, and the vast amount of carving displayed in the basement alone, below the rounded moulding on which the

groveling in front. This is similar to a figure in the Dēva Avatāra temple at Elura, only the subordinate figures of Viṣṇu and Brahmā are wanting in the southern example.—Ed.

* Among these are,—on the north side those of (1) Bhadrakṣī Amman, (2) nearly opposite the *Mēḷa*-or *Sandhya*-

śrēṇḍa Sandikōvara's, and (3) opposite the shrine, that of Braḡa Nāyiki or Vada Kailāṣa. In the south-west corner is (4) that of Gaṅgā Vināyaka; (5) south of the shrine is Viḷvanēṭha's, or Bakshara Kailāṣa; and (6) south of the great *śrēṇḍa* is 'Nāyār Kovil' while at the east front is the bull Nandi.—Ed. † It measures 75 feet by 40.

inscriptions mostly occur, I do not think it probable that so much of the work could have been done in five years. The whole design was never completed, perhaps because it took longer than the reign of the prince who founded it, and I should think that the Great Vimāna alone must have been nearer 50 years than five in building.

The epoch of Vira Rājendra Chōla A.D. 1064 (to 1079 and later) seems well established, and his identity with the "Koppara-Kesarivarma, also called Udaiyār Sri Rājendra Devar" of the Vaishṇava (Tamil) inscriptions at the Seven Pagodas, so that the year 1000 A.D. seems hardly too early for the foundation of this temple.

NOTES ON THE TAṆḌU PULAYANS OF TRAVANKORE.

BY REV. W. J. RICHARDS, C. M. S. MISSIONARY, COTTAYAM.

The men of the Taṇḍu Pulayans (or Pulayans who wear Taṇḍa grass) wear the ordinary lower cloth of the kind worn in this country, but the distinctive name of the tribe comes from the women's dress, which is a very primitive article indeed. The leaves of a certain water-plant are cut into lengths of a foot long, and tied round the waist in such a fashion that the strings unwoven hang in a bushy tail behind, and present the same appearance in front, reaching nearly to the knees. This is accounted for by a tradition that in former days a certain high caste man of that region had been sowing grains and planting vegetables in his fields, but found that his daily work was in some unknown way frustrated; for whatever he planted or sowed in the day was carefully picked up and taken "when men slept." So he set a watch, and one night he saw, coming out of a hole hitherto unknown to him, certain beings like men but quite naked, who set to work destroying his hopes of a crop. Pursuing them, he succeeded in catching a man and woman, and he was so impressed with shame at their condition, that he gave the man his own upper cloth which was hanging on his shoulder, and made him put it on, but not having one to spare for the woman, she (following Mother Eve's example) made herself an apron of grass as above described. These were the progenitors of the

numerous slaves who are found there at this day. They are also called *Kuri*, or Pit Pulayans, from having originated as abovesaid.

Their language is Malayālam. They worship the sun and heavenly bodies, and I have seen among them a little temple about the size of a large rabbit hutch in which was a plank for the spirits of their deceased ancestors to come and rest upon.

The spirits are also supposed to fish in the backwaters, and the phosphorescent appearance, seen sometimes on the surface of the water, is taken as an indication of their presence.

The food of the Pulayans is fish often cooked with arrak and with the liliaceous roots of certain waterplants.

When visited about 11—1 o'clock they are found intoxicated, especially the men.

They live in the Malayālam country, Travankore, south of Cochin, between the backwater and the sea, and another division of them is found more south near Aleppey, who are called *Kanua Pulayans*. These wear rather better and more artistically made 'aprons.' When a girl of the Taṇḍu Pulayans puts on this garment—a sign of maturity—for the first time, there is a ceremony called the Taṇḍa marriage. The state of these poor people is virtually that of slavery, though some of them possess property. I should be glad to see in the *Antiquary* any notes of similarly dressed natives of India.

NOTE ON A ROCK-CUT INSCRIPTION FROM RIWĀ.

BY DR. A. T. RUDOLF HOERNLE, PHILOLOGICAL SECRETARY, ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

The inscription under notice was not long ago sent by Mr. M. A. Markham, Collector of Allahabad, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.¹ It had been discovered by him in a cave near the falls of Keoti Kuṇḍa on a tributary of the

Tanwas in the Riwa State. Of the locality in which it was found, Mr. Markham gave the following charming description in a subsequent communication: "As the name of the place (Keoti Kuṇḍa) implies, there is a pool, into

¹ See the *Proceedings* of March 1880.

which falls a most lovely waterfall. The river Mahānā, which rises in the Kaimār hills, and is a tributary of the Tanwas (Tons), here precipitates itself over a perpendicular drop of 336 feet, unbroken even by a crag. The pool or kuṇḍa below is almost quite circular, and is hemmed in by the perfectly perpendicular rock of the above height for about two-thirds of its circumference; the stream escaping through the opening and flowing for over two miles through

a canon of perpendicular rocks, keeping the above height almost the whole way. On one side of the 'beetling crag' is a fine old native fort, and on projecting crags on the edge of the fall are picturesque Hindu temples. Altogether it is a most lovely place."

The copy of the inscription which Mr. Markham sent, and which the accompanying woodcut represents, is apparently a mere copy made by eye on the occasion of Mr. Markham's visit to

the cave. The relative size of copy and original is not known. A squeeze or rubbing would have been more satisfactory; still the copy is evidently drawn very carefully. All the letters, with the exception of the 6th, can be easily recognized. The 6th looks, at first sight, like *ṣa*, but there can hardly be a doubt that it is *ṣa*, the upper horizontal stroke having become slightly displaced. The 4th and 14th are a little differently drawn, but they are clearly meant for the same letter; and the only letter that will fit both words in which they occur is *pu*.² On the whole, the letters are very fairly preserved. The inscription apparently consists of two parts; there being an interval after the tenth letter. But the whole forms one connected sentence:

Haritiputepaṇḍa Sannaka kṛitā pukharinī,
i. e. "the pool (cave) caused to be made by Sannaka the son of Haritī." The language, as in most cave-inscriptions of this kind, is Pāli. The addition of the final anusvāra in *putepaṇḍa*, if it be genuine, follows a well-known Pāli rule (see Hema Chandra, I, 27, and compare Kachchayana, I, 4, 8). The diphthong *au* of Sannaka changes, as usual in Pāli, to *o*.

Pukharinī,³ or pool, is the name of the cave, which is most appropriately so called, after the pool at the foot of the rock which contains the cave. Such caves were not uncommonly named after conspicuous objects in their neighbourhood. Thus General Cunningham

in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (p. 135) mentions a cave called *Vāpiyaka* after a fine large well immediately in front of it.

As the form of the letters shows, the inscription belongs to the period soon after Aśoka. The absence of the *matras* or heads, and the round form of some of them (as the *p* and *s*) prove that the inscriptions may be assigned to as early a date as B.C. 200.⁴

In the communication already referred to, Mr. Markham thus speaks of another cave in the neighbourhood, containing painted figures, and hunting and battle scenes. "In another cave, near a somewhat similar fall and pool on the Tanwas itself, about 8 miles west of Keoti Kuṇḍa, I found several square yards of very well drawn, or rather painted, figures, and hunting and battle scenes, in a rather bright red. They were certainly not recent, but I could make no guess as to their age. The 'oldest inhabitant' says they were just the same as now when he was born. I wonder if they are of any value. I have no doubt that a close examination of the numerous caves would be rewarded with many inscriptions."

I believe these particular caves have not been noticed hitherto by the Archaeological Survey. Perhaps this notice may serve to direct attention to them. From Mr. Markham's statements they would appear to well deserve careful examination.

² It may be noticed that in the first inscription of the Bharhut Stūpa (see General Cunningham's *Report*, p. 128) the letter *pu* is always written like the 14th; and that *putepa* is twice spelt with *ṣa*, as here, but once with *ṣa*.

³ The Sanskrit *Pukharinī*; conf. the many 'Pukharas' or pools.

⁴ See Gen. A. Cunningham, the *Stūpa of Bharhut*, p. 15. [From the length of the strokes for the vowels, I incline to think it somewhat later than the author.—Ed.]

REMARKS ON THE WORD ŚRAMAṆA.

BY REV. SAMUEL BEAL.

General Cunningham (*Bhiles Topes* p. xii.) seems to conclude finally that Śramaṇa is a Buddhist title. But Colebrooke (*Essays*, vol. II. pp. 203, 204) arrives at another conclusion, that the followers of Buddha are clearly distinguished from Brahmanes and Samanēs (arguing from Justin, whose opinion, however, is not final as the passage is ambiguous). Colebrooke as a general definition extends the term Samanēs to ascetics of various tribes (p. 204).

But to examine Cunningham's argument. He mentions first that Buddha was called Mahā Śramaṇa, but this proves no more than that this term was employed by Buddhists, adopted by them as it was by the Jainas (Colebr. u.s. p. 196) and ascetics generally, as is evident from the inscription placed over the remains of the Indian who committed himself to the flames at Athens (Strabo, lib. xv. p. 720 Cassub.).

He then concludes that the Śramaṇas or Germanēs of Megasthenes must be the Buddhists, because it is said that women were allowed to join them (συμφιλόσοφαις) on taking vows of chastity (ἀνταρμέσαι ἀφροδιταίῳ), adding that the Buddhists alone had nuns; but here we observe the words in the original do not bear out the assertion that the women were under vows, or became nuns; and we also find the same words used by Nearchos (Strabo, xv., § 66 ed. Siebenkees) in reference to the Brahmanes (συμφιλοσόφαις ὅντων καὶ γυναῖκας), so that this is no corroboration of the theory.

The division of Klitarkhos of the Praman into ὄρεται, γυμῆται, πολεῖται, πραχόμενοι deserves consideration. The identification of the first with the Arhans will not, I think, prove satisfactory—first as they used the skins of stags for their clothing—studying the art of healing, &c., which does not apply to the condition of the Rahat; and secondly, as we know that at the time when Buddha became an ascetic, there were in the mountains a class of men clothed as these mountaineers are described, in skins of stags, &c. As to the γυμῆται, it is distinctly said "γύμνουσι διαζῆρ,"

which will apply to no portion of the Buddhist community. The πολῖται are described as wearing skins, and having their hair bound up, which is equally foreign to Buddhist custom.

With respect to the division of the Germanēs described by Megasthenes, into ὕλας, λαρῖται, πρίται—if the ὕλας be Alobhiya² in Sanskrit, it does not seem to refer exclusively to the Buddhists, for there were other ascetics who lived in woods and fed on berries; nor is it so applicable to the Buddhist as to others, for the Aranyaka or Buddhist ascetic was allowed to receive food from the householders (vid. Prati-moksha). With respect to the λαρῖται, even if this were a corruption of παρῖται, how do we account for the description that they were physicians and concerned themselves with women? a thing strictly forbidden to the Buddhist.

On the whole we see no reason to argue the antiquity of the Buddhist community from any of these suggestions.

But observe, on the other hand, that the word Śramaṇa (i.e., Germanēs) is distinguished by Buddha himself from the Brahman, and yet does not refer to his followers. (*Lalitā Vist.*, pp. 248, 246). "Bhikshus! there are Brahmanas and Śramaṇas who believe that there is a purity resulting from abstinence," &c., and so on, in all which passages the same division between Brahmanas and Śramaṇas is observed, which is noticed by the Greek writers above quoted. We argue therefore that this division was one generally accepted, and was equivalent to Brahmanas and non-Brahmanas.

Observe again that Buddha, when on his tour of inspection from the four gates, is described as meeting a Shramaṇa with a joyful face, &c. So that even before he entered on a religious life we read of this sect of Śramaṇas as existing commonly in India, proving (unless we allow a great solecism) that this appellation was applied to others besides Buddhists. If this were once granted, the argument falls to the ground.

¹ Ἀλλόβου of Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.*, lib. I. s. 15. —ED.

² From alobhika—content, free from covetousness.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.C.S., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from p. 168.)

No. LXXVI.

The present copper-plate grant was published originally, with a rough facsimile, by the late Bāl Gaṅgādhara Śāstri in the *Jour. As. Soc.*, Vol. II, pp. 4 and 12; and it has been repeated by Prof. Bhāṇḍārkar at *idem*, Vol. XIV, p. 16. The lithograph now appears for the first time.

My transcription is from the original plates, which belong to 'Nana Walad Kansa,' of Nirpaṇ in the Vigatpurī Tālukā of the Nāsik District.¹ The plates are two in number, each about 8½" long by 5½" broad; the edges of them are raised into rims, and the inscription has been very well preserved. They are connected by two rings. The right-hand ring is a plain copper wire about ½" thick, bent into the form of a ring of about 1½" in diameter; but the two ends of the wire do not appear to have been ever soldered together. The left-hand ring, which had not been cut when the plates came into my hands, is about ½" thick and 1½" in diameter; the seal on it is circular, about 1½" in diameter, and has, in relief on a countersunk surface, at the top, the moon,—in the centre, the motto *Śrī-Jayaśraya*,—and at the bottom, a lotus.

It is a Western Chalukya grant of Nāgavardhana, also called Tribhuvanaśraya, the son of Jayasimhavarman², also called Dharmāśraya, who was one of the younger brothers of Pulikēśi II. From the motto on the seal, it is probable that Jayasimhavarman had also the title of Jayaśraya.

The grant is not dated. It records the gift of the village of Balegrāma, in the Gōparāṣṭra district, to the establishment of the god Kapilēśvara, or Śiva as the wearer of a garland of skulls. This village has been identified for me by Mr. J. A. Baines, C. S., with the modern Belgaum-Tarībhā about twelve miles to the north-east from Vigatpurī.

The doubtful points about this grant are,—1, that it is in the Gūrjara characters; 2, that it gives the title of Satyaśraya to Kirttivarmā I; 3, that it allots 'the horse of the breed called Chitrakapṭha' to Pulikēśi II; and 4, that it

speaks of Pulikēśi II as a *parama-māhēśvara*. But, on the whole, I am not inclined to question its genuineness. Considering the locality from which the grant comes,—so far to the north from Vātāpi, which was then the capital of the Western Chalukyas; and comparatively so near to the Gūrjara capital,—it is probable enough that the Gūrjara characters would be used, instead of the Western Chalukya. Another result of this branch of the Western Chalukyas being located in so far an outlying part of their dominions may easily have been a want of knowledge as to the exact nature of the genealogical and historical statements recorded in the Western Chalukya grants. Or even a more act of carelessness on the part of the engraver may have given the title of Satyaśraya to Kirttivarmā I, instead of to Pulikēśi II, to whom, by the way, no second title at all is allotted in this grant. And though it is not at all likely that the worship of Mahēśvara, or Śiva, by Pulikēśi II, was ever so exclusive as to justify his being called a *parama-māhēśvara*; yet the Western Chalukyas undoubtedly encouraged the worship of Śiva quite as liberally as the worship of Brahmā and Viṣṇu and Jineśvara.

The Nāgavardhana who is mentioned in line 13 must have been the preceptor of Pulikēśi II. Such at least is the strictly correct interpretation of the epithet *Śrī-Nāgavardhana-pādānandhyāta*, which is applied here to Pulikēśi II. In some other inscriptions,—e. g., Nos. 3 to 10 of Dr. Bühler's Chalukya grants at Vol. VI, p. 180; and the 'Sihvar' grant of Jayachandra in *The Padda*, Vol. IV, p. 94,—*pādānandhyāta* is used, by itself, to denote the relationship of son to father; and in the two Valabhi grants published by Dr. Bühler at Vol. VI, pp. 13 and 17, it is used, in addition to *tasya mataḥ* and *tasya dūjyāḥ*, to express the bond of filial and fraternal affection and respect uniting a son to his father and a younger to his elder brother. But, to interpret it otherwise than in its literal sense here, would necessitate our taking Nāgavardhana to be another name of Kirttivarmā I; and there is nowhere any corroborative evidence to justify

¹ When Bāl Gaṅgādhara Śāstri published the grant, the plates belonged to Nana Bhoja Tāndur, formerly of Kānsā in the valley of Trimbakēśvar, and now of Nādik.

given in the Northern Kōṭkan."

² For brevity, and convenience of distinction, I shall call him in future notices Jayasimha II.

this. It is plainly used here in the sense in which it occurs in *Sedai-Mahāśāstra-pādānandhyāta* in, e.g., line 1 of No. XL, at Vol. VII, p. 161, and in *Bhagavat-pādānandhyāta* in line 13-14 of

No. XII, at Vol. V, p. 51, and in line 12-13 of No. XV, at *id.*, p. 155; and it has the same purport as *pādābhakta*, which occurs in line 14 of No. XII, and in line 13 of No. XV.

Transcription.

First plate.

- [¹] Svasti ! (||) Jayaty-āviśhkrītam Vishṇuḥ-vvārāham kshōbbhit-ārggavarāṇ | dakṣhiṇ-ōnnata-
 [²] dānshtr-āgen-viśrānta-bhuvanaṁ vapuḥ || Śrīmatām sakula-bhuvana-saṁstāyamāna-Mā-
 [³] navya-sagōtrāpām Hārīti-patrāpām sapta-lōkamātrībhiḥ sapta-mātrībhiḥ
 [⁴] r-abhivardhī-tānām Kārttikēya-parīrakṣaṇ-āvūpta-kalyāṇa-paramparāpām
 [⁵] bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsādita-varāha-līchh*(ūchha)n-ōkṣhaṇa*
 [⁶] kṣhaṇa-vaśīkṛt-āsēsha-mahābhīṣitām Chalukyānām* kulam-alamkarishyōr-a-
 [⁷] āvamēdh-āvaśhīṣṭha-saṁna-pavitrikṛta-gātrasya satyāśraya-Śrī-Kīrtti-varmma-
 [⁸] rājasy-ātma-jō-nēka-narapati-śata-makūṣa-taḥ-kōṭi-ghṛīṣṭha-charaṇ-āravi-
 [⁹] ndō Mēru-Malaya-Mandara-samāna-dhairyyō-har-ahar-abhivardhamāna-vara-kari-ra-
 [¹⁰] tha-taraga-padāti-balō manōjar-aika-Kaṁḥachitr*-ākhyah(khya)-pravara-taraṅga-
 [¹¹] mēn(ṇ)-ōpārjita-svarājya-vijita-Chēra-Chōla-Pāṇḍya-kramāgata-rājya-tra-
 [¹²] yah śrīmad-uttarāpath-ādhipati-Śrī-Harsha-

Second plate.

- [¹³] parājay-ōpalabdh-āpara-nāmadhōyah Śrī-Nāgavardhana-pād-ānu.
 [¹⁴] dhyāta[h*] parama-māhēśvarah Śrī-Palakōśivallabhaḥ tasy-ānujō bhrātā vijit-ā-
 [¹⁵] ri-sakala-pakṣhō dharāśrayah Śrī-Jayasiṅgha(sc. sīmha)varma-rājas-tasya sūnu-
 tri(tri)-bhuvana-
 [¹⁶] śraya[h*] Śrī-Nāgavardhana-rājah sarvvān-ōv-āgāmi-varttamāna-bhaviṣyā[m*]ś*cha
 narapa-
 [¹⁷] tīn-samanudarsayaty-asu vah saṁviditām yath-āsmābhir-Gōparāshṭra-vishay-āmata[h*]-
 [¹⁸] pāti-Balegrīma[h*] sōdraṅgaḥ sa(sō)parikara a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśya ā-chāṇḍr-ārkk*
 ārggava-
 [¹⁹] kṣhīti-śhīti-samakālīna[m*] mātā-pitrōr-uddiśy-ātmanas-cha vipula-punya-yaśō-bhi-
 [²⁰] vṛidhy(ōdhy)-arītham Balāmma-Thakkura-vijāptikayā Kāpālśāvarasya Guggula-pājā-
 nimitta[m*]
 [²¹] tan-[n*]ivāsi-mahāvatībhyā upabhōgāya salīla-pūrvenkam pratipādītas-tad-asmaḍ-vaśēyai-
 [²²] r-ānyair-vv-āgāmi-nṛpatībhi[h*] śarad-abhra-chañchalam jīvitam-āknly(layy)=āyam-
 asmaḍ-dāyō-numantavya[h*]
 [²³] pratipālayitavyas-cha-ōty-uktām bhagavatā Vyāsōna | Bahubhir-vvasudhā bhuktā rāja-
 [²⁴] bhis-Sagar-ādībhiḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam-iti ||
 [²⁵] Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasuśēdharām shashtīm varisha(sc. varsha)-sahasrāpi
 viśhṭhūyām jāyatō krīmi[h*] ||

Translation.

Hail ! Victorious is the form, which was that of a boar, that was manifested of (the god) Vishṇu,—which troubled the ocean, and which

had the earth resting upon the tip of its up-lifted right-hand tusk !

(L. 2).—The son of the king Śrī-Kīrtti-varma, the asylum of truth¹⁰,—whose body

¹ The rule of doubling consonants after the letter *v* is sometimes attended to, and sometimes not, in this grant.

² Conf. *poncha* for *pañcha* in l. 14 of the Dāś Gūjara grant at *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. X, p. 19.

³ This form of the *n* occurs only here, and in *sahasrāpi*, l. 25, and, doubled, in *śrīmanas*, l. 1. The second, and more usual, form of *n* used in this inscription, occurs in the doubled form in *śrīmanas*, l. 18.

⁴ Prof. Bhāskara reads, and translates, *Chalukyānām*, with the vowel of the first syllable long; but he is wrong.

⁵ This, of course, is a mistake for *Chakrakant*.

⁶ As we have already had *āgāmi*, this use of *bhaviṣya* is a tautology.

⁷ It is not usual to express the double *l* by an almost complete repetition of the letter, as is done here and in l. 20. We have an analogous instance to the present one in the word *Kerkādhyaṭpāsa* in line 86 of Prof. Dowson's first Gūjara grant at *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, New Series, Vol. I, p. 247.

⁸ *Satyāśraya*.

[illegible]

was purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices; and who adorned the family of the Chālukyas, who are glorious, and who are of the kindred of Mānavya which is praised throughout the whole world, and who are the descendants of Hārītī, and who are nourished by seven mothers who are the mothers of mankind, and who have an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity acquired by the protection of (the god) Kārttikēya, and who have had all kings made subject to them on the instant at the sight of the sign of the boar which they acquired through the favour of the holy (god) Nārāyaṇa, — was Śrī-Pulakēśīvallabha, the water-lilies of whose feet were scratched by the edges of the diadems of many hundreds of kings; who was equal in steadfastness to (the woman) Mēra and Malaya and Mandara; the army of whose excellent elephants and chariots and horses and footsoldiers was always increasing day by day; who acquired his own kingdom, and conquered the three hereditary kingdoms of the Chēras and the Chōlas and the Pāṇdyas, by means of one horse, as swift as thought, of the breed called Chitrakaptha¹¹; who possessed a second name¹² which he had acquired by defeating the glorious Śrī-Harsha, the supreme lord of the region of the north; who meditated on the feet of Śrī-Nāgavarilhanar; and who was a devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara.

(L. 14.)—His younger brother was the king Śrī-Jayasiṃhavarman, the asylum of the earth¹³, who conquered all the ranks of his enemies.

(L. 15.)—His son, the king Śrī-Nāgavaradhana, the asylum of the three worlds¹⁴, issues his commands to all future and present and future¹⁵ kings:—

(L. 17.)—"Be it known to you that, for the sake of (Our) parents and in order that We Ourselves may acquire great religious merit and fame, the village of Balagrāma, which lies in the district of Gōparāshtra, has been given by us, at the request of Balamma-Thakkura, with libations of water, and together with the *śraṅga*

and the *aparikara*, and not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops, and to endure as long as the moon and the sun and the ocean and the earth may last, for the purpose of the (rite called) *Guggula-pūjā*¹⁶ of the temple of (the god) Kapālēśvara¹⁷, and, for their usufruct, to the great ascetics who reside at that (temple). Therefore this our gift should be assented to and preserved by future kings, whether of our lineage or others, having borne in mind that life is as transient as an autumn-cloud."

(L. 23.)—And so it has been said by the holy Vyāsa:—Land has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagar; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the fruits of it! He is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another!

No. LXXVII.

This is another of the Nerūr plates, of which I have spoken at Vol. VII, p. 161. General LeGrand Jacob gave a notice of this grant, but did not publish it in detail. He treated it, in fact, as two separate inscriptions; the first and second plates being given as No. V in his paper, and the third plate as No. VII. It is plain, however, from the measurement of the plates, and from the uniformity of the writing, and from the context of lines 31 and 32 in my transcription, that we have one entire grant, and not parts of two separate grants.

My transcription is from the original plates, which are three in number. The first measures about 8½" long, the ends of the lines being broken off, by 4" broad. The second is entire, and measures 9½" long by 4½" broad. The third plate, again, is only a fragment, the last two or three lines being broken off; it measures 9½" long by 3" broad. Measuring from the top and the left side of each plate, the ring-hole occupies exactly the same position in plate III as in plates I and II. The edges of the plates are raised into rims to protect the writings. In addition to the parts broken away, plates I, II & III are a good deal damaged by rust.

¹¹ See note 7 above. See also para. 4 of the introductory remarks to No. LXXVII.

¹² The second name, however,—that of *Padamāmbika*, or 'Supreme Lord,'—is omitted.

¹³ *Śaṅkarācārya*.

¹⁴ *Yāgyavalkya*.

¹⁵ See note 8 above.

¹⁶ *Guggula*, *puggula*, *guggula*, *guggula*, is *bōellium*, a

fragrant gum or resin, which is burnt and waved before idols in procession. I am not that the rite is confined now to the worship of the god Viṣṇu.

¹⁷ *Śiva*. The word in the original is *Kṛpāśvara*, which must be rendered by 'the temple or establishment of Kapālēśvara.' In Old-Canarese inscriptions the name of a god is analogously used in the neuter to signify the temple, instead of only the god itself.

Plate II a is better preserved; but here, as elsewhere, many passages would have been very doubtful but for the style followed in this grant being so well known. On the outside of plate III there are the remains of six lines of writing,—probably a later addition to, or variation of, the original grant; detached letters are legible enough here and there, but no connected passage can be deciphered. The ring and seal of this grant have been lost. The characters are those of the usual Western Chalukya alphabet,—very similar to those of No. XXIX, at Vol. VI, p. 85, but not quite so well formed, and with the same slope to the right.

It is a Western Chalukya grant of Vijayāditya, dated Śaka 622 (A.D. 700-1), in the fourth year of his reign. It is issued from his victorious camp at the city of Rāsēnānagara, and it records the grant of the village of Nerūr itself, bounded on each side by the villages of Baḷḷaḷagrāma and Sahamya-pura. The former of these is evidently the modern 'Wallawul' of the Trigonometrical Survey Map, about three miles to the west of Nerūr; but the map does not give any name corresponding to Sahamya-pura. I am not able at present to identify Rāsēnānagara, unless it is Rāsin in the Ahmadnagar District, about twenty-two miles W. by N. from Kōrti.

I have translated ll. 10 to 15 in such a way as to make the 'horse of the breed called Chitrakaptha' belong to Vikramāditya I. In this I differ from Mr. Rice, who translates the same passage in the Vokkalēri grant (Vol. VIII, p. 23) in such a way as to make this horse belong to Satyāśraya or Pulikēśi II. The whole passage from line 8 to line 19, including three generations, is a genitive construction; and it is possible to apply the epithet ending with *vijigīśhōḥ*, l. 11, to *sva-*

gurvōḥ, l. 12, and thus to make the horse belong to Pulikēśi II,—instead of applying it, as I do, to *Vikramāditya*. . . . *bhaffārakasya*, ll. 14-15. The only direct statements that we have on this point are,—1, ll. 12-13 of No. XXVIII (Vol. VI, p. 76), where the nominative construction is used, and the horse is specifically stated to belong to *Vikramāditya I*;—2, l. 9 of the spurious grant of *Vikramāditya I*, No. XLV (Vol. VII, p. 219), which follows the construction and language of the preceding;—3, ll. 11-12 of the spurious grant of *Pulikēśi I*, No. XLIV (Vol. VII, p. 211), where the horse is allotted, neither to *Vikramāditya I*, nor to *Pulikēśi II*, but to *Pulikēśi I*;—and 4, ll. 10-12 of No. LXXVI above, where the horse, under the mistaken name of *Kaṇṭhachitra*, is made to belong to *Pulikēśi II*. This last grant may, or may not, be genuine; but it is at any rate one of no particular authority. And the only authoritative statement that remains is that contained in the first of the four grants that I have just spoken of. Looking now to the wording of the present grant,—if the epithet ending with *vijigīśhōḥ* were intended to be construed with *sva-gurvōḥ*, then the natural arrangement would have been to place *śaṇṇipati-trīlaya-dūtavitān*, 'which (regal splendour) had been interrupted by a confederacy of three kings'¹⁸, after, instead of before, *sva-gurvōḥ*. These words can only have been placed before *sva-gurvōḥ* expressly for the sake of emphasis, and to indicate that the epithet ending with *vijigīśhōḥ* is not to be construed with *sva-gurvōḥ*. I do not know of any extraneous evidence, apart from these inscriptions, bearing on this point; and,—in the absence of such,—on the authority of No. XXVIII, and on the arrangement of the words in the present grant, we cannot but allot the horse to *Vikramāditya I*.

Transcription.

First plate.

- [¹] Svasti [[*] Jayaty-āviśhkrītaṁ Viśhṇuḥ=vvārahaṁ kshō(bhīṭ-ā)ṇṇavaṁ dakshig-
ōnata-damshtr-āgra-vīrā[nta-bhuvanaṁ va]-
[²] puḥ [[*] Śrīmatāṁ sakala-bhavana-saṁstūyamāna-Mānavya-sagō(trāpāṁ] Hārīt-
putrā[ṇāṁ sapta-lō]-
[³] ka-mātṛibhis=sapta-mātṛibhir=abhiyārdhītanām Kārttikēya-parira[kṣhaṇa]-prāpta-
kalyā[ṇa-parashparā]-
[⁴] ṇām bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samīśādi[ta-varā]ha-lāñchhan-ākṣhaṇa-kṣhaṇa-va[śīkrī-
śāśha]-

¹⁸ Mr. Rice has altogether missed the meaning of these words, which he renders by 'together with that (wealth) inherited for three generations.'

- [*] mahābhṛtāṁ Chalikyānām kulam=alaṅka[ri]śhṇōḥ=śāvamēdh-āvabhṛtha-(śāna-pavitrikṛita)-
 [*] gātrasya Śrī-Pula[kē]śi[va]llabha-mahārā[jasya sām]nūḥ parākra[m-ākrānta-Vanavāsy-ā]-
 [*] di-para-nīpati-maṇḍala-praṇibaddha-viśuddha-kirttiḥ [Śrī-Kī]rttivarman-[prithivīvallabha-mahārāja]-
 [*] a-tasy=ātmajasya=samara(ātmajasya samara)-saṁsakta-sakal-ōttarīpath-ē[śva]ra-Śrī-Harshavarddhann-parājay-ōpā]-
 [*] tta-paramēśvara-śabdasya¹⁹ Satyāśraya-śrī-prithivī[va]lla[bha]-ma[hārāj-ādhirāja-paramē]-
 [10] śvarasya priya-tanayasya prajāta-nayasya [kha]d[ga]-mā[tra-sahāyasya Chitraka]-

Second plate; first side.

- [11] pth-ābbhīdāna-pravara-turaṅgamēṇ-aikēṇ-aiv-ōtsārit¹⁰-śēśha-vijigishōḥ=avanipati-tri-
 [12] tay-āntarītāṁ ava-gurōḥ śriyam-ātmāsāt-kṛitya prabhāva-kulīśa-dalita-Pāṇḍya-Chōla-
 [13] Kēraja-Kaḷabhra²¹-prabhṛti-[bhū]bhṛd-adabhra²²-vibhramasya=ān-any-āvanata-Kāḷchīpati-maku-
 [14] ta-chumbita-pād-āmbujasya Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-śrī-prithivīvallabha-mahārāj-ādhi-
 [15] rāja-paramēśvara-[bhātā]rakasya priya-sūnōḥ pitar-ājñayā Bālēnduśōkharā[śya]
 [16] Tārakārātir-iva dāitya-balam-ati-samuddhātāṁ trairājya-Kāḷchīpati-balam=avasthābhya ka-
 [17] ka²³radikṛita-Kamōra²⁴-Pārasika-Simha-ādi-dvi(dvī)p-ādhipasya sakal-ōttarīpatha-nātha-mathan-ō-
 [18] pūrijit-ōrijita-pāḍidhvaj-ādi-samasta-pāramaiśvaryya-chihnasya Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya-śrī-
 [19] prithivīvallabha-mahārāj-ādhirāja-paramēśvara-bhātīrakasya priy-ātmajās-śaiśa[va]śv-ā]-
 [20] dhi[ga]t-ā[śēśha-āstra-śā]strō dakṣiṇ-āśā[va]vijayi[ni] pitāmahē samunnah[ita-ni]khi-

Second plate; second side.

- [21] la-kaṇṭaka-samhatir=uttarāpātha-vijigishōḥ-ggurō[r-agraha] ē[va]śhava-vyūpāram-ā-
 [22] ccharann-arāti-gaja-ghaṭ-āpātana-viśṛyamaṇa-kripāṇa-dhāra-samagra-vigraha-āgrē-
 [23] saras=sat-sāhasa-rasikāḥ parām[ā]ma[ṇu]khikṛita-āstra-maṇḍalō Gaṅgā-Yamuna(nā)-pāḍidhvaja-pa-
 [24] da(pda)-da(dha)kkā-mahāśabda-chihna-māṇḍika-mataṅga-ādina-pitṛiśāt-kurvan-parāḥ-paliyamānai-
 [25] r-śaidya katham-api vidhi[va]śād-apanitō-pi pratipād-ēva vishaya-prakōpam-a-rājakan-u-

¹⁹ The reading here, which is followed also in l. 9 of No. LXXXVIII, and in l. 12 of No. LXXIX, is better than the reading in l. 10 of the Vokkalīri grant at Vol. VIII, p. 23.

²⁰ This is the reading also in No. LXXXVIII, l. 10-11, and in No. LXXIX, l. 15. The Vokkalīri grant, l. 12-13, reads *aiv-ōtsārit-āśēśha*; but, though the rest of the passage is different, *utsārita* in the word used in l. 11-12 of the spurious grant of Pulikāśi l. (No. XLIV, Vol. VII, p. 211). In l. 12-13 of No. LXXXVIII (Vol. VI, p. 76), the reading is *aiv prithi-śāśha-samara-mahārāja*. In l. 9-10 of the spurious grant of Vikramāditya l. (No. XLV, Vol. VII, p. 219), the reading is *aiv prithi-śāśha-samara-mahārāja*. In No. XXXIX (Vol. VII, p. 111), Second Part, l. 34, and Fourth Part, l. 74-5, the tracing reads *aiv prithi-śāśha-mahārāja* (f) *śrī* (f) *trairājya-Kāḷchīpati-bhātīrakasya* *koradikṛita*, &c. as in l. 17 of the present grant, omitting the intervening matter; the MS. Collection copy omits the passage altogether.

²¹ There are several marks over the *la*, one of which may be an *Anusvara*, or all of which may be caused by rust; but I do not think that there is any *Anusvara*. Nos. LXXXVIII and LXXIX do not throw any light on this point, as, in the former, l. 12, the whole word is omitted, and in the latter, l. 17, the first two syllables, *kaḷa*, are omitted. In l. 14 of the Vokkalīri grant, the lithograph does not show any *Anusvara*. In No. XXXVIII, l. 66 (Vol. VII, p. 66), the tracing reads very distinctly *dalita-Pāṇḍya-Chōla-Kēraja-Kaḷabhra-prabhṛti*, but it is just possible that *Kaḷabhra* is a mistake for *Kāḷabhra* or *Kāḷabhra* on the part of the man who made the tracing; this passage is

No. XXXVIII is omitted in the MS. Collection copy, and it does not occur at all in No. XXXIX. In No. XXIX, l. 16-17 (Vol. VI, p. 86), and No. XXX, l. 16-17 (Vol. VI, p. 89), and No. XLVIII, l. 13-14 (Vol. VII, p. 301), and in *Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese Inscriptions*, No. 16, l. 11-12, the text is different, and only the *Chōla*, *Pāṇḍya*, and *Kēraja* are mentioned. In l. 21 of No. XLVIII, where the word occurs in a different context, the lithograph does not show any *Anusvara*, and though Col. Dixon's photograph does show a mark which appears to be meant for *Anusvara*, yet its position is more over the *bha* than over the *la*. Having regard to the fact that the early inscriptions generally follow the correct practice of using, in the middle of a word, the nasal of the class of the following consonant, in preference to the *Anusvara*, the probability is that *Kaḷabhra* is the real word.

²² In No. XXXVIII, l. 66, I have read, and translated *adagra*. This should be corrected, as the tracing, on reexamination, clearly shows *adabhra*.

²³ This repetition of the syllable *la* is a mistake.

²⁴ The reading is quite certain here, and in No. LXXXVIII, l. 16. It is equally certain in l. 10 of the Vokkalīri grant, and is there *Kēraja*. In No. XXXIX, Second Part, l. 34-35, and Fourth Part, l. 75, the tracing very distinctly shows *Koradikṛita-Kēraja-Pāṇḍya-Chōla-Kaḷabhra*; but, curiously enough, in the Second Part the MS. Collection copy reads *Kamara*, instead of *Kēraja*. The river *Kāvēri* undoubtedly takes its name from *Kāvēra*, as the name of a country or of a people. It is probable therefore that the *Kēraja* of the Vokkalīri grant is more correct than the *Kamara* of this grant and of No. LXXXVIII.

- [²⁶] tsārayan=Vatsārāja i[v=ān-apē]kshīt-āpara-sūhāyakas-tad-avagrahān=nirggatya sva-bhuj-
āvashta-
[²⁷] mbha-prasādhī(di)t-āśēsha-viśvambharaḥ prabhur=akhaṇḍita-śakti-trayatvāch=chhatra-
mada-bhañjanatvād=udāra-
[²⁸] tvān=niravadyatvād=yas-samasta-bhuvan-āśrayas=sakala-pāramaiśvaryya-vynkti-bōta-pāli(li)-
dhvaj-ādy-ujva(ji)va-
[²⁹] la-prājya-rājyō Vija[yāditya-Sa]tyāśraya-śrī-prithivīvallabha-mahārāj-ādhirāja-
paramiśvara-bha-
[³⁰] tārakas=sarvān-āva[m=ājñāpaya]ti [³¹] Veditam=asta vō=smābhir=dvā-vimśaty-uttara-
shat-chhatēsha Śaka-varshō-
[³²] shv=atīēsha pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-smāvatserō chaturthō varta(rta)mānō
Rāśēna²⁶-nagara-

Third plate; first side.

- [³³] m=adhivasati vijaya-skandhāvārō Āshāḍa(dha)-pauruṣamāsyām Nandē²⁶ . . . ya-
vijñāpanayā Va(?)sa(?)-
[³⁴] sagōtra(trā)sya(ya) Rāsvāmī-dīkshita-pautrāya Jannasvāmīnaḥ putrāya Dīsasvāmīnō
Iridi(?)ge(?)pe)-
[³⁵] viśayō Vīli(?)ge(?)bhe)-nadi-tata-sthaḥ Ballāvaligrāma-Sahamyapura-grāmayōr=
mmadhya-sthaḥ Nerō-
[³⁶] r=nnāmā grāmas=sa-bhōgas=sarvya-bādha(dhā)-parihārō dattah [³⁷] Tad-igāmibhir=
asmad-vamśyair=anyais=cha rāja-
[³⁸] bhir=āyur-aiśvaryy-ādīnām vilasitam=achirāṁśu-chāmohalam=avagachchadbhir=ā-chandr-
ārka(ekka)-dhar-ānava-sthiti-
[³⁹] samakālam yāśō-chichishubhis=sva-dattā-nirvviśham paripālanīyam=uktañ=cha
bhagavatā vēda-vyā-
[⁴⁰] sēna Vyāsēna [⁴¹] Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhaktā rāja[bh]is=Sagar-ādi(bhiḥ yasya)
yasya yadā bhūmis=ta-
[⁴²] [sya tasya ta]dā phalam [⁴³] Svan-dātam su-maha[ch-chhakyam] duḥkham=
anyasya pīlanam dānam vā pā[la]nām v-ōti dā[nā]²⁷.

Translation.

Hail! Victorious is the form, which was that of a boar, that was manifested of (the god) Viṣṇu,—which troubled the ocean, and which had the earth resting upon the tip of its uplifted right-hand tusk!

(L. 2.)—The son of the Great King Śrī-Palakōśivallabha,—whose body was purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices, and who adorned the family of the Chalīyas, who are glorious; who are of the kindred of Mānavya, which is praised over the whole world; who are the descendants of Hāriti; who have been nourished by seven mothers, who are the mothers of mankind; who have attained an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity through the protection of (the god) Kārtikēya; and who have had all kings made

subject to them on the instant at the sight of the sign of the boar, which they acquired through the favour of the holy (god) Nārāyaṇa,—was Śrī-Kīrtti-varmā, the favourite of the world, the Great King, whose pure fame was established in the territories of the hostile kings of Vanavāsi and other (cities), that had been invaded by his prowess.

(L. 8.)—His son was Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, who had acquired the title of 'Supreme Lord' by defeating Śrī-Harshavardhana, the warlike lord of all the region of the north.

(L. 10.)—His dear son was Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who was

²⁶ Gen. Jacob's Parit reads Rāśēna. But the second syllable is certainly *ra*, with the vowel long or short; and though the third syllable might be *na* with the lower part corroded away, I consider it to be *na*.

²⁷ One consonant and vowel are quite uncertain here. There seems to be visible the letter *r* subjoined to them.

²⁸ This letter, *nā*, is broken away at the end of the line; and the rest of the plate, containing two or three lines more, has been broken off and lost.

conversant with the art of government; whose only aid was his sword; who was desirous of conquering all people, whom he drove before him by means of only one horse of the breed called Chitrakaptha²²; who, having acquired for himself the regal splendour of his father, which had been interrupted by a confederacy of three kings, subdued (*like Indra*), with the thunderbolt which was his prowess, the mighty tumult of the mountains which were the Pāṇḍya and the Chōḷa and the Kēraḷa and the Kaṣabha²³ and other kings; and who had the waterlilies which were his feet kissed by the diadem of the lord of Kāñchi, who had bowed down before no other.

(L. 15.)—His dear son was Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who, having at the command of his father arrested the extremely exalted power of the lord of Kāñchi whose kingdom consisted of three (*composed*) dominions, just as Tīrākūṛa²⁴ (*at the command*) of (*his father*) Bālādnaśāhara²⁵ did arrest the power of the demons, caused the rulers of Kāmōra²⁶ and Pārasika and Siṃhaḷa and other islands to pay tribute to him; and who was possessed of the *pāṇḍya*²⁷ and all the other mighty insignia of supreme dominion which he had acquired by crushing the lord of all the region of the north.

(L. 19.)—His dear son, Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who even in his childhood acquired a knowledge of all the writings on the use of weapons; who, his grandfather having been victorious in the region of the south, uprooted the thicket of the thorn-bushes which was the assemblage of his foes (*in that direction*); who, following the avocation of war even in front of his father who was desirous of conquering the region of the north, had the edge of his sword worn away by splitting open the foreheads of the elephants of his foes;

who was in the foremost rank in all battles; who was flavoured with the quality of excellent impetuosity; who drove back the bands of his enemies; who,—while acquiring for his father the tokens²⁸ of the (*river*) Gaṅgā and the (*river*) Yamunā and the *pāṇḍya*, and the insignia of the *dhakka*-drum and the *mahā-sūda*, and rubies and elephants, &c.,—having been attacked by his enemies, (*who turned upon him*) while they were fleeing, and having been somehow or other, through the force of destiny, led away (*into great danger*),—by his prowess quelled the anarchical disturbance in his country, and, resembling Vatsarāja in not depending on any other for assistance, came safely through his obstacles and tranquillised the whole world by the support of his own arm; who, being then the lord, became the asylum of the whole world²⁹ by reason of possessing in all their integrity the three constituents of power, and by reason of having broken the pride of his enemies, and by reason of his high-mindedness, and by reason of his blamelessness; and who possesses the *pāṇḍya*, which indicates entire supreme dominion, and the other brilliant (*insignia of*) mighty sovereignty,—thus issues his commands to all people:—

(L. 30.)—"Be it known to you! Six hundred and twenty-two of the Śaka years having expired, and the fourth year of (*our*) increasing and victorious reign being current, and (*our*) victorious camp being located at the city of Rāśanagāra³⁰,—on the day of the full-moon of the month Āshāḍha, the village named Nerūr, situated between the villages of Baḷḷavāḷi and Sahamypura on the bank of the river (?) Viḷige in the (?) Irilige district, has been given by Us, at the request of Nandō..... ya, with the enjoyment of it and with the relinquishment of all opposing claims, to Dēvasvāmī of the (?) Vatsa *gōtra*, the son's son of Rēvasvāmīdikshita and the son of Jannasvāmī. This (*grant*) should be preserved by future kings, who are desirous of acquiring fame, whether they belong to our lineage or to other families,

²² See para. 4 of the introductory remarks to this grant.

²³ See note 21 above. No. XLVIII, compared with No. 16 of Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions, shows that Vinayāditya's campaign against the Pāṇḍya, Kaṣabha, &c., took place in Śaka 615-6.

²⁴ Kārttikōya.

²⁵ Śiva.

²⁶ See note 24 above.

²⁷ I have suggested two possible explanations of *pāṇḍya*.

dhakka or *pāṇḍya*, at Vol. VII., pp. 111 and 215, but the meaning is still doubtful. The explanation suggested by Mr. Hie in his introductory remarks to the Vokkalvi grant will certainly not hold water.

²⁸ *Pada*.

²⁹ *Saṃgrahasthānaka*. This is, I think, the earliest instance of the use of this title, which became, under the Western Chōḷakya, one of the perpetual titles of the family.

³⁰ See note 25 above.

as long as the moon and the sun and the earth and the ocean last, just as if it were a grant made by themselves, bearing in mind that the charms of life and riches, &c., are as evanescent as the lightning."

(L. 37.)—And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the arranger of the *Vēdas*:—Land has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the fruits of it! It is a very easy thing to give one's own property, but the preservation of (the grant of) another is difficult; (if the question is) whether giving or preserving (is the more meritorious act),—preservation is better than giving!³⁷

No. LXXXVIII.

This is another of the Nerūr plates, transcribed and translated in full by General Le-Grand Jacob as No. II. in his paper.

My transcription is from the original plates. They are three in number, about 9½" long by 4½" broad; the edges are raised into rims to protect the writing. The third plate is eaten through by rust in a few places. The other two plates have not suffered in this way. But the whole inscription was evidently very much injured by whatever process was adopted to clean it for General Jacob's *Puṇḍit*: for the hand-copy

attached to his paper, rough as it is, shews that at that time the whole inscription was very legible indeed; whereas now, though it is sufficiently legible to any one who knows the text from other similar grants, to any one else it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to decipher the greater part of it. The ring, which had not been cut when the grant came into my hands, is about ⅜" thick and 4½" in diameter. The seal is circular, about 1½" in diameter, and has, in relief on a countersunk surface, a standing hour, facing to the proper right; a facsimile of it is given on the same plate with the Western Chalukya grant of Nāgavardhana. The characters are of the same type as those of the preceding grant.

It is another Western Chalukya grant of Vijayāditya, and is dated Śaka 627 (A.D. 705-6), in tenth year of his reign. It records the grant of the village of Hikuḷamba or Hikuḷambha. I cannot find any name approaching this on the map; but the inscription tells us that it was in the same *viśaya* or district with Nerūr itself, the name of which seems to have been Iridige, and which, as it is called a *uṭṭarāpāṭha*, appears to have been one of the districts constituting the Seven Koṅkanas.

Transcription.

First plate.

- [¹] Svasti [¹•] Jayaty-āvishkṛitā Vīṣṇōḥ varāhaṁ kshōbbhit-ārṇa(rṇa)vaṁ
dakṣiṇ-ḍanṇa-dānśūtr-āgva-viśrīnta-bhuvanaṁ
[²] vapuḥ [²•] Śrīmatām sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūyamāna-Mānavya-sagōṭrāṇām Hāriti-
putrāṇām sapta-
[³] lōkamāṭṛibhis=sapta-māṭṛibhir=abhiwardāhitānām Kīrtikāya-parirakṣhaṇa-prāpta-
kalyāṇa-pa-
[⁴] raṁparāṇām bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsāḍita-varāha-lāṅghana-ekṣhaṇa-kṣhaṇa-vaśi-
[⁵] kṛit-kṣōḍha-mahābhīṭitām Chalukyānām kulam-alanākarṣṇō(viṣṇō)r-aśvamaḍh-āvabhīṣha-
snāna-pavitrikṛita-gā-
[⁶] trasya Śrī-Pulakūṣivallabha-mahārājasya sūnab parākram-ākṛānta-Vanavāsy-ādi-pa-
[⁷] ra-nṛpati-maṇḍala-praṇibaddha-viśuddha-kīrtiḥ Śrī-Kīrtivarmma-prithivīvallabha-
mahārāja-sa-
[⁸] sy-ātmaja=samara(ātmajaśya samara)-saṁsakta-sakal-ōttarāpath-āvara-Śrī-Harshavard-
dhana-parījay-ōpātta-pa-
[⁹] ramōśvara-śabdasya Satyāśraya-śrī-prithivīvallabha-mahārāj-ādhibīja-paramōśvarasya
[priya-tanasya*]
[¹⁰] prajñāta-nayasya khadga-mātra-sahāyasya Chitrakāṇṭh-ābhīdhāna-pravara-taraṁgamōḥ-
nikōḥ=aiv-ō.
[¹¹] [tā]rit-kṣōḍha-vijigrahōr=avanipati-tritay-āntarīṭh sva-gurō[¹•] śriyam-ātmasā[t-kṛi]-

³⁷ The rest of the grant, including the certificate of the minister in whose office it was written, has been broken off and lost.

- [⁶⁰] r=v[*v*]asudhā bhuktā rājabbis-Sagar-ādibhir-ya(ya)sya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya
 [⁶¹] tadā phalaṁ [[*] Svan-dātūn su-mahach-chhakyān duḥkham-anyaśya pāṇaṁ
 dānān vā pāṇaṁ v-ēti dānā-
 [⁶²] ch=chhrēṣṭa-nupāṇaṁ [[*] Sva-dattān para-dattān vā yō harēta vasundharān
 shashtīm varsha-sahasrāṇi
 [⁶³] viśāhāyān jāyatō kṛimāḥ [[*] Mahā-sāndhi-vigrahika-Nira[va*]dyapūṣyavallabhēna
 līkhitam-i-
 [⁶⁴] datā āsannān ||*

Translation.

Hail! Victorious is the form, which was that of a boar, that was manifested of (*the god*) Vishṇu,—which troubled the ocean, and which had the earth resting upon the tip of its up-lifted right-hand task!

(L. 2.)—The son of the great king Śrī-Pulakōśivallabha,—whose body was purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices, and who adorned the family of the Chalikyās, who are glorious; (&c., as in No. LXXVII),—was Śrī-Kīrtivarman, the favourite of the world, the Great King, (&c., as in No. LXXVII).

(L. 7.)—His son was Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord,—who had acquired the title of 'Supreme Lord' (&c., as in No. LXXVII).

(L. 9.)—[*His dear son*] was Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who was conversant with the art of government; &c., as in No. LXXVII.*

(L. 14.)—His dear son was Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who, having at the command of his father (&c., as in No. LXXVII).

(L. 18.)—His dear son, Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who even in his childhood acquired a knowledge of all the writings on the use of weapons; (&c., as in No. LXXVII*),—thus issues his commands to all people:—

(L. 29.)—"Be it known to you! Six hundred and twenty-seven of the Śaka years having expired, and the tenth year of (*our*) increasing and victorious reign being current,—

the village named (?) Hikulaṁba, between the villages of Kumāra and pura, in the mahāsaptama** district of (?) Iridige, has been given by us, at the request of the glorious Upendra, to eight Brāhmanas who are thoroughly acquainted with the *Vēdas* and the *Vēdāṅgas*. Their names and *gōtras* are declared:—It has been given to Dēvasvāmī of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, and Karkasvāmī of the Kauśika *gōtra*, and Yajñasvāmī of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, and Nāgammasvāmī of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, and Dēvasvāmī of the Maudgalya *gōtra*, and (?) Gargasvāmī of the Ātrēya *gōtra*, and Rudrasvāmī of the (?) Kāśyapa *gōtra*, and Dāsavarmā of the Vatsa *gōtra*. This (*grant*) [*should be preserved*] by future kings, (&c., as in No. LXXVII)."

(L. 38.)—And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the arranger of the *Vēdas*:—Land has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; (&c.)! It is a very easy thing to give one's own property, (&c.)! He is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another!

(L. 42.)—This charter has been written by Niravadyapūṣyavallabha, the high minister entrusted with the arrangement of peace and war.

No. LXXIX.

This is the last of the Nerūr plates, noticed by General LeGrand Jacob as No. IV in his paper, but not published in detail by him.

My transcription is from the original plates. They are three in number, about 7½" long by 4½" broad; but a good deal of the first plate, including the whole of the first line, has been broken off and lost. The edges are slightly raised into rims to protect the writing; the inscription, however, is here and there so much worn away as to be very difficult to read. The ring, which had not been cut when the grant

* But omitting any mention of the Kalabhras.

** But omitting the words mahāśāla-chakras.

** lit., 'the great seventh.'

came into my hands, is about $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick and $3\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. The seal is slightly oval, about 1" by $\frac{3}{4}$ ", and has, in relief on a countersunk surface, a standing boar facing to the proper right; a facsimile of it is given on the same plate with the Western Chalukya grant of Nāgavardhana. The characters are of the same type as those of No. XXVIII, at Vol. VI, p. 75. The orthography is very bad; so much so that, coupling this with the peculiarity of style in ll. 38 to 44

and with the omissions in the following lines, I am somewhat inclined to doubt whether this is altogether a genuine grant.

It is an undated Western Chalukya grant, of the time of Vijayāditya, and records the grant of the village of Malavūr by his son Vikramāditya II. This village must probably be looked for somewhere in the Koṅkaṇ; but I cannot find any name suggestive of it in the Map.

Transcription.

First plate.

- [¹] [Svasti || Jayaty-āviśhkrītaṁ Viśhṣṇu-vārāhaṁ kṣhōbbhī-āraṇyavāṁ dakṣhiṇ-ōnnata]-
 [²] [dāṁśhṣṭr-āgra-viśrānta-bh]uvanāṁ vapa[³] [i*] Śr[īmatāṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstū]-
 [⁴] [yamāna-Mānavya]-saṁgōtra(trā)ṇa(nāṁ) Ha(hā)riti(tī)-putra(trā)ṇāṁ sapta-[lōkamā]-
 [⁵] [trībhīṣ=sp]t[ā-mātri]bhīr-abhiyaddhi(rddhī)ta(tā)nā[m*] Kātti(rtti)kēya-parira-
 kṣh[āṇa-prāpta]-
 [⁶] kalya(lyā)ṇa-pa[ra]m[ā] para(rā)ṇa(nāṁ) bhagavan-Na(nā)ra(rā)yaṇa-prana(sā)da-
 sam[āśāḍita]-
 [⁷] vara(rā)ba-la(lā)ṇchhan-ēksaṇa-kṣhaṇa-vaś(śi)krīta-a(ā)śēsha-mahi(hī)[bhṛi]-
 [⁸] tāṁ Chalukyāna(nāṁ) kulam=ala[m*] karishṣṇu-āśvamedh-āśvabhṛitha-sna(snā)na-
 [⁹] pavitri(trī)kṛita-gātrasya Śrī-Pole²⁰kōśivallabha-mahāra(rā)ja[rya*] sūnū(nuḥ) para(rā)-
 [¹⁰] kram-a(ā)kra(krā)nta-Vanava(vā)sy-ādi-pa[ra]nra(nṛi)pati-maṇḍala-prapibaddha-viśud[dh]a-
 kī-
 [¹¹] [rtāḥ Śrī-K]īrt[ī]virmma-pri(pri)thivivallabha-mahāra(rā)ja=tasy-ātma[jasya samara]-
 [¹²] [anśhakti-sa]kal-ōtāra(rā)path-ēśvara-Śrī-Hā(ha)ṣhavadhāna-pa[rā]jay-ōpā]-
 [¹³] [tā-pa]ramēśvara-sābdasya Satya(tyā)ś[r]aya-ś[r]i-[prithivi]-

Second plate; first side.

- [¹⁴] [va]llabha-mahārā[j-ādhīrā]ja-paramēśvarasya priya-tanayasya pra[jñāta]-
 [¹⁵] nayasya [khadga-mā]tra-sa[hā]yasya Chitrakāṇṭh-ābbidhāna-pravara-tu[raṅga]-
 [¹⁶] [mōḡ-nikē]n=ni-v=ōtesa(tsā)rit-āśēsha-vijigishōr=avanipati-tritay-a(ā)ntari[tāṁ sva-gu]-
 [¹⁷] [rōḥ] śrī[rya]m-ātmanā(sā)t-kri(kṛi)tya prabha(bhā)va-kulō(li)śa-dalō(li)ta-Pa(pā)ṇḍya-
 Chōḷa-Kēra-
 [¹⁸] la-[Ka]ja*]bhra²¹-prabhṛiti-bbūbhṛid-adā(da)bhra-vibhramasy=a(ā)n-āny-a(ā)vanata-
 Ka(kā)ṇchī-pati-ma-
 [¹⁹] kuta-chumbhita-pād-āmbojasya Vikramāditya-Satya(tyā)śraya-śrī-pri-
 [²⁰] thivivallabha-mahāra(rā)ja-ādhīra(rā)ja-parama(mē)śvara-bhaṭṭa(tā)rakasya
 [²¹] priya-sū[nōḥ] pitar=a(ā)j[rya]yā Ba(bā)lō(lē)nduśēkharasya Ta(tā)ra(ā)rūtir=iva [dai]-
 [²²] [tya-balam-ati-samu]ḍ[dh]atāṁ trō(trā)ra(rā)ja-Ka(kā)ṇchīpati-balam=avastabhya ka-
 [²³] radīkṛita-Kamōra-Pārasika-Sim[ha]-ādi-dvī(dvī)p-a(ā)dhīpasya sakal-ōtāra(rā)pa[tha]-
 [²⁴] [nātha-mathan-ōpārjīti-ōrijīti-pāḍidhva]j-ādi-samasta-pa(pā)[ramāśvarya]-
 [²⁵] [chihnasya Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya-śrī-prithivivallabha-ma]hāra(rā)ja-a(ā)[dhīrāja]-

Second plate; second side.

- [²⁶] paramēśvara-bhaṭṭārakasya priy-ātmajaś-ānīśava ē[v-ādhigat-āśēsh-ā]-
 [²⁷] strā-śāstrō dakṣhiṇ-āśā-vijayini pitāmahō samunmōḷita-nikh[īla-ka]-
 [²⁸] ṇṭaka-saṁhatir=uttarāpatha-vi[ji][gī*]śhōr=gu(ggu)rōr=agrata ēv=āhava-vyā[param-ā]-
 [²⁹] charann=ara(rā)ti-gaja-[gha]-āpāṇa=viśkrīyama(mā)ṇa-kra(kṛi)pāṇa-dha(dhā)ra[s=sama]-

²⁰ The form of *le* here is the same form that is used in the same word in l. 8 of No. LII (Vol. VIII, p. 44), and in *kurilepa*, for *kurilepasta*, in l. 5 of No. LVII (id.,

p. 285), and in *kurilepasta* in l. 6 of No. LVIII (id., p. 286). See the remarks at Vol. VIII, p. 237, para. 6.

²¹ See note 21 above.

- [²²] grāha²².vīgrāh-a(ā)[grō*]śśas=sat-sa(sā)ha[sa-ra]sika[pa(rām)]ukhikṛita-śśatru-maṇḍa(lō)
 [²⁰] Gaṁgā-Yamaṇḍa-pāḍidhva-ja-pada(Pḍa)-ḍa(ḍha)kkā-mahāśabda-chihna-(mā)-
 [²¹] pīkya-mataśga-j-ā(din-pitṛiā)j-t-kurvas=parai[pa]a(tā)yama(mā)n[air=ā]-
 [²²] sa(sā)dyā kathamapi vidhi-va[ā]ḍ-apa[nitō]=pi prata(tā)pa(pā)d-ēva, vishaya-[pra]-
 [²³] kōpam-a-ra(rā)jakam=ntsa(tā)rayan=Vatsara(rā)ja iv=a(ā)n-apōkshīt-a(ā)para-ma(sā)[hā]-
 [²⁴] [ya]kas=ta[d-ava]grahān=nirggatya sva-bhuj-a(ā)vashtambha-lipra(pra)sa(sā)dhī(di)t-
 āśē[sha-vi]śvambhara[h]
 [²⁵] [pra]bhur=aka(kha)ḍḍita-śakti-trayaiva(tvā)ch=chhastra-mada-bhāmjanatva(tvā)d-uda(dā)-
 ratva(tvā)n=niravadya[tvūd=ya]
 [²⁶] samasta-bhuvan-a(ā)śraya-śrī²⁶-s-sakala-pa(pā)ramō(mai)śvarya-vyakti-hēta-pa(pā)līdva-
 (dhva)j-j[ādy-ujjva]-
 [²⁷] la-pra(prā)jya-ra(rā)jyō
 Vijayāditya-Satya(tyā)śraya-śrī-pri(pri)thivivalla-
 Third plate.
 [²⁸] [bha]-maha(hā)ra(rā)j-ādhira(rā)ja-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭa(tā)rakas-sarvva=śvam-ājña(jñā)-
 payati [!]
 [²⁹] [Vi]ditam=asta vō=ama(smā)bhah(bhā) su(sū)nu[h*] Vikra[mā]ditya-Satya(tyā)śra[ya*]-
 śrī-pri(pri)thi-
 [³⁰] vivallabha-maha(hā)ra(rā)j-a(ā)dhira(rā)ja-paramēśvara[h*] sarvva(rvā)[n = śvam=ā*]jñā-
 (jñā)payati [!]
 [³¹] Śākānti datta Mahāva(vō)ra-nā[ma-grāma]* sa-bhōga(h) sarvva-ba(bā)dhā-pari(hārō)
 ḍa[tiāh]
 [³²] Kāvu(sc. ka)ḍḍinya-sagōtra(trā)ya Bamaṇḍasa(svā)mina[h*] putra(sc. putrāya)

 [³³] dīkshita-Sarvva-Āditya(tyā)[ya*] bha(cha)ta(tur)-vidya-sama³³.
 [³⁴] piya [!]* [Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā*] ra(rā)jabhī [Sagar-ādibhī]* yasya yasya
 ta(ya)da(dā) ba(bhā)mi[h*] tas[ra]n [tasya*] [tadā pha]-
 [³⁵] lam [!]* Satia(sc. sva-dattā) para-datta(tā)[tā*] vā yō harē[ta*] va[su*]ndharām
 [śashā-vārsha-suharāpi viśṭāyām*] jāya-³⁵.
 [³⁶] ma(tō) krimi[h*] [!]*

Translation.

Hail! Victorious is the form, which was that of a boar, that was manifested of (the god) Vishnu,—which troubled the ocean, and which had the earth resting upon the tip of its uplifted right-hand trunk!

(L. 2).—The son of the Great King Śrī-Polekēśivallabha,—whose body was purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices, and who adorned the family of the Chalukyas, who are glorious; (&c. as in No. LXXVII).—was Śrī-Kirtti-varmā, the favourite of the world, the Great King, (&c., as in No. LXXVII).

(L. 10).—His son was Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord,—who had acquired the title of 'Supreme Lord' (&c., as in No. LXXVII).

(L. 13).—His dear son was Vikramā-ditya-Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who was conversant with the art of government; (&c., as in No. LXXVII).

(L. 20).—His dear son was Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who, having at the command of his father (&c., as in No. LXXVII).

(L. 25).—His dear son, Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who even in his childhood acquired a knowledge of all the writings on the use of weapons; (&c., as in No. LXXVII)—thus issues his commands to all people:—

(L. 39).—"Be it known to you! By Us, (Our)

²² This syllable, ha, is superfluous.

²⁶ This syllable, śrī, is superfluous.

³⁵ Four or five letters are quite uncertain here.

³³ Three or four letters are quite uncertain here.

³⁵ Two or three letters seem to have been engraved here but they are quite illegible. If engraved, they were superfluous.

son Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, thus issues his commands to all people:—The village named Maṇjavāra has been given⁶⁷, with the enjoyment of it and with the relinquishment of all opposing claims, to Sarvāditya-

dikshita, of the Kaundinya gōtra, who is the four Vēlas, and who is the son of Bammāṇḍasvāmī⁶⁸,"

(L. 44.)—[Land has been enjoyed] by [many] kings, [commencing with Sāgara]; (&c.)! He is born as a worm [in order for the duration, of sixty thousand years], (&c.)!

BUDDHIST SYMBOLS, &c.

BY E. THOMAS, F.R.S., CORRESPONDANT DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

(Continued from p. 65.)

I have lately availed myself of the opportunity of studying the collection of the Amarāvati Marbles, at present in the India Museum at South Kensington, with a view to determine the nature and bearing of the more popular symbols and devices appearing on these sculptures, so closely associated with the old homes of the Āndhras—in the hope of illustrating and explaining the parallel emblems on the series of coins, pertaining to proximate localities, recently under consideration.

My first impression, derived from a very cursory examination of these sculptures, led me to conclude, that whatever extraneous elements might have been introduced from time to time, that the Tope itself had been primarily devoted to the cause of solar worship. The dominant circular pattern indeed was obviously suggestive of such a purpose.

It need not be reiterated that the sun constituted one of the earliest objects of worship among primitive nations, as in the ordinary course it would present itself to the untutored mind, as the "natural selection." How many races of men intuitively adored the sun, or how many classes of the priesthood have taken "the light of the world" as the basis of their religion, it would be hard to say.

As the Greeks and Romans created many personifications of the sun-god, so the Indian Āryans recognised its leading representative deities by the various names of Sūrya, Savitṛi, Aditya and Viṣṇu, besides assigning many of

the attributes of the god of light in reduced gradations to several of the minor members of the Indian Olympian.

In India at large the prevalence, if not universality, in primeval times, of the worship of the sun is attested by the survival of generic names, the concurrent testimony of home tradition and inscriptions, the evidence of travellers, and the more material endorsement of sculpture.

We can roughly complete a goodly circle of geographical proof from the earliest Sauras of Saurāshtra, by way of the Temple of the Sun at Multān, to Gayā and Orissa on the east coast, and back again to the written testimony of the Western copper-plates, and the caste-marks on the foreheads of the women in the oldest painting at Ajantā.⁶⁹

To revert to the symbols on the Amarāvati Tope.

THE WHEEL.

The leading and most important device among the objects of worship is what it has hitherto been the custom in modern parlance, to designate as the "Buddhist wheel." To my apprehension these carvings were not designed to represent the "Wheel of the Law," or any such fanciful machine, but represent the conventional symbol of the sun, in the form of a wheel, as indicating his onward revolution. At times it is difficult to discriminate the sculptor's intention, as to whether he designed to make the wheel like the sun, or the sun like a wheel,⁷⁰ but one of the most striking examples of the presiding motive is

⁶⁷ *Śilānti*, l. 41, meaning not apparent, unless the word is a chronogram containing the date of 615. Śaka 615, however, was not in Vijayāditya's reign; and I know of no other instance in which a Chalukya date is expressed by this method.

⁶⁸ *sc.*, 'Brahmāṇḍasvāmī.'

⁶⁹ Burgess, *Arch. Survey: Notes on Ajantā*, 1879, pls. viii, ix, x.

⁷⁰ The earliest Chaldean type of the sun was formed of a simple ring or circle, like the Indian Sūrya-mandala, but it was speedily improved upon by the addition of cross-

lines within its circumference, and these again were superseded by ornamental double lines with a circular centre-boss. (Rawlinson's *Ancient Mesopotamia*, vol. I. p. 141.) In this latter form it is figured at Bavian, in association with the half-moon and 7 planets (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 1853, p. 211). In Layard's *Culte de Mithra* (Paris, 1847), endless varieties of the symbolic forms of the sun are collected, chiefly of more or less ornamental patterns, but in one instance (pl. xxxix. fig. 6), the sun is represented by a simple six-spoke wheel, with the worshipper in front and the half moon to the left on a similar pedestal.

afforded by the parallel figures at Bhilsa. In pl. xliii. Fig. 5, of Mr. Fergusson's work,² the wheel is ornamented on the outer edge of the felly with a succession of arrow points, reminding one at once of the "arrows of Apollo," or the blaze of the sun's rays,* an addition which, in the solid form, would have sadly impeded the roll of a mundane wheel. At Amaravati these arrow-heads are replaced by a succession of tridents (pl. xviii. fig. 7), and the multiplicity of the sub-divisions of the wheel itself are far more suggestive of the rays of the sun, than of useful wooden spokes. Again, in one instance of the examples of the various designs of wheels at Sanchi, we find the spokes converted into something very like flames of fire.³

The arrow points are still more marked and directly indicative of their purport in the numerous instances of the representations of suns on the coins, especially in the Ujjain series, whose mintage locality is determined by the insertion of the word *Ujjaini*, in Lāt characters. A large number of specimens of these pieces have been collected and figured in *Journal Asiatic Society, of Bengal*, vol. VII. plate lxi. These examples abound in the various symbols and enigmatical emblems of the sun, such as the local imagination delighted to associate with his various powers. The barbed arrow points, in these instances, start from the central wheel and project considerably beyond the felly.* In one case (No. 1) we have confirmatory evidence of the local reference for the four-fold sun in the repetition of that number of smaller rings, within each of the four circles connected by the cross-lines of the standard *susatika* pattern.

² Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, pla. xxi. 1, xxi. 1.

* The arrow heads are of two kinds, and are made to alternate from the rounded cutting point, depicted in Mr. Fergusson's Sanchi plate xxxvi, to the simple unbarbed point represented in the combats in plate xxxviii. See also arrows in the *Rig Veda*, v. i. xvi. Wilson, vol. IV. p. 26.

³ Fergusson, *Tree and Serp. Wor.*, pl. xliii. fig. 5. See also Genl. Cunningham, *Arch. Report*, vol. III. pl. xxi. n., and Col. J. Low, *Transactions Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. III. plate 3.

⁴ Nos. 2, 11, 16, 21, 36, &c.

⁵ *Dhammacakkavāṇa*, Dominion of the Law. The well known phrase *dhammacakkavāṇa pameṭṭi* is usually rendered "to turn the wheel of the law," but that this was its original meaning I consider extremely improbable. *Pameṭṭi* does not mean "to turn" so much as "to set going," "to establish," &c. and *cakka* is probably used in its sense of "domain" or "dominion." It is most important to bear in mind that this famous phrase is used not of the whole period of Buddha's ministry, but only of his first sermon in which he "began" or "set on foot" his religion. Ajātasatta is reported to have said in reply to the priests about the contemplated general council: "It is well, venerable men, you may rely upon me, let mine be the

We must now examine, on the other hand, what title the Buddhists can show to establish their claim to the worship of the wheel, as an essential part of their own system, except in so far as it was borrowed, in the way of an appropriation, from the earlier devisers and legitimate employers of the symbol.

A certain amount of confusion has been introduced into this enquiry by the fact that the *chakra* or 'wheel' was not only supposed to represent the sun or the wheel of the sun's chariot, but it had also a worldly significance of 'universal' sovereignty, or the kingdom of the entire circle of the known world.⁶ It is in this latter sense that Buddha himself is reported to have used the word, when he says "Bury me like a *Chakravartī Rāja*,"⁷ that is as a "king," not as a saint: and, as he contemplated at the time, no worship of his mortal remains, so we may fairly infer that he did not anticipate the imaginary wheel, he merely claimed in virtue of his royal extraction, would be elevated into one of the symbols of the faith he taught.

Barnouf,⁸ Foucaux,⁹ and other early investigators were not very clear in their discrimination of the contrasted import of the term *chakra*, but later authorities altogether discard the claims of the legitimate Buddhists to any such piece of machinery as a sacred wheel.¹⁰ Spence Hardy, while recognising the *Chakravartī* as a universal emperor, has no such word as a "wheel" in his index.¹¹

Mr. Beal, who has consistently rejected any idea of the virtue of a wheel, as an aid to Buddhist faith, sums up the relative bearings of the question in the following emphatic terms:—"I

domain of temporal authority, yours the domain of religion."—*Children's Pali Dictionary*, 1875; sub voce.

⁶ *Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, vol. VIII. p. 1006. Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. I. p. 167.

⁷ Barnouf, tom. II. pp. 308, 357-8, 416.

⁸ *Histoire de Bouddha Sakya Muni* (Paris, 1849) pp. lxi. 14 s. 103, &c. Le trésor de la roue divine apparaît dans la région orientale, avec mille rais, une circonférence et un moyen, toute d'or, non fabriquée par un chariot, et de la hauteur de sept tāsas (cap. iii. p. 15). Bāhu Rājendra-lāla, in his translation of *Lalitā-Vistara*, is decided in the opinion that "The Legend of the *Chakra ratna*" is no doubt an after-confrance intended to adapt the title for a Buddha prince," p. 28.

⁹ I conclude that no one has hitherto ventured to suggest the similitude of *Wheels of the Law*, to the hand-revolving Buddhist praying-cylinders, or to the larger water-power mills which call nature to aid in the performance of the religious rites of entire village communities, in making the prayer-inscribed drum, attached to the water wheel, speed their devotions to heaven. See General Cunningham's *Laddi*, 1854, p. 375.

¹⁰ *Manual of Buddhism*, London, 1853, pp. 30, 126. See also *Eastern Monarchies* (1850), pp. 37, 82.

proceed to make some reference to the scenes of the sculptures on the gates and beams at Sanchi. But before doing so, I would start the query, whether there is any proof to be gathered from the character of these sculptures, that the followers of Buddha worshipped either the Tree or Nāga? If they did, nothing in the world would more effectually destroy the theory of their religion. The Buddhist convert, theoretically at least, acknowledged no superior to himself in heaven or earth.¹¹⁵

M. E. Senart, who has more recently gone over the whole ground of Indian symbolical devices, in his *La Légende du Buddha*, expresses his conclusions and convictions in an equally positive way: "Quoiqu'il en puisse être, l'expression *chakravā pravarayitū* forme la partie fondamentale et vraiment significative dans notre formule. Tout nous interdit de séparer son emploi dans la légende du Buddha de son application, précédemment examinée, au Chakravartin. Dans la roue du Chakravartin nous avons sans peine reconnu le disque de Vishnu et les images empruntées à la roue solaire; la roue du Buddha n'a point à l'origine d'autre sens; c'est en sa qualité de véritable Chakravartin que le Buddha la met en mouvement (*Rig Ved.* viii. 5, 8)."¹¹⁶

I quote M. Senart, in this instance, on account of his more comprehensive knowledge of Buddhism and Buddhist literature. I have ordinarily sought to form my own independent opinion from the Indian point of view, of questions before us.

¹¹⁵ J. R. A. S. (N.S.) vol. V. (1871) page 163. See also *The Travels of Fa-hsien*, (London, 1869) pp. 108, 127. Gen. Cunningham, in somewhat the same sense, remarks: "With respect to the title of this last work of Mr. Fergusson, 'Tree and Serpent Worship,' I submit that it is not borne out by the illustrations; and further, that as serpent worship was antagonistic to Buddhism, such a title is not applicable to a description of the religious scenes sculptured on a Buddhist Stūpa."—*Archæological Reports*, (Sinhā, 1871), vol. I. page xiv.

¹¹⁶ *Journal Asiatique*, 1875, vol. VI. p. 116.

¹¹⁷ Since this was written, my suspicions of the authenticity and good faith of those labels has been signally confirmed. The more important ones are, in many cases, obviously after-insertions, cut in at hazard in any vacant space available. Furnishing, indeed, a new proof of the cuckoo propensities of the Buddhists.

¹¹⁸ The author of the *Tobakht-i-Nāhri*, in advertising to the partial destruction of the Bhilsa Tope by Altunshāh A. C. 631, A. D. 1233, adds the information that it originally took 300 years to build, and stood at a height of 105 pā.

The passage in the Persian text runs as follows (Calcutta Text, 1863, p. 176):—

و حصن و شهر بهیلسارا بگرفت و بتخراب کشید

Undue importance, I think, has been attributed in later arguments on the subject to the illustrative label attached to one of the scenes at Bārāhū; comprising the words *Bhagavato dharmā chakram*. This definition of the purport of the sculpture would, undoubtedly, be of the highest importance, if we could only fix the period of its incision, or if we could pretend to determine how soon after the death of Śākya Muni, the first adaptation and appropriation of "wheel worship" was received into the Buddhist formula.¹¹⁹

If the Amarāvati Tope took anything like the three centuries to finish, which is claimed for its fellow mound at Sanchi,¹²⁰ there was room enough, in all consciences, for the growth and interchange of religious and their authorized symbols. Such an inference would, in a measure, account for the apparent variety of creeds depicted in the several groups of sculptures, and explain, in the plenitude of pilgrim's gifts of "rails and pillars," the reason for the slow progress of, what England irreverently calls, the preaching-up of a church steeple.

The 123 nominal rolls, mostly proclaiming small *dānas* or donations collected as a preliminary list in Genl. Cunningham's *Bhilsa Tope*,¹²¹ sufficiently indicates the law of progress in this instance. But we have more direct and material evidence to this end, in the appropriation of a sculptured stone of ancient date by the Buddhists themselves, where they are seen to have taken advantage of the unadorned back of a slab of a much earlier period of art, with an original design of a tree and Vāhṇu padas—to

سال بود لا آنرا عمارت می کردند و رفعت او بقدر قصد و پنج گز بود خراب کرد

Major Raverty is inclined to consider that it was the Temple at Ujjain, that took 300 years to finish; but the text, under his own interpretation, does not sanction such an inference, even if the great elevation of the structure alluded to by the Muhammadan author, was not altogether opposed to the conclusion. *Translation of the Tobakht-i-Nāhri* (1875), p. 631; see also Elliot's *Histories*, vol. II. p. 228.

While advertising to the Bhilsa Tope, I desire to advert to an opinion expressed by Mr. Hall of the solar indications associated with the name and the place:

"I have discovered that, in the middle ages, the sun was worshipped in Central India, under the designation of Bhāilla,—from *bha*, 'light,' and the Prakrit termination *illa*, denoting possession. There was a temple to Bhāilla at or near Bhilsa, which I take to be a corruption of *bhāilla* + *ien*, or *bhāillien*."—Mr. Hall, *Indian Purāṇa*, vol. II, p. 150. See also *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, (1862), p. 112. The transcription of the name as *Bhāillien*, *Mahā-Bhāillien*, &c. by Reinand, quoting Al-Bīrūnī, seems to support Mr. Hall's pronunciation. See Elliot's *Histories*, vol. I. p. 30.

¹²¹ *Bhilsa Tope*, London, 1854,—plates xvi, xvii, xviii, pp. 223, &c.

figure on the reverse in finer lines and more elaborate treatment, their conventional representation of the standing form of Śākya Muni.¹⁶

VISHNU PADAS.

The hollowness of the Buddhist pretensions to the origination of this popular symbolic combination, was exposed some fifty years ago by a very competent judge, who examined the consistency of the faith from the point of view presented in extra-Gangetic or Siamese localities. Captain J. Low concludes his observations on the subject in these terms:—"To whatever country or people we may choose to assign the original invention of the *Phrabat*, (foot of Buddha,) it exhibits too many undoubted Hindu symbols to admit of our fixing its fabrication upon the worshippers of the latter Buddha; of whose positive dogmas it is rather subversive than otherwise, by encouraging polytheism."¹⁷

In somewhat the same sense, our latest commentator on these matters, Dr. Rājendralāla Mitra, freely admits that, "on the whole, the marks on the *Buddha-pad* bear a closer resemblance to Hindu than to Buddhist religion," and I am disposed to accept the authority of the inscription,¹⁸ and to believe that the stone, though popularly called the foot of Buddha, was put up by the Hindus.¹⁹

In this instance, in short, the Buddhists merely acted, as other people, before and since, have had a tendency to do, i.e. to follow the sensible, if not inevitable, course of conciliating the local races by incorporating or assimilating the outward signs and symbols of a pre-existing faith.

We learn from the collection of Ujjain coins, arranged by Prinsep, above adverted to (*J. A. S. Beng.* vol. VII. pl. lxi.), that in covering their dies with figures and forms, *dharmas* and *gautas*, the indigenous races admitted in combination many and various devices having reference to the manifest power of the sun, and that its

emblems predominated in the general selection, if not to the exclusion, of conflicting symbols. We know what importance has been attached to caste marks in India, from time immemorial, we have seen that the *chakras* of the Jain Tirthankaras was of more consequence than the outline of the special statue itself;²⁰ and the question then arises, as to whether these various devices are not merely the discriminating sectarian emblems adopted from time to time, by sub-divisions of worshippers of a common object? This leads on to the consideration of the further query, as to whether all the four or five devices engraved on the soles of "the two feet" may not emanate from one and the same idea, and carry a like significance? The central wheel is many-rayed and sun-like, the closeness of the spokes or rays seeming to indicate quick rotation. The *sastika*—here repeated over and over again, even unto its appearance on the toes—has already been noticed in its connection with the sun, the circle surmounted by the *trishula* is found to be a near counterpart of the figure of the crude god, in the temple of Jagannāth.²¹

It forms a prominent object of devotion placed at the head of a cone, in very many of the sculptures at Amarāvati,²² and it will be remembered that it proves to be identical in form with the ornaments which constitute the outside rays of the wheel of the sun in the same series, taking, in effect, the place of the more pronounced arrow-rays at Sanchi, but a strange confirmation of its import and direct connexion with the sun is afforded by the so-called "Aśoka railing," at Buddha Gayā,²³ where the lower compartment is devoted to the chariot and four horses of Śārya himself, with his attendant archers;²⁴ while the upper storey of the edifice represents a covered niche or shrine in which the ball or circle with the superimposed *trishula* object stands alone and

¹⁶ Fergusson, *Tree and Scorp.* II. v., pl. lxxviii, figs. 2, 3, page 291; Indian Museum Slab, No. 56.

¹⁷ Captain J. Low, "On Buddha and the Phrabat," *Transactions R. A. S.* vol. III. p. 64, (March 20th, 1830). See also *J. R. A. S. (N. S.)* vol. IX. pp. 65 and 163.

¹⁸ Sanskrit Inscription, dated 1390 Śaka.

¹⁹ Buddha Gayā (1878), p. 127.

²⁰ The Babylonians are remarkable for the extent to which they affected symbolism in religion. In the first place, they attached to each god a special mystic number, which was used as his emblem, and may even stand for his name in an inscription.

²¹ Further, each god seems to have had one or more emblematic signs by which he could be pictorially symbolized. The cylinders are full of such forms, which are

often crowded into every vacant space where room could be found for them.—Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. III. p. 467.

²² Gen. Cunningham *Bhiles Topes*, p. 358; *J. R. A. S.* vol. VI. p. 450.

²³ Fergusson, T. and S. W., plates lviii. to lxxii, page 192; *Bhiles Topes*, pl. xxxii, figs. 4, 5, 10.

²⁴ Rājendralāla Mitra, *Buddha Gayā*, (Calcutta, 1878), pl. I., p. 160. I am bound to add to my interpretation of these sculptures, that the Bābū does not see anything "solar" in the leading figure in the chariot, p. 162. He does not seem to have taken any notice of the upper compartment. *J. R. A. S. (N. S.)* vol. III. p. 161.

²⁵ The archers appear to be females. The bows are of the same form as those on our coins.

undivided in its glory," and seems to declare itself as the direct crypto-emblem of the more definite embodiment of the god in the associate sculpture.

The fourth prominent symbol in the order of the general combination, of which there are two examples on each foot, consists of a diagram, which may be reduced into the simple alphabetical elements of \ddot{r} (*ra*) or a possible crypto \ddot{y} (*ya*). I fear that it would be useless at present to speculate on the meaning of the compound.

It may be the counterpart of a more Chinese-looking device, of a square pedestal or box, surmounted by a T, which figures on the leading class of Behat coins, and which General Cunningham pronounces—he does not say on what authority—to be “an emblem of the sun,”²¹ a conclusion which is, to a certain extent, supported by the new evidence now adduced of the real import of the combination of the central sun and four surrounding tridents, which symbol is found occasionally to supply its place above the back of the deer.²²

In the Assyrian system a nearly similar device constituted the ideograph of “le nom du dieu de l’onction royale,” and at other times stood for the royal sign of Nebo,²³ but it would be difficult to establish any direct connexion between the two. My own later impressions were that it was an early conventional type of the Sacred Tree, for which conclusion the appearance, in some instances, of a railing on the lower box seemed to give authority.²⁴

Of the minor and subordinate devices which contribute to the filling-in of the general pattern, we may notice the insertion of four dots at the corners of the front *Swastika* near the toes, and the repetition of four flowers similar to those in the centre of the wheel towards the heels of the feet.

There are two examples of these full size

ornamented patterns in the Amaravati collection in the India Museum. The purely archaic *padas* seem to have been more simple in outline, and the ornamentation is confined to the central figure of a wheel.²⁵ Whereas in after times, we find the *Vaishnavi* Brahmans expanding the number of symbolic signs into nineteen, commencing with the half-moon, but ignoring the more potent sun, except under his typical device of the *Swastika*. The *Skanda Purāṇa* even omits the wheel²⁶ substituting, perhaps, the discus, but the former leading symbol is invariable in the majority of examples. The multiplication of figures on the sacred foot finally reached the extreme Siamese limit of “108, or more” objects of devotion. It is important to observe how these later adaptations of the normal outline invariably recognised the central wheel as denoting the sun, inasmuch as effect is given to the external flames in the revolving manner already noticed, so that we find Captain Low observing “according to some authorities the Hindū *chakras* was a circular mass of fire, instinct with life, darting forth flames on every side.”²⁷

THE HORSE.

The coursers of Apollo find equine representatives in the mythology of the *Vedas*, but their number is, at times, increased to seven, and, at others reduced to a single steed, who is endued with many of the attributes of *Sūrya* himself.

“The bright red horse” avowedly symbolizes “the Sun,”²⁸ as in the Persian system “le soleil, souverain, coursier rapide, oeil d’Ahura-Mazda; Mithra, chef des provinces,” &c. embodied the same idea.²⁹ Professor Wilson remarks that “the hymns addressed to *Dadhikrā* or *Dadhikrāvan*, contemplate the sun under the type of a horse,”³⁰ and Dr. Muir concurs in such an interpretation where *Ushas* (the Dawn) is said to bring the eye of the gods, and lead on the bright “and beautiful horse, by which the

²¹ Genl. Cunningham in Vol. III. of his *Archæological Reports* (1871-2) pl. xxvii, has given an engraving of the lower portion of this column. He does not, however, seem to have noticed the important bearing of the details of the upper portion of the pillar, p. 97. See also Kittoe, *J. A. S. Bengal*, vol. XVI. (1847), p. 337.

²² *Bhāṣa* Types, p. 354.

²³ *Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, vol. VII. pl. xxiii. fig. 6; and *Bhāṣa* Types, pl. xxii. fig. 10.

²⁴ Mément, *Notes propres Assyriens*, p. 22.

²⁵ *J. A. S. (N. S.)* vol. I. p. 481.

²⁶ Fergusson, T. and S. W., pl. lxxviii. fig. 2, India Museum, No. 56.

²⁷ Rajendralala Mitra, *Buddha Gayā*, p. 126.

²⁸ *Transactions A. S. vol. III.* p. 72. The quotation is from Wilkins's *Bhāṣa*. A Dallmeyer photograph of a

very elaborate copy of the foot-print of Buddha, near Nophbury in Siam, was published by Messrs. Trübner some time ago in their *Record*. This drawing shows the Central Sun with great distinctness. The external flames are made to curve, as in Col. Low's example, as if to indicate the rotary motion of the luminary.

²⁹ Max Müller's “*The Sacred Hymns of the Brahmans*,” London, 1880, p. 9, B-V. i. 6, 1.

³⁰ Burnouf *Œuvres*, p. 351. The Massagets “worship the sun only of all the gods, and sacrifice horses to him; and this is the reason of this custom; they think it right to offer the swiftest of all animals to the swiftest of all gods.” Herodotus I. 216. Compare Wilson, *Rig Veda* vol. II. pp. 112, 121, and preface pp. xii. et seq.; Wilson's *Collected Works*, vol. IV. pp. ii. 353; and Burgess' *Arch. Reports*, vol. II. (1874-5) p. 87.

³¹ *Rig Veda*, vol. III. pp. x. 119.

sun seems to be intended."³⁵ The late Prof. Goldstucker also, in commenting on the faculties of the *Āśvins*, observed: "Their very name, it would seem, settles this point, since *āśva*, the horse, literally 'the perrader,' is always the symbol of the luminous deities, especially of the sun."³⁶ In the *Purāṇas* "the sun in the form of a horse," is said to have appeared to *Yājñavalkya*, and the version of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* goes on to state, "accordingly the sun imparted to him the texts of the *Yajus* called *Ayātayāna*, and because these were revealed by the sun, in the form of a horse, the *Brāhmaṇas* who study this portion of the *Yajus* are called *Vājins* (horses)."³⁷ The sacred horse is represented in the *Amarāvati* sculptures in various attitudes, but always guarded or overshadowed by the conventional imperial *chhatra*, and ordinarily depicted as revered or worshipped by the bows and *soldāns* of the surrounding attendants. In his free form, as issuing from gateways, in associate processions,³⁸ his mission might be taken to indicate the mere arrogance of an *Āśvamedha* sovereign. But when he is found to have special medallions or circular frames in the sculptures exclusively devoted to his representation, and those bosses are made to occupy the apparent place of honour, above the fellow-circles containing the seated figure of a saint,³⁹ it would seem that the intention of the artist pointed at higher things than the led-horse of an Indian *Rāja*. It is very possible, as has been suggested by Mr. Fergusson,⁴⁰ that the reverence of the horse was derived from the same aboriginal source, as that which has led the *Gonds* to retain his form in their crude worship to this day.

There is, however, one peculiarity in this reappearance of the horse on southern soil, which has apparently escaped Mr. Fergusson. That is, that we find the animal so closely associated with the rites of the worship of the sun and the moon, as intuitively preserved among many sections of the aboriginal forest tribes.

Mr. Hislop⁴¹ incidentally alludes to "*Bādū*

Dewa (the great god), who, in other districts, is called *Budhāl Pen* (the old god) * * * or *Burā Pen*," the chief god among the *Khonds*, who is identified in a note⁴² with the sun-god. Some of the outside aboriginal races (the *Kurs* or *Kuls*) are described as having for the "chief objects of their adoration," the sun and the moon, "which take the outward form of wooden pillars, with horse, sun and moon set up before the houses of married people."⁴³

This association of the two symbols may perhaps serve to explain the juxtaposition of the Wheel and the Horse's head in the *Amarāvati* sculptures, in plates xciii. and xcv. fig. 3, regarding which Mr. Fergusson remarks,⁴⁴ the horse "is introduced in mid air alongside the wheel as an object of equal reverence; and on a piece of sculpture where the wheel just above him is the especial object of worship."⁴⁵

It is worthy of remark that the horse retained his fixed place as the symbol of the 3rd *Jaina Tīrthānkara*, and though recognised incidentally as a power in theology, he is altogether ignored in the different *Paurāṇik* lists amid the amplified nineteen authorized marks on *Vishṇu's* feet.⁴⁶

P. S.—Since this note on the Horse symbol was written, General Cunningham's work on the *Bārāhat Tōpe* has been published in England.

In the new examples of old devices now contributed, it will be seen that the *Horse* takes an unusually prominent position, even to the addition of the Wings of the *Pegasus* of Western mythology. On the votive table, in front of the shrine of the Sun, in the lower compartment of the sculpture (Pl. xiii. a), may be traced the exact representation of the head of the *Gond* clay-horse, who was "offered in lieu of the living sacrifice," above adverted to.⁴⁷ And further, in the same dedicatory position may be traced, votive flowers—pure and simple—together with clay reproductions of the symbols of the Sun under the various forms of lotus-leaves, wheels, and the marked coincidence of *Saṁskṛta*s enclosed in the simple orb circle of the aboriginal *Sol*.

³⁵ *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. V. p. 157. See also *J. R. A. S. (N.S.)* vol. II. p. 5.

³⁶ *Journal R.A.S. (N.S.)* vol. II. p. 15. and vol. IX. p. 228.

³⁷ *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, Hall's edition, vol. III. p. 57.

³⁸ *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Pl. xxxv. p. 131; xvi. fig. 3; xviii; and p. 223.

³⁹ Pls. lxxxi., lxxxii.

⁴⁰ Page 193.

⁴¹ *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, Edited by Sir R. Temple.

⁴² P. 14 note f; *Calcutta Review*, vol. V. p. 55; and *Church Mission Intelligencer*.

⁴³ P. 26, quoting Mr. Bullock.

⁴⁴ *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 215.

⁴⁵ Mr. Hislop observes, in a Note at p. 26:—"The Scythian origin of *Kurs* and *Gonds* might perhaps be inferred from *Kodo Pen* and earthen horses, which are offered instead of living sacrifices."

⁴⁶ *Rajendralakṣa Mitra's Buddha Gayā*, p. 126.

⁴⁷ Note 45 above.

MISCELLANEA.

PROPER NAMES.

Since my note on proper names given to children whose elder brothers have died, was published in the *Indian Antiquary* for November 1879 (Vol. VIII, p. 321), I have been in communication with Dr. Rājendra Lāla Mitra, who has kindly furnished me with some interesting information on the parallel custom in Bangāl. In Bangāl a woman, who has lost several children immediately after their birth, is called *maddāckē peddē*, and two common names for the children subsequently born are *Bhuto* "The Ugly One," and *Gobardhan*, "Dung-made."

The corresponding generic word in Maithilī (Terhūt) for a child whose elder brothers have died is *machhāi*, which Dr. Mitra has identified with Skt. *mr̥ṣā vata*, and with the Bangālī *marakhāi*: a synonym, however, of *machhāi* in Maithilī is *marakhāi*, which I am inclined to recognize as Skt. *Mr̥ṣā Śāka*. A Maithilī proverb runs, *यहैक मय पुत्र सौग सहे*, "The mother of a *machhāi* has to bear the pangs of losing her sons."

There is, moreover, a noteworthy custom in Bangāl, which Dr. Mitra first brought to my notice; it is that of giving away the children subsequently born immediately after birth, and then buying them back again from the donee at a small cost. The price varies from one to nine cowrie shells, omitting the even numbers, and the children are named according to the price paid; thus: *Ekkauṭ*, one shell; *Tinkauṭ*, three shells; *Pāckauṭ*, five shells; *Sathkauṭ*, seven shells; and *Nakauṭ*, nine shells. Such names are very common in Bangāl, and are invariably due to this custom.

In Mithilā (Tirhut) the custom of sale, as above described, does not obtain, but the above mentioned names are all used. Moreover, in Mithilā the number of shells is not confined to odd numbers, e. g. one of the commonest of these names is *Chakkauṭ*, six cowries. I am informed, however, that in south Bihār, south of the Ganges, the custom of sale does obtain.

The Bangālī meaning of the word *Gobardhan* "Dung-made" is curious. In Mithilā it is a name of good repute amongst Vaishnavas, who use it with reference to the famous hill near Vrindāvana. Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra writes with reference to this word that, in Bangāl, when used as a proper name it is generally but not invariably explained to mean a dung-hill, but that a good Vaishnava may use it with reference to the hill near Vrindāvana. As a common word it means the hill.

Finally, may I ask any one who has any further information to give on this curious custom of

nomenclature, to kindly publish it in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C.S.,
Madhubani, Darbhanga.

METRICAL TRANSLATIONS FROM THE
MAHABHARATA.

By JOHN MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., C.I.E.
KINGS SHOULD NOT BE TOO JOCULAR AND GOOD
NATURED.

The following is a free translation of *Mahābhārata* xii. 2033ff. The picture is, possibly, drawn from the life, from something that the writer had observed at the court of an Indian prince; and the like of which may often have been witnessed since:—

When kings are weak, and love to joke,
They quickly men's contempt provoke.
Their courtiers show them no respect,
And all prophecies neglect,
With jibes to beard the princes presume,
And even against him rage and fume.
They make impertinent requests;
Delay to do the king's behests;
His secrets all contrive to steal,
And then to all the world reveal.
His master's orders none obeys;
They make a jest of all he says.
When he is wroth, they only laugh,
And hold his favours cheap as chaff.
They play with this poor silly king,
As with a bird held by a string.
Even when their master holds a court,
They still pursue their wanton sport;
"In this thou failed'st, king," they say,
"In that thou wentest far astray."
And these presumptuous courtiers boast
That they're the men who rule the roast.
They fain would all the world convince
They've power to influence the prince;
"In all affairs our help you'll need;
"The docile prince obeys our lead."
If charged with public trusts, like knaves,
These men, of gold the greedy slaves,
With selfish views their power abuse,
No proffered bribes will e'er refuse,
Will edicts forge to gain their ends,
And benefit themselves and friends;
Will endless webs of falsehood weave,
And so the simple prince deceive;
And thus with ruin overwhelm,
His hapless, poor, misgoverned realm.

The following is a prose translation:—"And thou shouldst not laugh too much with thy servants, O chief of kings. Hear what evil results from this. 2034. From [such familiar] contact, his dependents despise their master and do not keep their proper place, but transgress the limits of propriety (*atfata*). 2035. When sent as messengers, they

hesitate (*vikalpante*); they reveal secrets; they ask for things that should not be asked for, and eat [the king's] food. 2036. They grow angry, and incensed against the king their master; and by bribery (or receiving bribes,) and deceit, they cause affairs to miscarry. 2037. By forged edicts they bring ruin on the king's realm. They attach themselves to the guardians of the women¹ and adopt the same attire. 2038. In the prince's presence they spit. Devoid of shame, they repeat the king's words. 2039. When the prince is jovial and good-natured, they mount the horse, or elephant, or car, which he likes. 2040. In the assembly his friends speak thus: 'This king, was difficult for thee; that was a wicked act of thine.' 2041. And when he is angry they laugh; and are not at all delighted when he shows them honour, and they are jealous of each other. 2042. They betray his secrets, and reveal what (he) does wickedly, and contemptuously make sport of his orders. . . . 2044. They are not satisfied with their income and seize what should be given to the king.² 2045. They seek to play with him as with a bird held by a string,³ and tell people that the prince

can be led by them. 2046. These and other evils become manifest when the king is mild and jovial."

A MODEL MAN.

The following lines are selected from a number describing the men who "overpass all evils:"—

Mahabk. xii., 4056 ff.

That man no evil needs to fear
To whom all other men are dear.
Who ne'er abuse in kind requites,
Nor struck, again the smiter smites,
Who neither fears, nor fear inspires,
Who nurses no unblest desires,
Who can himself endure neglect,
But pays to others all respect,
Who, though himself by want oppressed,
Ne'er envies those by fortune blest,
Who even in straits, would scorn to lie,
And sooner, far, would dare to die,
And thus from every weakness freed,
Ne'er sins in thought, or word, or deed—
A model man, who nobly lives,
To all a bright example gives.

BOOK NOTICE.

BUDHA GAYĀ, the Hermitage of Sākya Muni. By Rājendralāla Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E., &c. &c. Published under orders of the Government of Bengal. Calcutta, 1878.

Second Notice.

We have in the previous notice dealt with the portions on mythology, and briefly with the architectural and artistic features of this book, and have found them far from satisfactory; we now proceed to the inscriptions. Dr. Rājendralāla Mitra has a reputation for reading inscriptions, and it may seem a bold step to question his authority in such a field. His first inscription in this volume, however, must attract attention. It is in the Maurya character, and is found repeated on six different pillars of the old rail—four in the monastery, and two in the enclosure of the great temple, and is read by the author (p. 182)—

Arya Kurangiye dānam.

After a long analysis, the Calcutta savant renders this,—"gift to (the person named) Kurangi," or "gift to the eater of boiled rice:"—A very odd inscription indeed! But let us examine it. In the sharpest example, the *va* of the second word is expressed by a wavy line as at Girnar, and beside it is a distinct *anasaḍra*, whence we read—*dyāyo Kurangiye dānam.*

Now as *dyā* is the Prākṛit for *ārya* (fem.) and *dyāyo* is, in Sans. the sixth case, *dyāyate*, while *Kurangi* is a feminine name meaning a Deer (Dorcus), the inscription can only be read as—"The gift of the noble (lady) Kurangi."

If we may trust to the text given in General Cunningham's *Reports* (vol. III. pl. xxvi) the second inscription is surely of later date than the first, which ought to have been pointed out. The third is correctly read by General Cunningham, but not so by Dr. Rājendralāla. It is in the Museum at Calcutta. The word *Tasāpasaḍra* with which he has so much difficulty is no great variation from *Tasāpasaḍra* (with the *anasaḍra* inserted) = Sans. *Tāraparsaka*—a native of Ceylon.

No. 4 (p. 191) is given by Cunningham (vol. III. pl. xxviii.) in letters of the fourth or fifth century A.D. at earliest—not of the second as the author would lead the reader to suppose.

Of his transcript of No. 5 (p. 192) we can make no sense: it is evidently misread or misprinted. The first line of the original reads,—*Kirita gatra vj-rāsanabyihadgandhakantiprastade*,—"made where . . . in the Vajrasanabyihadgandhakantī temple," i.e. in the great temple; *gandhakantī* is a temple in which is

¹ With the view of gaining an entrance into their apartments.—Commentator.

² *Rāja-dēyaṁ, vājebhāḡasa*.—Commentator.

³ The commentator explains this thus: *Kṛitūṁ rājā saka vṛjyagādī-krīḍāṁ kṛtūṁ sāsṭreṇa bhāḡikena pāśhinaḡ yajena rājā nīvābhāḡ, i.e.* "They wish to engage in sport, hunting, &c. with the king. As with a

bird fastened by a string, with a hawk, controlling the king." I have taken the sense to be, not that they accompany the king in his sports (if this is how the Commentator understands it), but that they make him the object of their sport, as if he were a bird held by the leg with a string. The words of the original are *Kṛitūṁ teṇa cchāḡanti sāsṭreṇa pāśhinaḡ*.

an image,—not 'a receptacle for aromatics' as Dr. Rājendralāla supposes. In inscription No. 8 (p. 195), the word again occurs, and also in another at the Mahant's Monastery, in which we read—*gana gandhakutī pratimatrāyānūvita vikīta*,—"who made a Gandhakutī with three images,"—where this word must mean a temple.¹

In No. 6 the first śloka must be incorrectly copied, for it gives no sense, and this can hardly be the fault of the original engraver, for it is beautifully cut. His reading is—

इदमतितरिचि सर्वसत्त्वानुकम्पिने । भवनपरमदारजितमाराप-
पत्तये ॥ शुद्धात्मा कारयामास बोधिसार्गरीतो यतिः । बोधिपे
[से] बो [ने] तिबिषयातो दत्तगलनिकसिकः भवन्भवितुषव-
र्थे विचोर्ध्वजुनस्य च । तथोपाध्यायपूर्वोपाहाहवापनिवासिना ॥
ली ॥

We read it thus, printing the syllables he has misread in heavier type :—

इदमतितरिचि सर्वसत्त्वानुकम्पिने । भवनं परमदारं जित-
मारापमुत्तये । शुद्धात्मा कारयामास बोधिसार्गरीतो यतिः ।
बोधिपेय इति ख्यातो दत्तगलनिकसिकः भवन्भवितुषव-
र्थे पिबोर्ध्वजुनस्य च तथोपाध्यायपूर्वोपाहाहवापनिवासिनाम्

And we translate,—

"This most ornamental, excellent and lofty temple, constructed for the Muni compassionating all sentient creatures, and also vanquisher of Māra, by him named Bodhisheya, a monk, pureminded, delighting in the way of perfect wisdom, an inhabitant of Dattagalla, for the (purpose of) unloosing the fetters of the world, of his parents and also of relations and his teachers, &c. inhabitants of Ahavāgra."

Let any one compare this with the author's version on p. 193 and see the difference.

No. 7, now also in the Calcutta Museum, he says, records the consecration of a bull in Sam. 781 'by Śrī Suphanti Bhattāraka son of Bhimaka-ullā for the purpose of securing progeny.' His reading is—

*B samv. 781 Vaiśākha vadi 9 āharudhya grāma-
va . . . tana Bhimaka ullāntana Śrī Suphanti
Bhattāraka a(?)grā(?)ttana-tayd . . . a tmanāpatya-
hateh vishabhattāraka-pratiśhṭhiti*

We read it—

*On samv. 917 Vaiśākha vadi 14(12?) Jarudhyagraduvasataya . . .
tana himakaulāntana Śrī Supākshi-bhattāraka
grate ud-
tā pitarāntana(h) punya heta vishabhattāraka
pratiśhṭhiti.*

¹ See *Abhidhānapadīpikā* or 'Pāli Synonymes,' where 'Gandhakutī' is defined as a 'Jina's abode.'

² The second syllable of this word, Supākshi or Surpākshi, may be śā, making it, in the local pronunciation, Sakākshi; both forms may be used, as local names of Śiva, beside whom this bull was placed.

³ Thus in śloka 1, line 1, for श्रीमाधव इति read श्रीमाधव इति. In śl. 4, l. 4 for 'दन्वयसदृशत्वात् स्थाली महीभृजः' read

'Samvat 917 Vaiśākha vad 14 (or 12?) an inhabitant of the village Jarudhya . . . the son of Himakaula, consecrated an image of Vṛishā near to Supākshi² (or Sushākshī) Bhattāraka (i.e. Śiva) for the merit of his mother, father and self.'

The facsimile plate XL of inscription No. 8 is a very good one, but the transcript (pp. 194-5) is hardly in perfect accordance with it,³ and the translation is unsatisfactory.

Inscription No. 9 (pp. 197ff) is not grappled with; in the first place the transcript is erroneous, and then in the original the engraver has arranged it on the different facets of the stone in a way that is somewhat perplexing at first, but if we read it as the sense requires, we find that though the language is not quite grammatical, it can be made out with the exception of some portions which are chipped away. Dr. Rājendralāla makes nothing of it. We propose to read it thus :—

Yo dharmaketu &c.

*Sindhen chekhinduvayyo vallobhārājah śrīyā
(y)astasya putrotha Deśārjastasydyichchehka-
talantah śrīman || khyāto . . .*

. . . payastasyaiva suavigatah saṅghah ||

. . . Siddhoharoh śrīman || tasya sutah

*Śrī dharmah śrī edmantastadāntanastasya || śrī
purnabhadrenāsah pātrantastadāntanastasya ||
kṛtīh || śrīśāh tasya purandhah
yadvadava kamalāśrīantah . . . ||*

*Āchārya Jayasena Kumārasenastadāntah ||
śrīmatī Uddandapure gena . . .*

*ganīgagati kṛtīkapanjo pameyattā
yātā || tasyasah
gandhakutī pratimatrāyānūvita vikīta nyastan
śubhamatra utthāntah kriyagatah ||
trīkarakṛtīh prāsādīh sandanta samantatah
śubhīh*

which may be rendered,—'Born in the Chinda family, of the Sindh country, was the illustrious Vallabharāja; his son was Deśārāja; his son Ayichcha (Āditya); his son, well known in the world, wealthy (was) . . . his son the beloved Sangha illustrious . . . his son the illustrious Dharmā; his son the illustrious Sāmantā;—his son was named Śrī Purnabhadra, whose glory is like the full moon, from whose lotus-like mouth came the grapes of (his) Āchārya Jayasena, brightening the throne of Kumārasena, by whom, in the prosperous Uddandapura whose glory was like a mountain, made this temple (gandhakutī) with three images: may the merit of it be for the attainment of supreme knowledge to

⁴ दन्वयसदृशत्वात् महाभृजः in śl. 7, l. 7 for रतिविच योने read रतिविचयवि—in śl. 7, l. 8 for यमासेने read यमासेने; in śl. 9, l. 9 for कामीपदनपद्म read यमाधिना वदनपद्म; in śl. 9, l. 10 ययितः स्थित्यात् is not the reading of the facsimile; in śl. 9, l. 10 for दिपुर्नानवरत read दिपुर्नानवरत; in śl. 16, l. 17 for दिनेदिदेश read दिनेधिरामा.

the whole world. . . . This eulogy Trisāraya made, may the learned approve of it.

The next inscription No. 11 (pp. 199 ff.) is from the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* vol. VI. p. 657 ff., but the author has not improved on the first version, which can hardly be considered satisfactory, seeing all the proper names in it are misread.

Then passing over the Burmese ones we come to No. 15 (p. 211), of which again we have to find fault with the transcript, as not being at all correct. It is an important one, and worth translating anew.

It is in modern Nāgari character and the carelessness with which it has been transcribed may be seen from the following revised copy* :—

[¹] नमस्तस्मै भगवते अरहते सम्यक्सम्बुद्धाय ॥ बोधिभूते जिनाः सर्वे सर्वज्ञास्तौ तथा अयं जय तं धर्मेराजौपि बोधिसत्त्वसत्तेजसा । पद्मवर्णश्रेष्ठक । अयं हि महाधर्मेराजा अनेकधर्मेभ्यः प्रविच्छेदयन् राजा जस्वामि अनेकज्ञानं आदिप्यकुलप्रधानं पितृपितामह अय्यकपय्यकादि महाधर्मेराजने सम्यक्कुरिः—

[²] ठिकाने । धार्मिकाने पवरराजपेशानुकमेन अस्मिन् (१) क्षेत्रपरांसे । सत्तासीतापनेकगुणगणधिपासी । सान्धारोदसन्तोषमानसो । धार्मिको धर्मेगुरु धर्मेकेतु धर्मेध्वजो बुद्धादिरतनपये सततं समिते निपयोगपम्मारइयो । नावाविभानि । शारिरिकपरिभोग उद्वयकपय्यानि मानावकारेन वेदति माने—

[³] ति पूजित संकरोति । सारजयनजैसाविधेयन सर्वधर्मविचारन [धा] नमूनं नवाधोधिम् । अनिपसादेन पुनपुनं नति करोति । विमंसावि परिमृच्छति ।

कलेरारंभतो शुभ्यनलयपञ्चरिके गते ॥
वस्तरेव बभूवुषे धर्मेविज्ञोतनानिधः ।
पुरा कपिलवस्तुतः मायादेव्या मुधेदनी ।

[⁴] निवर्तित्वाध्वजपुले अर्जुनि अमूर्तं पदं तेन मुदेसितो धर्मा संपो वास्यानुशासितो दिश्यतेपापि लोकानि बोधितव्यं न दिश्यते ।

इति हि पुराण तन्वागतानुसृतं महाधर्मेराजमवाप्ति करोन्ती विमम्बन्तो परिपच्छन्ते पितामहच्छदन् राजाजस्वामि महाधर्मे राज काले मध्यमदेखन्ते वाणिज्ये ब्राह्मणे योगिनि च वधारथ ।

[⁵] प्रोक्तं मगधराट् मयासीधमवेक्षे नया नीरेजनाय तीरे सुसमे भूमिभागे वनपतिभूत्वा पतिष्ठितभावं अर्द्धस्कन्धशाला पक्षिणं हस्तशतविस्ताराध्वजभावं लंकाक्षीपानिहाराध्वगुणकालि यथाधिष्ठानदक्षिणमहाशारया स्वयमेव जिज्ञाकारुद्विद्यमानभावं बोधिनपञ्चम्यानवयासनधाने सिदि धर्मासीक ।

[⁶] नाम सकलजम्बुद्वीपधरमहाराजा कृतधैतियस्य विद्यमानभावं पूर्वे पदशततसनपण्णाम सकराजे धेतगजेन्द्रमहाराजेन तं सैन्यमभिसेखरित्वा मरम्भमासाय सेतुसुरपनिनभावं च कुला तदेतद्वचनं अनेकतन्वागतवचनेन संसंहति समेति । यथा तं गच्छोदकेन यजुनोदकपि युक्तायुक्तं विचारयि ।

[⁷] न्य । अवश्यमेव भगवतो सहजातो महाबोधिनि विसेशाय सविधानमकासि । यथावस्थानविशेषधनियमिते हि मनुदयानं शेष-वस्त्वधिकम् करण जावतो यथानुकममुत्तुत्तुत्तनावेन सहवी-पुन्येपे अट्टराजकरीयनाविचारो कैयधुपमाणान्ति ।

विधानमविशदं सन्तातिपत्तनता—

[⁸] गच्छगुच्छवन्ततीर्णं मदक्षिणावर्षाभिमुखं परिवारिते रजतवर्षालुकाविश्विषीर्णे भेरितलविषममे भूमिभागे बोधिम-पदसङ्कलितस्य वनासनपङ्क्तस्य अपसावकलकमिव स्पन्धुलन्ता संखा एण्णेहि मणिलुचमिव पटिछादेत्वा महाबोधिपुत्रमतिष्ठाने तरिमन्पुनर्वजासनपङ्क्ते अनम—

[⁹] तथेपि काले सर्वेपि असत्तेया सम्यक्सम्बुद्धा अनायास-चतुस्रसानपादके छाविचारकोटि शतसहस्रविमस्सना ज्ञापसङ्कलित महावजासने भावेत्वा अयं मार्गपदशनसम्पत्तताज्ञानं प्रतिलभिसु-सथादि सो सगहन्ते कल्पे प्रथमे सग्वहितो विनासाम्भे पि[?]

— विषद्वयन्तो अचलपदेधो गृध्रविहारी बी—

[¹⁰] पिनाडो नाम होति । एवं अतिचारियन्वचारियं महाबो-धिपुत्रएकैवतो विदिन्वा अभिप्रवादमानो यथा कालिमृचकव-निशिदिधर्मसीको पस्सैववि कोसलो मरुध्वन तिरसी महाबोधि-ममिपुत्रेभु तथापुत्रेनुकायो सिदिपवरमुष्मन्महाराजाधिराजागुल-भासाय श्रीवरधर्मप्रवरधार्मिक राजारहनामनल—

[¹¹] भूतो अनेकधैतिभप्रतिसरदकुमुदकुन्दइन्दुभासमान-वर्णउद्वन्तगजराजस्वामिमाहाधर्मेराजा पुरोहित महाराजिन्द अगम-महा धर्मराजमुदधिधानं भूमिन्द्वारिकामाख्यं महाराजाधि-रूप रूपसारमसुरवामकं अनेकज्ञानपरिजनेहि हिसहसविद्यत-पञ्चपडिवासानवर्षे एकसहस्से—

[¹²] कञ्जत प्यासीति सकराजे कालिकमातसरदकुमुदं । रपांजित रक्तकेशुमानुसारजलजस्थितज मार्गेन ऐतेवह सि-दिपवर महाराजेन्द्रा स्वैनवेधो नाभिकाय । अगमहेसिया सदि महाबोधिपुत्रे सुकलभावं भगवन्तं मुधेय दक्षिणोदकं पातेन्तो इमं महारपु विमालि कुत्वा महाधै—

[¹³] हिसम्पेरोपमापिकवविधेहि लाजा उपपञ्चपयो-तकलश मालागुलेहि महाबोधि ममिपुत्रेति संसारोप निर्मुग्य सन्वगणार्थेय बुद्धत्व पस्थनमकासि । मातापितृपितामहअय्य-कपाय्याकादिने विस्त्वावे पुण्यभागमदासि । यावन्मेरु रवि-समि यावत्क्षया तिष्ठति तथापीरं सेतुसुरं तिष्ठतं अनुमोदयति इदमेकधैतीभ प्रतिच्छेदयन्महाराजस्वामि महाधर्मेराजपस्वी-पुण्यसेतुसुरं महाजयसहस्यमायेन पण्डितामात्येन बन्धितं । इदं सेतुसुरं सिदिराजेन्द्र महाराज मुदनामिकन पुरोहितेन नागरिले-जाय लिखितं ॥

Were it worth while occupying the space, we might add still very largely to the already lengthy catalogue of errors in this volume. Enough has already been adduced to show in how unscholar-like a way the book has been produced. Even in so simple a matter as in quoting (p. 167) from a translation of Strabo, he garbles the passage where it is opposed to his own theory, and mentions the "walls" of Palibothra but omits the emphatic statement that they were "wooden" walls,—because his theory requires that they should have been of stone.

We cannot understand how the Government of Bengal, in a work published at the public expense, should allow the author to make it to so large an extent the vehicle of unqualified attack on men of the highest eminence in antiquarian research, while on the other hand, all else in the volume is so inaccurate and worthless.

* The words in heavier type are wrongly transcribed by Dr. Rajendralala.

THE SÛTRA CALLED NGAN-SHIH-NIU, i.e. "SILVER-WHITE WOMAN."¹

[Translated from the Chinese, the second part of the Volume indicated by 22
(Buddhist Tripitaka), 1st Sutra.]

BY REV. S. BEAL, B.A.

THUS have I heard. On a certain occasion Bhagava was residing in the country of She-wei (Śrāvastī) in the garden of Jeta, the friend of the orphan, with 1250 great Bhikshus.

At this time the world-honoured one addressed the Bhikshus in these words:—"Oh Bhikshus! if men only knew the merit (*religious merit*) of giving their goods or property in charity, and the reward (*phala*) of so doing as I know the matter—so that at the time of eating, whether it be the first or the last mouthful taken, this feeling of charity were always uppermost, and if not present so as to make men ready to give all away, then no food were to be taken at all, [—then there would be great profit—]. At which time the world-honoured one uttered the following verses:—

"If only men of every kind
Acted in accord with Buddha's words,
And kept back somewhat from their food for charity,

Then the result would be a great reward.

But whether at the first mouthful

Or at the last mouthful

If charity be not uppermost in the mind,

Then a man should not eat at all!"

At this time the world-honoured one having uttered these stanzas, addressed the Bhikshus, and said:—"Oh Bhikshus! at a certain time innumerable ages (*kalpas*) ago there was a certain Royal capital: the king of which was called Padma: there was a woman of that city called "Silver-colour," who having all she required at home, went forth to visit other houses to see how the occupants thereof were faring. Now this woman was exceedingly beautiful, with all the distinguishing marks of loveliness, and her body of a most dazzling whiteness [*and hence her name*]. At this time, approaching a certain residence, she entered it, and having done so, she found within it a woman just delivered of her first-born child; this child was very fair to look upon, and of a colour surpassingly beautiful. And now she saw this newly-delivered woman seize the child in her hand with a view to

devour it. At this time the woman called "Silver-colour" in haste addressed the mother, and said: "Sister! what are you going to do?" She replied "I am famished! I have no life left in me! I have not what to eat! I must devour my child!" Then Silver-colour asked her, saying, "Sister! stop a while, this thing is impossible! Sister! is there not in all the house a morsel of any food fit for you to eat?" She replied at once: "Sister! I had at one time stores of food which I kept hoarded up with niggard care! and therefore am I now left without a morsel to eat." Then Silver-colour said: "Sister! stop a while, I will run to my house and bring you some food." She replied: "Sister! my ribs are breaking, my back is rending in twain, my heart is palpitating without a moment's rest, the world seems all dark about me, before my sister reaches her home I shall be dead!" Then Silver-colour thought thus with herself: "If I take the child and go, then this poor woman will perish; if I do not take it when I leave, she will devour it—what expedient is there then by which I can save these two lives?" She asked therefore: "Sister! is there a knife in the house I can use?" She answered "There is," and taking a knife she gave it to Silver-colour: whilst she on her part, holding the knife with her own hand, cut off her two breasts for the woman to eat; then addressing her, she said: "Here—eat these two breasts of mine:" and when she had eaten them, Silver-colour again enquired—"Sister! are you now satisfied?" She replied "I am," Then Silver-colour continued: "Sister! now this child redeemed with my own flesh is mine! I will take it, and keep it as my own; and in my own house feed it and nourish it as it requires." Saying these words, the blood flowing down over her person, and leaving its traces along the ground, she departed and came to her house. Then her relations and friends beholding her thus, flocked around, and asked her saying, "Who has done this?" Silver-colour replied "I with my own hand have done it." Then they asked

¹ Silver-White, or Silver-colour, is probably a corruption or supposed derivation from Sivi, and this Sûtra is therefore the Northern form of the *Sivi Jâtaka*. The derivation

would be from the last root (Ś to shéne, from which comes श्वेत "white.")

again, "And why have you acted thus?" Then Silver-colour replied, and said: "I have resolved to cultivate a heart full of compassion, and never to give it up, for thus I seek to arrive at perfection (*anuttara samyak sambodhi*).²" Then all her relatives answered, and said: "Though you give your body thus in charity, and afterwards repent of what you have done, all this will not tend to the completion of the *Paramita* you desire to accomplish (*viz.*, of *dāna*).²" And they asked her again: "When you thus mutilated yourself, had you inward satisfaction, or did you do it with regret?" Then Silver-colour said: "When I had resolved and vowed to cut off my breasts, there was no feeling of regret in my mind, my mind wavered not for a moment"—and then in proof she said: "and now in virtue of my vow let my breasts be restored as they were at first." Having made this vow, lo! her breasts were restored again as at first.² At this time all the Yakshas and so on, in the city of Padma raised a great cry, and said: "The lady Silver-colour has now with her own hands cut off her breasts!" Then the earth-Devas (*gods*) hearing this cry took it up, and repeated it in the air. The Devas hearing the cry repeated it in the higher worlds, till the news spread even to the Brahma lokas. At this time the Divine Śakra rāja reflected thus: "This indeed is an unprecedented event, that this woman Silver-colour from her pity to all flesh should thus with her own hands cut off her breasts. I will go now, and enquire of herself respecting it." So he immediately changed himself into the form of a Brāhman, holding in his left hand a golden pitcher, and bearing a golden begging dish in his right hand, and provided with a golden staff, he went thus to the Royal City of Padma. Having arrived, he gradually approached the house in which Silver-colour dwelt, and taking his stand without the door he sang the wonted words of those who begged for food. Then Silver-colour having heard the chant of one who begged for food outside the gate, immediately took a dish, and filling it up with food she went forth. At this time the Brāhman addressed her, and said: "Sister (lady): stop a while, I need no food;" on which she replied—"Why not?" The Brāhman then said, "I am the Divine Śakra,

² Vide *Saccha Kariya*, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 273.

and I have some doubt in my mind about your conduct. I have come therefore to enquire further of you, answer me then, I pray you." Silver-colour replied in these words: "Great Brāhman! you need but ask as you think best, and I will answer you truly." Then the Brāhman asked her and said, "Lady! is it true that you cut off your breasts to give as an act of charity to another?" She replied—"It is true, great Brāhman!" The Brāhman then said: "And what led you to do it?" Silver-colour answered—"My great compassion, and my aim to accomplish the condition of perfect wisdom." The Brāhman replied, "This is a very difficult matter, this so-called perfection—for if there be the least vestige of regret mixed up with the deed, then it can never lead to the (completion of the) *Paramita* (of charity). Tell me, then, when you performed the act, did your heart feel happy or not, and when you felt the anguish consequent on the infliction of the wounds, had you no desire to change your purpose?" Silver-colour replied: "Kausika! I swear that I have never faltered a moment in my purpose to obtain the condition I have named, in order that I may save the world, nor did I falter either when I cut off my breasts, and in proof that I felt no particle of regret, let me now, if what I say be true, be changed from a woman to a man." Then Silver-colour having made this oath, was changed forthwith into a man, and her heart was filled with joy unutterable and delight without measure.²

And now as in this changed form he wandered forth from place to place—he came to a certain tree, and sitting under it he fell asleep. Now at this time the king of Padma died, and as he was childless, there was great distress in the country. Then the great ministers went from tree to tree, from village to village, from town to town, from capital to capital, everywhere seeking one possessed of royal marks whom they might choose as their king. And whilst thus in search they said: "How shall we ever obtain a proper king to reign over us?" At this time there was a certain powerful minister, who, being worn out with the excessive heat, entered a tank covered with flowers to bathe, and whilst thus occupied he saw there beneath a tree a man asleep of surpassing beauty, and distinguished by all the necessary signs of Royalty,

² Vide as before, an explanation of the *Saccha Kariya*, Hardy, *East. Mon.* p. 273.

and he observed that although the sun was declining fast, that the shadow of the tree still remained protecting him. Then the great minister in a moment caused him to wake, and when he woke he took him to the "Royal City" (Rājagṛīha, i.e. the capital), and performing the accustomed tonsure, he clothed him in the kingly vesture, and put on his head the jewelled crown, and accosted him thus:—"Now you are king, act and govern us accordingly!" To whom he answered: "I am indeed unable to act as your king." The minister answered: "But indeed you must;" to which he replied: "If indeed you take me to reign over you, then on your parts you must take on yourselves the ten religious (virtuous) vows (acts)—to which when they agreed, he undertook to govern them as a king in righteousness (religiously), and he was called again "Silver-colour." Now at this time the age of the people reached to 70,000 *nakṣatras* of years, so that the king having reigned thus for hundreds and countless thousands of years at length came to die—and when about to die he repeated these words:—

"All things that exist are transitory,
They must of necessity perish and disappear,
Though joined together, there must be separation,
Where there is life, there must be death,
All depends on conduct,
Whether good, or whether bad,
All things born,
Are unstable and inconstant."

Now, after that king's death he returned again to be born in the same kingdom, the Royal capital of which was Padma. He was born as a nobleman's child, very beautiful and fair. At eight years of age with 500 other youths he entered school; whilst there he enquired of those elder ones who had already finished their school course, why they had gone to school, and on their replying they had gone to learn their letters, he said "What profit is there in learning letters, only one thing is necessary, and that is to aim at the unequalled and unsurpassed condition of heart known as *Aśuttara-samyak-sambhōdī*." And what is the meaning of that condition, they said. To which he replied, "you must above all things aim at the accomplishment of the six *Paramitas*." And what are the six:—"the *paramita* of charity (*dāna*), of moral conduct (*śīla*), of patience (*kṣānti*), of perse-

verance (*virya*), of contemplation (*jñāna*), and of wisdom (*prajña*)." Then having heard this they said, we will aim at this. Thus that child having led his companions into this condition he reflected thus, "Now I desire to do some small act of charity, whether it be for man (*biped*) or beast (*quadriped*)."—Having so thought he repaired to a public place of burial (*śāstana*), and forthwith taking a pocket knife (*li-lik*, "a knife for use") he began to cut his body till the blood gushed out, and then smeared himself all over with the blood and dust, and lying down in the midst of the cemetery, he sang out the following words: "Come now from far and near, ye two-footed and four-footed creatures all, come here and eat, oh come and eat my flesh from my body." Now among the birds that frequented that place there was one whose name was *yau-shen* ("having a hand"), this one coming to the hermit perched above his forehead and pecked at his right eye, and having pecked at it, he let it go again. Then the hermit said: "Why do you peck at my right eye, and then let it go?" The bird replied "of all parts of a man's body I think the eye most beautiful (to the taste?)." Then the hermit addressed the bird, and said: "Though a thousand times over you pecked at my right eye and still let it go, yet should I feel no anger or resentment in my heart." Then that bird pecked out both his eyes, and the rest of the birds, all assembling in the cemetery, came and devoured bit by bit the hermit's flesh, till naught but the bleached bones were left.

Having quitted this body he immediately came back, and was reborn in that Royal city of Padma as the child of a Brāhman, very beautiful to behold, and incomparable for grace. Having completed 20 years of age, his parents addressed him, and said: "My son (*Mānava*), you must now get a home of your own." Then the young man answered his father and mother, and said: "What reason is there for me to have a house of my own, I have no desire for a family residence, my only wish is to be allowed to enter the deep mountains as a recluse." His parents having given their consent, he left his home, and found a home amidst the mountains and the forests; whilst wandering thus he saw amid the mountain woods two aged Brāhmanas, who were Rishis; coming to them, he asked what they did dwelling there; to which they

answered—"Mānava! we dwell here in order to benefit living creatures, practising all kinds of austerities." He then enquired further: "I also with the same desire to benefit all living creatures am come here to reside and to suffer all kinds of painful austerities." Then that youth passed on to different places amid the forest glades, making the earth his dwelling place (*living in holes?*) and whilst thus practising himself in religious austerities, he obtained, in virtue of his meritorious conduct, the eyes of a Deva (*heavenly sight*). Then looking round about on the place and its neighbourhood, not far off he saw a tigress who dwelt there, and just about to bring forth her young. Then the youth having observed this, began to think thus with himself: "this tigress not long hence will bring forth her young, and having done so, then perhaps she will die of hunger, or in her famished state desire to eat her young." Having thought thus he then returned and asked the two Brāhmanas, and said, "Which of you will divide his body, and give it in food to this tigress?" They answered him: "Neither of us is ready to divide his body for food to give the tigress." Having received this reply, after seven days the tigress was delivered, and having brought forth her young she carried them in her mouth to the den, and again came out. The youth having observed this proceeding forthwith went to the place where the two Rishis dwelt, and addressed them thus: "Great Rishis, the tigress has brought forth her young; if now ye indeed seek to benefit all that lives, and for this purpose are suffering austerities—now is your opportunity—ye may now cut up your

body, and give your flesh to the tiger-mother to eat." On this those two Brāhman Rishis immediately went to the place where the tigress was, and having come they began to think thus—"who can patiently endure such pain as this in practising charity? Who can cut off the flesh from his body that he loves to give to a starving tiger?" Having reflected thus, that newly delivered tiger-mother began to follow them at a distance, seeing which they were filled with fear, and mounting into the air, flew away.

At this time the Mānava youth looking around him spoke to those Brāhmanas, and said: "Is this your vow and your oath?" Having said this he forthwith vowed, and said: "I now give my body to feed this tiger—oh would that in consequence of this sacrifice I may obtain the unsurpassed and perfect condition of being." Having made this vow, he took a knife, and himself cut flesh from his body, and gave it in charity to the tiger mother! "And now, Oh Bhikshus, entertain no doubt in your minds, it is from compassion to you that I declare this—look no further, but accept my words—it was I who was born in Padma as that Silver-colour who cut off her breasts to rescue and save that child who was no other than Rahula. It was I who gave my body in that *Sitavana* to feed the birds. It was I who cut off my flesh to feed that hungry tiger, whilst you were the Brāhmanas, and because of my self-denying charity in bearing sorrow for others, I have now attained Perfection of Being."

The Bhikshus hearing these words were filled with great joy and exulted mightily.*

SUCCESSION OF BUDDHIST PATRIARCHS.

BY REV. S. BEAL, B.A.

It is well known that there is an assumed succession of Teachers who presided over the Buddhist Church from the death of the Founder, down to Bodhidharma, the last and twenty-eighth in the succession, who flourished in South India about 525 A.D. The list of these Patriarchs is preserved with some degree of accuracy on Chinese and Tibetan works, and it is possible that a complete examination of the subject might result in establishing some useful

chronological data. The following account is compiled chiefly from Tāranātha's *History of Buddha*, and some Chinese fragments scattered through various books:—

1. Sākya Buddha.
2. Kaśyapa, presided over the Church for ten years, Wassilief, *Bouddhisme*, § 42.
3. Ananda, presided for forty years.
4. Sanakavasa, or Sanavasika; he lived at Śrāvastī and at Varānasi; at this time the

* The *Sivī Jātaka* is pictured in Cave XVI. at Ajatā, and perhaps another version also in Cave IX.; they are much injured in both cases, but appear to agree more

closely with the Sinhalese form of the *Jātaka*, than the Chinese. The latter however may throw light on these and perhaps other wall-paintings at Ajatā.—Ed.

number of mendicants became so numerous that there was a dispersion of the community, and Madyantika, with 10,000 Rahats, proceeded to the north and finally settled in Kashmir. There was a great conversion of the followers of King Sudanu, the grandson of Ajātasatru, under this patriarch.

5. Upagupta; contemporary with Kāśyapa, 100 A.D. Under him the first great division of the Church took place, and the second council was held.

6. Daitika, or Dhītika.

7. Kala; according to Tārānātha, this patriarch was principally concerned in the conversion of Ceylon and Orissa.

8. Sudarsana, engaged principally in the conversion of Sindh, and South India.

9. Katyayana.

10. Mahaloma.

11. Pārāvika, or Pārāva, principally instrumental in the conversion of Aśvagosa. (Tārānātha speaks of this patriarch under the name of Nandi.)

12. Mahatyaga (sometimes spoken of as Fana-ya-shi, *Wong Pub*, 197).

13. Aśvagosa, a very celebrated patriarch (*vide* his Life, translated by Wassilief, *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 141).

14. Kabimara (Kia-pi-mo-lo).

15. Nāgārjuna, supposed to have been contemporary with Vikramāditya.

16. Āryadeva, or sometimes simply Deva. He was a disciple of Nāgārjuna, and an interest-

ing anecdote of his zeal is recorded by *Wong Pub*, § 188.

17. Ragurata.

18. Sanganandi.

19. Goyasheta (placed 74 B.C. by *Julien*, vol. II. p. 346).

20. Kumarila.

21. Jayata.

22. Vasubhandu, generally placed as contemporary with Vikramāditya.

23. Manura.

24. Haklena.

25. Sitai, driven out of Kashmir and north India by the cruel persecution of Mahirakula. This king is the Mehrkul of the *Agis Akbari*, vol. II. p. 145. He is placed by Cunningham about 500 A.D., and made contemporary with Balāditya (*Arch. Rep.* vol. I., p. 12). But Fergusson places him in the second century (*Tr. and Serp. Wor.* p. 165), which is more probable.

26. Bashinsita.

27. Putnamitta.

28. Bodhidharma, who arrived in China A.D. 526.

The succession in China was kept up until A.D. 713, when it was finally lost. The names of the Chinese Patriarchs were these:—

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------|
| 1. Bodhidharma. | |
| 2. Hwei-kho-ta-szu ...died | 592 A.D. |
| 3. Seng-lin-ta-szu..... | 606 " |
| 4. Tao-tin-ta-szu | 651 " |
| 5. Houng-jin-ta-szu... | 675 " |
| 6. Hwei-neng-ta-szu ... | 713 " |

THE ŚAIVA PARIKRAMĀ.

BY BHAGVĀNLĀL INDRAJI PANDIT.

Round the old Śivālayas or great temples of Śiva we often find a number of smaller shrines. Thus round the Vimāna of the great temple of Kailāsa at Elurā, there are five such shrines on the same platform. They are now empty, and the visitor may be at a loss to know their designations. At the back of the great hall there is a door near each corner leading out upon the platform on which these temples stand, and which forms a *pradakṣhiṇā* or ambulatory passage round the great shrine of the *līṅga*. Passing out by the door at the right or south end of the back wall, the first shrine was dedicated to the Mātṛī, whose seven seats are arranged along

the back, with Kārtikswāmī or Śiva at the left side, and Gaṇapati with Bhṛīngī at the right. The next, on the south-east corner, was dedicated to Chanda, whose image is one of the most disgusting in the Hindu Pantheon; he is represented nude, in lustful excitement, either with two or four hands, holding the *trīṇḍa* and a jug or a *damru*, with Śiva's third eye in his forehead, and his hair in the *jatā* or Yogi's style. The refuse of the offerings in a Śaiva temple were thrown to him. Behind the great shrine, or on the east side, the small shrine is for Pārvatī, whose place is just behind her lord's. The fourth on the north-east is for Bhairava

¹ From *The Oriental*, Sept. 25, 1875.

or Rudra; and the fifth, on the north side, properly belongs to Gaṇeśa. Through the north wall of the great shrine comes the channel for the water which has been used in washing the great *liṅga*, and falls into a trough: this outlet is called the *Somasūtra*, which it is unlawful for the worshipper to pass in performing his ritual. For the *parikramā* or *pradakṣiṇā* of Śiva is not properly performed by going round and round the temple, as in the case of the other gods, but in accordance with the śloka:—

*Vṛkṣam Chandaṁ vṛkṣaṁ chaitra
somasūtraṁ punarvṛkṣam
Chandṛṇ cha Somasūtraṁ cha
punaśchandaṁ punarvṛkṣam.*

That is—the worshipper must first go to the Nandi, which is always in front of the *liṅga* shrine, and standing behind it perform his

namaskāra to Śiva; thence he goes along the *pradakṣiṇā* passage to the right, to the shrine of Chanda, and pays his worship there; returns to Nandi and again worships the *liṅga*; then round as before, but past the shrine of Chanda to the *Somasūtra*, where he touches his eyes with the water used for washing the god, and worships. Next he returns to Nandi and a third time worships the *liṅga*; he returns a second time to Chanda, and having performed his *namaskāra* to him he advances as far as the *Somasūtra*, and looking up he worships the flag on the spire; then returning to Chanda he again does *pūja* to him, and comes back to Nandi to make another *namaskāra* to Śiva.

This is the full *parikramā*; but the custom has almost fallen out of use all over the peninsula of India, and no figure of Chanda is to be found in any temple of modern times.¹

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S.

(Continued from p. 73.)

No. XXV.—Rag-bushes in the East.

One of the most universal of superstitious customs is that of tying bits of rag to bushes or trees at spots held to be sacred or haunted by any supernatural presence. In vol. VIII. of the *Indian Antiquary*, at page 219, the wandering trader or pedlar caste, called Banjāris or Lambādies, in travelling from Bastar to the Godāvāri Tālaṅḡis are said "to fasten small rags torn from some old garment to a bush in honour of Kampalamma, (*kampā* = a thicket.)" On three or four occasions, when going up from the Koimbatūr plain to the Maisār frontier by the Gazzalhatṭi or Kavēripuram passes, once famous in the wars with Haidar and Tipu, but now for three quarters of a century hardly traceable tracks through wild stony jangal, I have seen a thorn-bush rising out of a heap of stones piled round it, and bearing bits of rag tied to its branches; these deserted passes are frequented by Lambādies carrying salt-fish, grain, &c. by means of large droves of pack-bullocks and asses; whether of the same race as the Bastar people I do not know. I have more than once encountered their encampments in the Kavēri jangals, and am now led to con-

nect the rag-bushes I saw there, and of which I could not at the time get any account or explanation, with them. In the southern districts of Madras there is also a prickly shrub, the botanical name of which I do not know, but the prickles have a stinging quality, which induces fever, and its branches are sometimes seen stuck all over with bits of rag by way of propitiation¹. In Wales the prickly furze is held to fence off evilly-disposed fairies, being there in such matters held protective rather than injurious. Once near Dindigul in the Madura district I saw a solitary mimosa tree by a pool in the middle of a wide barren *māḍiān* with a great many bits of rag and cloth tied to its branches, and was told that a traveller unknown had some years before been found dead by the pool, that his spirit had become a malignant demon, which haunted the spot, and that the rags were tied to the tree as offerings to prevent it injuring the herd-boys and cattle pasturing on the plain. Closely analogous must be the custom amongst the Gāros of the deep jangals on the Āsām border of raising a bambu arch decorated with tufts of cotton over each path leading into a village to propitiate the deities;

¹ At the temple of Śiva-Gaṅgā Konda, in Tinniveli, there is a small shrine of "Shenḍiwarā," which is perhaps the same as Chanda. See p. 119.

² Sir Walter Elliot informs me he has repeatedly seen rags tied to bushes in the Dakhan, most frequently on the Bēr tree (*Zizyphus*).

all who enter or quit the village must pass under these arches; they are also placed over the doors of houses in cases of sickness.

All over India the tombs of Mussalman Saints and holy men are surrounded with upright rods and canes to which are attached streamers of many-coloured rags. Mrs. R. Burton, in her entertaining book *Arabia, Egypt, India*, notices that near Bombay "the burial-grounds were full of little flags or pendants like those on a lance" (p. 128)*. Cossack graves around Moscow are distinguished in the same way, and so are the Turcoman tombs between the Caspian and Merv. In Persia the prevalence of the custom has long attracted the notice of travellers. Mr. James Morier, in his *Second Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor*, in 1810-20, writes (page 239):—"Close to the burial place of a Persian saint grew a small bush, upon the branches of which were tied a variety of rags and remnants of garments. The Persians conceive that those rags from their vicinity to the saint acquire peculiar preservative virtues against sickness, and substituting others, they take bits away, and, tying them about their persons, use them as talismans." This recalls the "handkerchiefs and aprons," brought from the body of St. Paul, which banished diseases and evil spirits (*Acts* xix. 12). Brand in his *Popular Antiquities* refers to a prayer of the Roman Church used for "the blessing of cloths in the way of curing diseases."

In further illustration of Morier's account, Mr. Eugene Schuyler, in his recent work *Turkistan*, observes of the tomb of Zang-ata, the patron saint of Tashkend, that "it looks shabby from the ramshorns and long bits of dirty rags which every pilgrim has felt it necessary to tie there on some stick or tree. These are symbols of sacrifice" (vol. I. 138). Mr. J. Romilly Allen has also informed me that in 1874, he observed by the Khorzam Pass on the Elburz Mountains, at a height of 7000 feet, a great number of thorn-bushes covered with rags of every colour, which had been left by the male-teers. In Afghanistan our troops have noticed that it is the custom to tie rags to bushes by the graves of those who had died violent deaths

—no unfrequent objects there. The Missionaries Huc and Gabet describe the *Odacs*, or immense cairns, they encountered in Tartary and Tibet as surmounted with branches hung over with bits of cloth on which verses are inscribed: these are propitiatory offerings to the mountain-spirits. In China Governor Davis speaks of the whole population of towns trooping out to the cemeteries at periodical times of mourning, "leaving behind them long streamers of red and white paper to mark the fulfilment of the rites. Whole ranges of hills sprinkled with tombs may at that season be seen covered with these testimonials of attention to the departed fluttering in the wind and sunshine" (Davis's *China*, vol. I. chap. 8)*. The foregoing instances demonstrate the wide prevalence of the custom in Asia, alike amongst Muhammadan, Hindu, and Buddhist populations. Antiquaries know it was equally prevalent over Europe, where it is indeed now far from extinct. It is there chiefly associated with holy wells celebrated for healing qualities. Bushes by such wells are covered with bits of clothing tied there by persons who had derived benefit from bathing or drinking, just as in Persia devotees tie rags to bushes near holy tombs. The custom still exists in Wales and Ireland, and I have seen instances of it near Boulogne in France and in the Black Forest. Widely spread as are the rag-bushes, rag-trees and their variants are more universal still. Over both the Americas from the far north to the extreme south the custom may be traced. In the remote regions of British Columbia fragments of the blankets and clothing of departed Indians wave over their graves by the Fraser River. Sir John Franklin describes the sacred tree of the Cree Indians hung all over with strips of buffalo flesh and pieces of cloth. Mr. Taylor gives an account of the great cypress tree in Mexico, its branches covered with hundreds of locks of coarse hair, bits of coloured cloth, rags, and morsels of ribbon, "probably so decorated long before the discovery of America," and Mr. Darwin notices the remarkable single-standing sacred tree in Patagonia, revered by all the Indians with numberless offerings "such as cigars, ment, pieces of cloth," &c. suspended

* "On the top of the Giant's Mountain near Constantinople is the tomb of a dervish called Joshua's Tomb. It is held very sacred, and the railings round it are covered with tiny bits of rag, hung there by the superstitious as a sure preventive against fever and ill of every kind."—*Sun-*

shine and Storm in the East, by Mrs. Brassey, p. 78.

* The Rev. A. Williamson in his *Journey in Northern China*, describes near Taiyuanfu an *osacia* dating from the Tang dynasty (7th to 10th century) covered with votive tablets.

to its branches. In Africa Mungo Park encountered a great tree called *Neema Taba*, "decorated with innumerable rags or scraps of cloth, which none presumed to pass without offering something," and the same custom has lately been reported from Madagascar*. Similar observances prevailed amongst the Esthonians in Livonia, and are reported by Sir John Lubbock to be not yet extinct³. Confining ourselves, however, to Asia, perhaps the earliest notice of the sort is the story of Herodotus, that Xerxes, when marching on Greece, encountered in Lydia a plane tree so beautiful that he caused golden robes and ornaments to be hung over it, and placed a guard to watch it. The historian says this was "on account of its beauty," but it was probably also a sacred tree, such as was familiar to the Persians in their own land. Tabari, the Arabian annalist of the 9th century, relates that the people of Najran in Yemen every year, on a certain day, assembled round a large date tree outside the city, hung it with rich garments, and offered prayers. In our own times Captain Conder (*Tent Work in Palestine*, vol. II. p. 233) says of the sacred oaks and terebinths named after the Sheikhs their owners, that "they are covered all over with rags tied to the branches, which are considered acceptable offerings"⁴. Sir John Chardin, the traveller in Persia of the 17th century, often mentions the sacred trees met with everywhere in Persia, called *dirakht-fizel* = excellent trees,—stock all over with nails for fastening on bits of garments. One very ancient plane he saw in the king's garden at Shiraz, to which the people used to come to pray under its shade, and hang amulets and shreds of garments on its branches. Mr. Schuyler, at the passage above referred to, also observes:—"Old trees, especially old mulberry trees, seem greatly venerated throughout Central Asia, and the older and deadlier they are the more bits of rag they have stuck on them." In remoter northern Asia Strahlenberg describes the idols of the Ostiaks on the rivers Irtysh and Obi as "roughly hewn pieces of wood hung over with rags," and the Jakhtsi of Eastern Siberia as "hanging all manner of nick-

nacks on their sacred trees," and Zaleski, in his *Life on the Kirghiz Steppes*, gives an account of a tree that strikingly recalls the solitary Patagonian rag-tree. He says that on the steppes between the Sea of Aral and the confluence of the Tchoni and Yatch rivers, a distance of 310 miles, there is only one tree, a species of poplar, highly venerated by the Kirghizes, who go several miles out of their way to hang an article of their clothing on its branches, hence it is called *Sinderich-agatek*, i.e. rag-tree. In the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III. p. 35, I have mentioned what seems to me a variant of the custom where the Champaka and other trees round the ancient shrine of the Trimurti at the foot of the Anaimalai Mountains in Koimbatour, Madras Presidency, are thickly hung with sandals and shoes, many of huge size, evidently made for the purpose, suspended by pilgrims as thank-offerings, or in token of vows accomplished. Another more ghastly variant seems to be the practice of the Nāgās of Eastern India of hanging the skulls of enemies on the great trees in their villages. In China, pieces of gilt paper are hung upon trees in sacred places, and silken streamers are reported to be tied to trees in Lamaseries in Tibet.

This almost universal custom of tying rags to trees and bushes may be due to the desire of making some offering or recognition to an apprehended supernatural power or presence, and in its homeliest form is probably a survival of the gold robes and such costlier offerings as were made by Xerxes and the ancient Arabians. In many primitive nations it was customary to offer splendid gifts at funerals, and bury them with the dead, but such observances have always a tendency to change and lessen in value, and at last to be continued in imitations and temporary substitutes. Thus inferior pottery, evidently made for the purpose, is frequently found buried in barrows of a period when much better earthenware was made, and the Chinese, who once offered gold ornaments at ancestral tombs, are now content to make them in gilt paper. So rags and shreds may have taken the place of

* On the East Coast of Africa most settlements have near them large ancient trees much venerated by the natives, who drive white nails in them and suspend rags. European residents call them *devil-trees*. It is held highly dangerous to injure them. Capt. R. Barten tells a story of an English merchant who cut down one, and died soon after as well as four others of his family.

³ I have not met with any form of the custom in Aus-

tralia or the South Sea Islands, unless there be something analogous in the consecration by *tāha*, "which is generally marked by small white flags stuck about tabued property."

—*Jarvis's Sandwich Islands*, p. 58.

⁴ "Abraham's Oak," which figures much in middle age romance, was similarly consecrated; it grew near Hebron, and was affirmed to be green since the days of Abraham.

—*Vide Lucan's Pharsalia*, vol. I: p. 136.

worthier gifts. Moreover, spots of reputed sanctity or haunted by supernatural beings, whether wells, tombs, shrines, or trees, often occur in waste and deserted places, and travellers or pilgrims passing by, or journeying from long distances to the spot, might have little that could easily be spared to offer, and yet be unwilling to pass without some recognition, however trifling, and a shred torn from a garment would afford the readiest means of satisfying the impulse. Supernatural beings and ghosts, especially of persons who have died by violence, are amongst many peoples believed to expect food and clothing, and to be malignant if neglected, so once a year the Chinese observe a ceremony called "appeasing the burning mouth," and lay out stale cakes and worn-out clothes with invitations on placards above to the "Honourable Homeless Ghosts," that is, those who have left no relatives, or whose kindred are too poor to provide the usual offerings, but who are apt to cause epidemics and work mischief if quite passed over. So in many instances it is conceivable that the rags tied to a bush may be survivals and substitutes for the garments once left for the shivering angry spirit. On this point the chapter headed 'Presents,' in Herbert Spencer's recent work *Ceremonial Institutions*, may be referred to.

The traces of a form of this custom may perhaps be discovered even in prehistoric times, and still existing. Explorers have often been surprised at the immense amount of broken pottery found mixed with the mould in cairns and barrows. Canon Greenwell, in his exhaustive work *British Burials*, often refers to this, remarking on the very large quantities of potsherds met with, which certainly could not have found their way into the barrows accidentally, but seem as if they had been scattered about when the mound was being built. Such pottery is always broken, apparently made for the purpose, and, he thinks, must have symbolised some

religious ideas. Perhaps some light may be thrown on this by a passage in Mr. Stanley's march *Across the Dark Continent*, where when nearing the western coast, at a spot never before visited by Europeans, he writes (vol. II. p. 453): "Close to our camp was a cemetery of a village of Mbinda. The grave mounds were neat, and by their appearance I should judge them to be not only the repositories of the dead, but the depositories of all the articles that had belonged to the dead. Each grave was dressed out with the various mugs, pitchers, wash-basins, tea-pots, glasses, spirit and beer-bottles. The various articles thus exhibited, especially the useful articles, had all been rendered useless,"—like the broken pottery of the barrows and the shreds of the rag-bushes; some analogy between the customs does not seem too far-fetched. Curiously, too, this possible European and modern African variant of the custom exists in Central and Northern Asia. Mr. Seeböhm, speaking of the remote regions of Central Siberia, says that there, after a funeral feast, the drinking vessels are broken and thrown upon the grave; and the correspondent of the *Daily News*, describing the customs of the Turcoman population on the Caspian borders, says that in the cemetery at Hasan Kouli and Tchikislar the graves are marked by poles to which linen bands and morsels of cloth are attached, and water-jars and earthen teapots, tributes to the departed, are accumulated at the head of the grave. He does not remark whether they too were always broken, but adds that whilst a man who dies in battle is buried in his clothes, any one who dies of old age or sickness has his clothes hung on the pole surmounting the grave, and his friends or relations come occasionally to brush and clean the garments, and sometimes replace them with new. This institution is named *Logunavskha*. These grave-poles may also be regarded as variants of the rag-bushes.

ACCOUNT OF EXCAVATIONS MADE NEAR MANIKYALA, IN THE PANJAB.

BY W. SANDFORD, SECUNDERABAD.

The excavations, of which a description follows, were made in the vicinity of Manikyala, a spot well known from the published accounts of the explorations of Generals Court and Ventura of the Sikh service, and those of General Cunningham, R.E., Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India.

The work was done under the personal

direction and at the expense of Mr. Alexander Grant, M.I.C.E., Director of State Railways, Western System, and by the consent of the head of the Archaeological Survey.

A general description and map of the vicinity will be found in the second volume of the *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*.

The village of Manikyala stands about a

mile north of the Trunk Road, near a point, on that road, fifteen miles south-east of Rawalpindi. The village is therefore about midway between the rivers Jhilam and Suhan (the latter an affluent of the Indus). The entire neighbourhood is studded for miles with tope and mounds, several of which have, as is well known, been explored. The only structure, however, which in any degree retains its original appearance is the huge masonry stupa known as Ventura's tope, which General Cunningham considers was originally built during the reign of Huvishka (one of the Scythian princes whose sovereignty succeeded that of the Bactrian Greeks), about the commencement of the Christian era, but to have been repaired, and made as it now stands, about A.D. 720, by a king of Kanauj (*Arch. Reports*, Vol. V, page 78). Not far off are the remains of another large tope, known as Court's, which was built by Kanishka of Kashmir in A.D. 18. Another tope, which was opened by General Cunningham, (that at Sonala Pind), he dates *circa* 70 A.C. (*Arch. Reports*, Vol. II, p. 168).

The remains generally about Manikyala are therefore of considerable antiquity, ranging, at least, from the first to the eighth centuries, and prove that the neighbourhood was the seat of a large and important religious community of Buddhists.

The Khangah Mound.

The first excavation undertaken by Mr. Grant was at the site known as the Khangah Mound. This mound is General Cunningham's No. 19 (*vide* map in the *Arch. Reports*, Vol. II, p. 153), and is described by that officer as "a large, low, mound, 1,500 feet N.N.E. of the village of Sāgari, and just half a mile to the south-east of General Court's tope." Its present name is derived from the grave of a Muhammadan Pir, named Jamāl, who is stated, by the fakir in charge of the place, to have met a violent death, by means not explained, during the reign of Sikandar Lodi of Delhi (A.D. 1488—1517).

A plan of the mound is given in the accompanying plate. It is roughly square, with sides of 120 feet; it does not rise much above the prevailing level, and is nearly covered with trees and shrubs. There is an artificial pond of water, measuring 43 feet by 38 feet, forty-eight feet south of the mound, and another pond,

about the same size, (not shown in the plan,) stands about 150 yards to the north-east of the fakir's hut. A rough track, leading from the village of Sāgari to the katcha road running from Rawat Sami to Kalar, runs along the south and west sides of the mound.

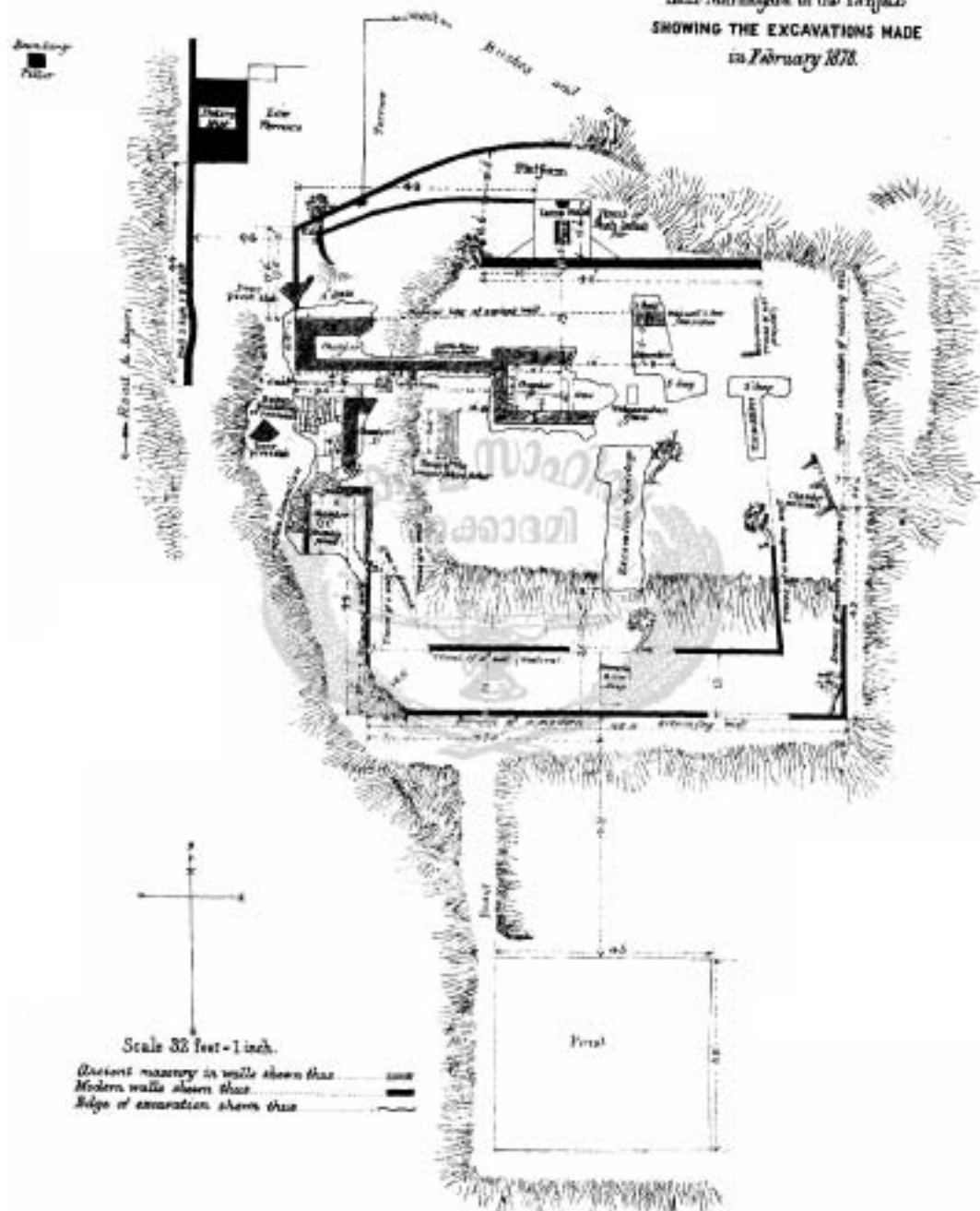
The plan renders unnecessary any very detailed description of the mound, but as an elevation drawing of it, and sections, cannot be given for want of space, it may be mentioned that the steepest side of it is the north, where the ground rises, by two platforms, from the fakir's hut to the pir's tomb. This tomb stands on a small square platform of its own, resting against a low stone wall. On the east and west sides the ground falls, with varying graduation, to the prevailing level of the fields; on the south side the descent is stepped (as will be seen from the remains of retaining walls shown on the plan), as is also the case at the south-east and south-west corners.

The surface of the mound is covered with the remains and traces of walls, and with blocks and fragments of stone. There are two Muhammadan graves, besides that of the pir. The highest part of the mound lies east of, and close to, the pir's tomb, and is about 12 feet above the level of the pond to the south, but the whole of the mound south of the wall against which that tomb rests, being an area of about 60 feet from north to south and 90 feet from east to west, is not much lower.

The excavations did not disclose anything of interest, but they confirmed General Cunningham's previous supposition that the site is the ruins of a Buddhist monastery. The walls disclosed are not arranged, so far as can be seen, as those of monasteries frequently are, that is, a series of cells around a rectangular open court (*vide* those of Takht-i-Bahi, Sarnath near Banaras, and the rock-cut examples at Ajāṭṭha and elsewhere), and therefore do not serve to explain the squareness of the mound. As the pir's grave is on one side, the mound cannot have been raised, dressed, and provided with retaining walls for it, nor are there walls everywhere below which could, in the course of ages, have assisted to raise a mound of such regular form. It is only evident that the mound is of much later date than the walls disclosed by the excavations.

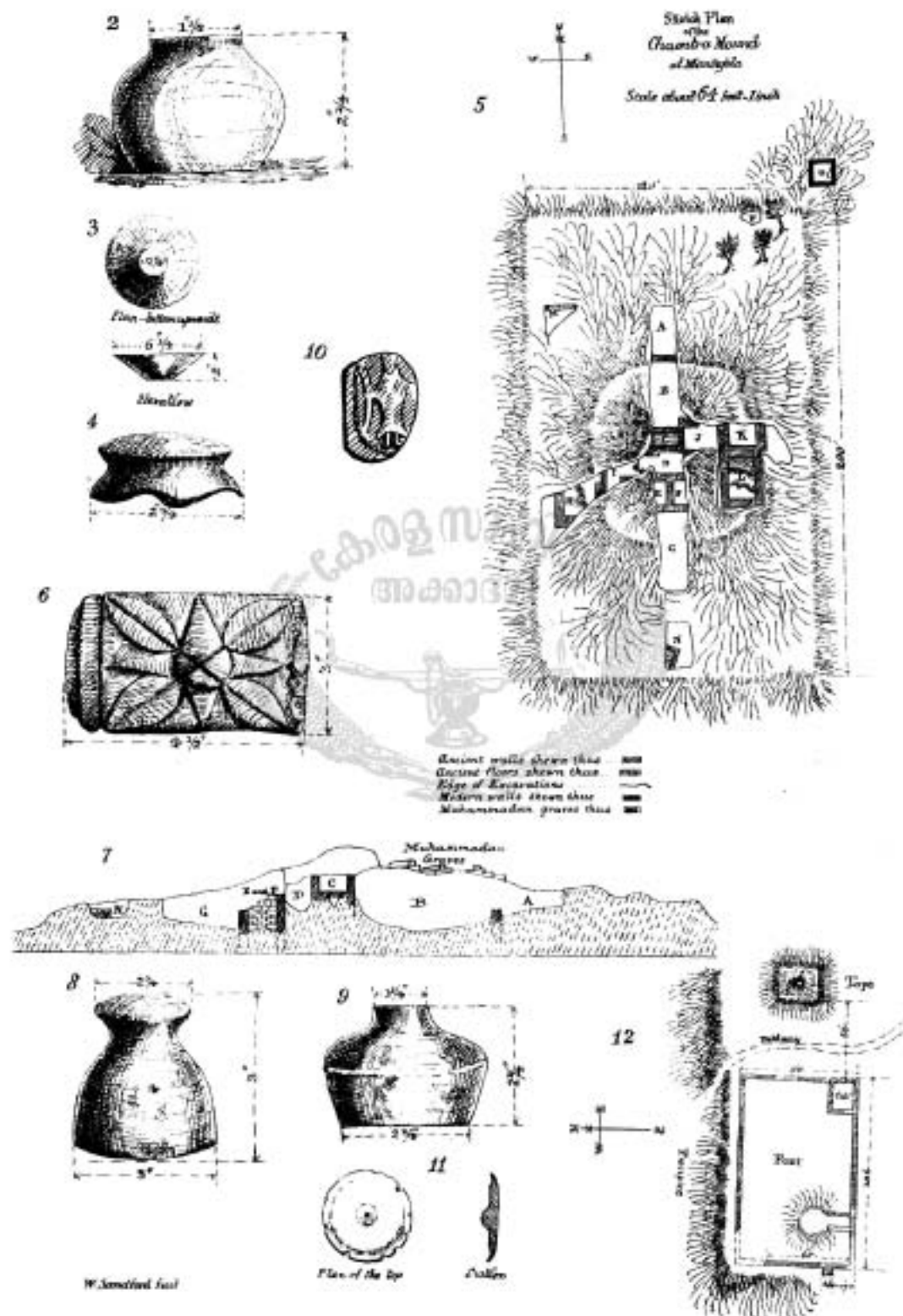
There is no direct evidence of the age of the

PLAN OF THE
KHANGAH MOUND
 near Miraligala in the Punjab
 SHOWING THE EXCAVATIONS MADE
 in February 1878.



MANIKYĀLA EXCAVATIONS.

Ind. Antiquary.



deep masonry remains opened out. There is an entire absence of ornament, even of the simplest kind. Two of the three copper coins found were partly legible, and are described further on, but they do not show that the masonry was of that age, though of course it may be so without any stretch of probability.

The excavations consisted of five cuts. One of them is a large and a regular one, commencing in the west side of the mound and running completely into the centre of it. Of the other four, two were merely pits in the body of the north-east quarter of the mound; the remaining two being cuts, in continuation of each other, from the south side of the mound towards the centre.

The first mentioned of these cuts was the only one which repaid the trouble and expense, as it will be seen, from the plan, that it everywhere opened out walls and floors, and disclosed, more or less completely, four chambers (which are marked A, B, C and D on the plan). This cut was commenced 9 or 10 yards from the fakir's hut, and over the four-inch drain near the south corner of chamber A, and was suggested by an older excavation (made by the present fakir in search for stones), which had discovered several large blocks of stone (among them being one of two supposed door-pivot slabs shown in the plan). Carrying the excavation along the long south wall of chamber (A), another rectangular chamber (B), 10' 5" x 9' 3", was found in the centre of the mound, with steps leading out of it, on one side, eastward.

The following are the details of each of these chambers, and the pavements near them—premisng that the sandstone masonry is mostly a coarsed rubble, which in solidity and regularity is almost like block-in-course, and is laid dry, without mortar.

Chamber A.—The west, or outside end of this chamber, was about four feet below the surface of the mound; the rest about three feet. It is 5 feet wide and (possibly) 36 feet long. [This qualification as to its length is given, because only one end of the interior was cleared out, though the exterior of the southern side wall was disclosed for a length of 40 feet.] The north and west walls are 3' 10" thick; the south 2' 9" thick. All are stopped at one level, about 2 feet above the base. Outside the north wall,

and close to it, is a drain 4 inches deep. This drain was lined with large blocks of stone, and was more than 18 inches deep; (it was not cleared to its full depth). Beyond (north of) this drain a rough stone floor was partly exposed.

On the south side of chamber A another 4 inch drain was found, but this, instead of being close under the wall (as in the foregoing case), runs diagonally up the middle of a paved passage (5 feet wide) leading to chamber B (though chamber B has no door where that passage meets it). This drain was also more than 18 inches deep.

It is impossible to say what chamber A was, but it resembles that opened up by General Cunningham at Sarnath, near Banaras, in 1835 (*Arch. Reports*, Vol. I, p. 120), being similarly without doors. It also resembles the long chamber in the Ionic monastery at Shah-kidheri figured by Fergusson (*Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 176), though the latter is too large to afford so good a parallel as the Sarnath example.

The absence of doors to chamber A points to the remains found being merely the foundation of a superstructure of wood. The walls are cut off, quite smoothly, at an uniform level, and are not of an irregular height and rough top surface, as they would have been had a masonry superstructure been rudely thrown down.

Chamber B.—This is in the centre of the mound, 40 feet from the west outside edge of chamber A, its centre being 64 feet from the southern edge of the mound. It has a door on one side, with two steps leading eastward, and its dimensions are 10' 5" x 9' 3". The walls are of an uniform thickness of 2' 6", cut off level 2' 6" from the floor. The second of the two 4 inch drains runs diagonally through it.

Chamber C.—This was probably 12' x 11' and is roughly paved inside and outside.

Chamber D.—The walls of this chamber (2' 6" thick) are much ruined and are 3 feet high on the north side and 8 inches on the west side. One of the stones in its west wall is 8' long by 2' 6" broad. Outside the chamber is a flagged floor (of which one of the stones is 4' 3" x 3' 4") which was cleared out for 10 feet westwards.

The floors of all the chambers are nearly at one level, which may be, say, 4 or 5 feet above

the level of the water of the pond on the south side of the mound.

With the exception of the wall (3 feet thick) found in the pit nearest the pir's grave, the above were all the remains of ancient masonry found. In the other excavations there were merely loose rough stones.

The articles found in the mound were as follows:—

Three copper coins.

A small earthen pot (plate, fig. 2).

Some fragments of earthen saucers (fig. 3).

A fragment of pottery ware (fig. 4).

The coins are $\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter and all much oxidized. One resembles figures 19 and 20 Plate xi. of Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, and possesses on the obverse an indistinct coated figure facing to the left, with two illegible characters, and on the reverse a mutilated erect figure with the monogram 𑀘𑀓 . It may therefore possibly be of the Indo-Scythian Prince Kanerki of Kabul, of whom other coins have been found at Manikyala. The second coin has on the obverse a coated figure, and on the reverse Śiva and the bull Nandi, but both sides are very indistinct, and it would be rash to attempt to identify it. The third coin is indistinguishable.

These articles were found from four to five feet below the surface. The saucers (fig. 3) and fragment of pottery (fig. 4) were found in chamber A. The former resemble the saucers found in the Sarnath tope near Banaras, many of which were still lying about there in December 1877.

The Chaotra Mound.

This is 1500 feet north of the Khangah mound, and about the same distance from the important stupa known as Court's tope. It has been briefly described by General Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, Vol. II, pp. 169–70), being figured in the map (p. 153 *ibid.*) as mound No. 20.

The mound is quite bare except for three small trees, and a number of Muhammadan graves. Gold coins are said to have been found in it. A plan of the mound is given in fig. 5.

The mound, which is roughly rectangular, measures 200 feet from north to south, and 120 east to west, while it rises from 12 to 14 feet, if not more, above the prevailing level of the surrounding fields.¹ At first it falls rather

suddenly from this height, but towards the edges the descent is gradual.

The more important excavations made were in the form of a St. Andrew's cross, or two lines intersecting each other diagonally in the highest part of the mound. Walls were opened out everywhere, two cells or chambers being excavated completely.

The masonry was much of the same kind as that in the Khangah mound, that is, of kankar and sandstone, in courses, often of square blocks, and laid dry. There was not a fragment of ornament of any kind on the walls, and the work altogether was disappointingly uninteresting in its results.

If the walls discovered are of the same age as the neighbouring topes, General Cunningham's inference (before the excavations were made) that they are the remains of a Buddhist monastery is almost inevitable, as their arrangement is not roomy enough for any known lay purpose, and it is difficult otherwise to explain the existence of these massive isolated groups of cells over so many square miles of country, near well known topes. General Cunningham has shown that there was no town in this neighbourhood (Manikyala itself, two miles off, having apparently never been much more than a large village affording accommodation to devotees), of which this and other isolated ruins might have formed part.

The various chambers and other parts of the excavations are lettered on the sketch-plan fig. 5, A to P, and the following notes follow the order of these letters:—

(A)—A shallow excavation from one to three feet deep, with a wall at one end.

(B)—This excavation averaged 7 feet deep. It was full of small rough stones and human bones (probably Muhammadan) down to the bottom; some of the skeletons were complete, being protected at the sides and top by slabs of stone. Some fragments of a metal vessel (like a lota); a corroded piece of bar iron; an ornamental brick (shown in fig. 6); and several shallow saucers (like those found in the Khangah mound), were found.

(C)—This was a brick-paved cell, without door, the floor of which was 7 feet from the original surface of the mound, and, being high above all the other masonry work, may have been

¹ These dimensions differ from General Cunningham's.

much more recent in date. The style of work was however identical with that deeper down. The sketch section given as fig. 7, shows the position of this cell. The dimensions of the cell were 10' 8" \times 11' 6", the floor being of red bricks, each 9" \times 9" \times 2½". The floor was opened, but nothing was found below it to a depth of two feet. About the floor were found several pieces of corroded rod iron, some fragments of red and black pottery (none sufficiently perfect to enable a sketch to be made), and many human bones (certainly Muhammadan, the centre of the mound being thickly occupied by graves). The floor of the chamber is six feet above the bottom of the excavation J and chamber L.

(D)—This cut was carried down 5 feet through stiff clay, stones, (some large ones,) and human bones (probably Muhammadan).

(E and F)—These are the ends of two chambers, abutting on each other, 9 feet wide from north to south; the base of the massive walls was not reached at 9 feet from the surface; excavated mostly in stiff clay.

(G)—An excavation from 3 to 9 feet deep. Very few stones, and those rough and small.

(H)—This excavation, a shallow one, from 1 to 2 feet deep, disclosed the corner of a chamber. In it were found the articles figured in plate as Nos. 8 and 9. No. 8 is like a potter's moulding tool, and is solid, of red brick. No. 9 is a small earthenware vessel. The wall bounding this chamber on the east side was at a level 2 feet higher than that at the south west corner, the ground rising suddenly from H to D.

(I)—This cut was carried from 7 to 10 feet from the surface, through stiff clay mixed with human bones and large stones. It was a continuation, at a lower level, of excavation D, and with D seems to have been a passage between chambers F, E, and H.

(J)—This excavation, 8' 3" wide between the walls east and west, was carried down 9 feet, nearly to the foot of the west wall of chamber K. A copper coin (figured in the plate as No. 10) was found at a depth of 7 or 8 feet. It resembles some of the coins of the Scythian princes of the Panjāb, circa A.D. 400.

(K)—At this spot a shallow excavation disclosed a chamber, in which the human bones, found elsewhere, were deposited, and then covered over.

(L)—This chamber, excepting part of the floor, was completely opened out, and was 9' 6" \times 18' 4". The walls were 2 feet thick and 5 feet high, with a projecting plinth 2 feet high above the floor. The walls were stopped off at an uniform level. The floor, where got at, was 8' 6" from the surface, and was hidden beneath two or three feet of hard clay, mixed with human bones. These bones, from their position, can scarcely have been Muhammadan. An illegible copper coin was found at a depth of 7 feet.

(M)—A shallow excavation, which disclosed part of a wall.

(N)—Another shallow excavation, which turned up a rude stone platform with a raised edge.

(O and P)—Shallow excavations not carried on. The gold coins are said to have been found in O.

In this mound were also found two copper coins and the circular stone shown as fig. 11. The coins were apparently Hindu, but have not been identified. They have a lion on one side, and an elephant on the other. The coins are probably Rajput, similar to those figured in plate xi, figs. 11 and 12, of Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*. The circular stone was 16 inches in diameter, and looked like the lid of a box. A square stone box, in which General Court found a relic casket, is still lying in the village of Gura not far off. The writer was not present when these coins and the circular stone were found, and was unable to discover where they were met with.

Pari-kī-dherī mounds.

These two mounds have been fully described by General Cunningham (*Arch. Rep.* Vol. II, pp. 168-9), and are marked No. 16 on that officer's map. The mound on which the fakir's tomb stands was only partly uncovered. The other, close at hand, said to be a monastery, was completely opened out, but the writer was not present and cannot furnish details. The only article found was a small copper coin, which turned up at a depth of 4 feet. On one side can be traced a long eared figure, in boots, like those on the Indo-Scythian coins so numerous found in the Panjāb, but the other side is illegible, and the coin cannot be identified.

These were all the excavations undertaken.

The following notes are added regarding two

localities which are known, but have not, apparently, been described.

The first of these is *Kotera-ki-dheri*, about a quarter of a mile south-east of mound No. 3, and about a mile from the village of Syndon-ka-mora, the intervening space being a series of rugged fissures and denuded ridges of sandstone. The spot is General Cunningham's No. 14, and was examined by General Court, who found some coins in it. The remains consist of a tope and monastery, the latter being a large rectangular walled enclosure, in good preservation, which the people about call a fort. A plan appears in the plate, fig. 12.

The tope is now roughly conical, not allowing for the partial removal of the upper core by General Court, but apparently had a square basement. The mound of the tope rises 15 to 20 feet above the level of the pathway, which runs between the tope and monastery.

The facing of part of the tope still remains, and looks, at a distance, nearly perfect.

The walls of the monastery are nearly perfect except at one corner, and they are about 100 feet above the ravine on the north. The work is constructed of large blocks of sandstone, without mortar, and, so far as it goes, is more perfect than anything about Manikyāla,

Ventura's tope only excepted. The masonry is in courses, with the interstices filled in regularly with smaller stones. Some of the blocks of stone are rather large—one being 4' 10" long × 1' 7" high.

Khanda-ka-dhera, the other place, is about a mile in a south-eastern direction from Kotera-ki-dheri, a nala being crossed between them. It is a plateau 200 feet long by 80 or 90 feet broad, and is the highest point in the entire neighbourhood, being conspicuous, with its survey cairn, from the village of Syndon-ka-mora. It is surrounded, from 150 to 200 feet below, by harsh ridges and ravines, and is covered with fragments of pottery more thickly than the vicinity of Ventura's tope. Numbers of coins are said to have been found without excavation. In a few minutes the writer found a small illegible copper coin, a fragment of another, some beads of coral and lapis lazuli, and several pieces of black and red pottery. The only remains of masonry are those of two rude buttresses. The site is apparently however not ancient, as General Cunningham, who afterwards examined it, considered there had been a modern hamlet there; it is therefore probably not worth examination. There is a fine view of the Pānch hills from the plateau.

ON MAHĀVĪRA AND HIS PREDECESSORS.

BY PROF. HERMANN JACOBI, PH. D., MÜNSTER.

In the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VIII, p. 311, a paper on the *Six Tīrthakus* by James d'Alwis was reproduced with notes by the editor. One of these heretical teachers, Nigant̥ha Nātaputta, has lately become of great interest, as he has been identified with Mahāvīra, the supposed founder of the Jaina sect. The proof of this identity is conclusive. For the Buddhās and Jainas agree not only in the name of the sect, viz., Pāli.—Nigant̥ha, Niggaṇṭha, Nigandha; Sanskrit.—Nirgrantha, and Prākṛit.—Niyam̥tha Niggaṇṭha; Sanskrit.—Nirgrantha,—respectively; and in the name of the founder Pāli.—Nātaputta, Nātaputta, Sanskrit.—Jñātiputra, and Prākṛit.—Nātaputta, Nāyaputta; Sanskrit.—Jñātiputra, Jñātiputra respectively; but also on the place of Jñātiputra's death, the town Pāvā; see my edition of the *Kaṭhasūtra*, pp. 4 sqq. Yet there remain some anomalies in the forms of these names and some obscure points in the

doctrines of the Nigant̥has as defined by the Buddhās. To account for, and clear up, these is my purpose in the first part of this paper.

The word Nigant̥ha in Pāli books, and Niyam̥tha in Jaina *Sūtras* (e.g. the *Sūtra-kṛitūṅga* and *Bhagavati*) are neither Pāli nor Jaina Prākṛit. For its Sanskrit prototype, Nirgrantha, current with the Jainas and Northern Buddhists, would in both dialects have regularly become Niggaṇṭha, which form, indeed, is the common one in Jaina Prākṛit, but not so in Pāli. The form Nigant̥ha was almost certainly adopted by both sects from the Māgadhī dialect; for it occurs in the Aśoka inscription at Delhi, separate edict I. 5 (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 150 note). This hypothesis becomes a certainty for the word Nātaputta. As translated in Sanskrit it is Jñāta or Jñātiputra, the regular Pāli derivative would be Nātaputta with a palatal ñ. The dental in its stead is a Māga-

dhism. For, in the Māgadhi inscriptions of Aśoka, we read *nāti*, *anā*, etc. = Sanskrit *jāti*, *anya*, etc., which words become *nāti*, *anā*, etc. in Pāli and in the dialects of the Aśoka inscriptions at Gīrnār and Kapardigiri. The palatal *ñ* appears in Pāli in the first part of the name when used as the name of the Kshattriya clan to which Mahāvīra belonged. For I identify the *nātika* living near Koṭigāma mentioned in the *Mahāvagga Sutta* (Oldenberg's edition p. 232), with the Jñātaka Kshattriyas in Kuṇḍagrāma of the Jaina books. As regards the vowel of the second syllable, the different sources are at variance with each other. The Northern Buddhists spell the word with an *i*,—Jñātiputra in Sanskrit, and *Jo-thi-teen* in Chinese (*teen* means 'son'), the Southern ones with an *a*—Nātiputta, as do the Jainas, though Jñātiputra is not unfrequent in MSS. The form Nāyaputta proves nothing, for the syllables *y* and *r* are interchangeable in Jaina Prakṛit. M. Eug. Burnouf, commenting on the name in question, says: "J'ignore pourquoi le Pāli supprime l'*i* de *Djñāti*;¹ serait ce que le primitif véritable serait *Djñāti* et que le *Djñāti* en serait un prakṛitism correspondant à celui du *Sud nāti*, comme *djñā* correspond à *djñā*?" That M. Burnouf was perfectly right in his conjecture, can now be proved beyond a doubt. For the occasional spelling of the word with a lingual *t* Nātiputta shows an unmistakable trace of the original *ñ*. The Sanskrit for Nigaṇṭha Nātiputta was therefore in all probability Nirgrantha Jñātiputra, that of the Kshattriya clan Jñātika (Pāli—*Nātika*, Prakṛit—*Nāyaga*). It is perhaps not unworthy of remark that Nigaṇṭha Nātiputta must have made part of the most ancient tradition of the Buddhists, and cannot have been added to it in later times as both words conform, not to the phonetic laws of the Pāli language, but to those of the early Māgadhi.

We shall now treat of the opinions which the Buddhists ascribe to Nātiputta and to the Nigaṇṭhas in general, in order to show that they are in accordance with Jainism. One of its most characteristic features is the unduly extended idea of the animate world; not only are plants and trees endowed with life, and accordingly are not to be wantonly destroyed, but also particles of earth, water, fire and wind. The same doctrine was,

according to James d'Alwis, held by Nigaṇṭha Nātiputta: "He held that it was sinful to drink cold water: 'cold water,' he said, was imbued with a soul. Little drops of water were small souls, and large drops were large souls." In Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Dhammapadam* (Fausbøll's edition p. 398), the 'better Nigaṇṭhas' who go about naked, say that they cover their almsbowls lest particles of dust or spray, imbued with life, should fall into them. Compare *Kalpasūtra*, Sāmāchāri § 29, where a similar rule is given. These naked Nigaṇṭhas need not have been of the Digambara sect, for according to the *Achārāṅga Sūtra* it was considered a meritorious, not a necessary, penance for an ascetic to wear no clothes.

In the *Mahāvagga Sutta*, vi. 31, 1, Nigaṇṭha Nātiputta is said to hold the *kiriyaśāda* opposed to the *akiriyaśāda* of Gotama Buddha. The *kiriyaśāda*, or the belief in the activity of the soul, is one of the cardinal dogmas of the Jainas, and is found in their creed in the first chapter of the *Achārāṅga*.

James d'Alwis proceeds after the above quoted passage: "He [Nātiputta] also declared that there were three *daṇḍas* or agents for the commission of sin, and that the acts of the body (*kāya*), of the speech (*vāc*), and of the mind (*man*) were three separate causes, each acting independently of the other." Compare the subjoined passage from the third *udācāra* of the *Sthānāṅga*, in which the term *daṇḍa* in its relation to mind, speech and body occurs: *teso daṇḍo pūnatta, taṃ jāhā: man-daṇḍo, vāc-daṇḍo kāya-daṇḍo*. "There are declared three *daṇḍas*, namely, the *daṇḍa* of the mind, the *daṇḍa* of the speech, the *daṇḍa* of the body." Thus far all agrees with Jainism. James d'Alwis's account of Nātiputta's doctrines concludes: "This heretic asserted that crimes and virtues, happiness and misery, were fixed by fate, that as subject to these we cannot avoid them, and that the practice of the doctrine can in no wise assist us. In this notion his heresy consisted." As the Jaina opinions on these points do not materially differ from those of the Hindus in general, and as the doctrines defined above are inconsistent with the *kiriyaśāda* and with ascetic practices I do not doubt that the Buddhists committed an error, perhaps in order to

¹ Preserved however in *nātika*, if my conjecture about the identity of that word with the first part of Nātiputta be right.

stigmatise the Niganthas as heretics, who in their turn have misstated the Buddha doctrine of the *nirvāṇa*, saying that according to the Saṅgata's opinion the liberated souls return to the *Saṁsāra* (*punarbhavo'catvānti*). This misstatement occurs in Śīlāṅka's commentary on the *Āchārāṅga Sūtra* (867 A. D.), and can have no reference therefore to the Lamas and Chutakts of the Northern Buddhist church, as I formerly opined, for they were not yet in existence in Śīlāṅka's time.

We pass now to the outline of Nātaputta's system in the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, (Grimblot *Sept Suttas Palis*, p. 126). It may be remarked that, according to Mr. Rhys Davids (*Academy*, September 13th, 1879, p. 197) the passage in question is not commented upon in the Commentary *Samañgala Vāṇī*. Mr. Gogerly translated it thus: "In this world, great king, the Niganthas are well defended in four directions, that is, great king, the Niganthas in the present world by general abstinence (*from evil*) restrain sinful propensities, weaken evil by controlling it, and are ever under self-government. They are thus well defended on all sides, and this is called—being arrived at perfection, being with subjected passions, being established in virtue" (*ibidem*, p. 173). All this might as easily have been translated from a Jain *Sūtra*, and it would be difficult to tell the difference, but unfortunately this translation cannot be reconciled with our text. M. Bernouf's translation is more literal, but less intelligible; it runs thus: "En ce monde, grand roi, le mendiant Nigantha est retenu par le frein de quatre abstentions réunies. Et comment, grand roi, le mendiant Nigantha est-il retenu par le frein de quatre abstentions réunies? En ce monde, grand roi, le mendiant Nigantha est entièrement retenu par le lien qui enchaîne; il est enveloppé par tous les liens, enlacé par tous les liens, resserré par tous les liens; voilà de quelle manière, grand roi, le mendiant Nigantha est retenu par le frein de quatre abstentions réunies. Et parce qu'il est, ainsi retenu, grand roi, il est nommé Nigantha, c'est-à-dire libre de toute chaîne, pour qui toute chaîne est détruite, qui a secoué toutes les chaînes," (*ibidem*, p. 204). And in a note he adds: "Mais quand la définition dit qu'il est enlacé dans tous les liens, cela signifie qu'il obéit si complètement aux règles d'une rigoureuse abstention, qu'il semble que tous ses mouve-

ments soient enchaînés dans les liens qui le retiennent captif, &c." The general drift of this definition, especially the stress laid on control, savours of Jainism; but luckily we are not confined to such generalities for our deduction. For the phrase *chāturyāma saṁsara-saṁvato*, translated by Gogerly "well defended in four directions," and by Bernouf "retenu par le frein de quatre abstentions réunies" contains the distinct Jain term *chāturyāma*. It is applied to the doctrine of Mahāvīra's predecessor Pārśva, to distinguish it from the reformed creed of Mahāvīra, which is called *pañcayāma dharma*. The five *yāmas* are the five great vows, *mahāvratāni*, as they are usually named, viz. *ahiṁsā* not killing, *sāvṛita* truthful speech, *asteya* not stealing, *brahmacharya* chastity, *aparigraha* renouncing of all illusory objects. In the *chāturyāma dharma* of Mahāvīra *brahmacharya* was included in *aparigraha*. The most important passage is one of the *Bhagavati* (Weber, *Fragment der Bhagavati*, p. 185) where a dispute between Kālāsa Vesiyaputta, a follower of Pārśva (Pārśvachchejja, i. e. Pārśvapatyeya) and some disciples of Mahāvīra is described. It ends with Kālāsa's begging permission: *tujjhānā natthi chāturyāmaṁ dhammaṁ pañcayāmaṁ dhammaṁ apadikkhamānā dhammaṁ vasaṁvapaṇṇaṁ viharitā*: "to stay with you after having changed the Law of the four vows for the Law of the five vows enjoining compulsory confession." In Śīlāṅka's Commentary on the *Āchārāṅga* the same distinction is made between the *chāturyāmadharma* of Pārśva's followers and the *pañcayāma dharma* of Vardhamāna's *śiṣha* (Ed. Cal. p. 331). These particulars about the religion of the Jains previous to the reforms of Mahāvīra are so matter-of-fact like, that it is impossible to deny that they may have been handed down by trustworthy tradition. Hence we must infer that Nirgrantha already existed previous to Mahāvīra,—a result which we shall render more evident in the sequel by collateral proofs. On this supposition we can understand how the Buddhists ascribed to Nātaputta the *chāturyāma dharma*, though he altered just this tenet; for it is probable that the Buddhists ascribed the old Nirgrantha creed to Nātaputta, who then took the lead of the community, and of whose reforms, being indeed only trifling, his opponents were not aware. And though it looks like a logical trick, the testimony of the Bud-

dhists on this point might be brought forward as an argument for the existence of Nirgranthas previous to, and differing in details from, the *Ārtha* of Mahāvīra. But we have not to rely on so dubious arguments as this for our proposition. The arguments that may be adduced from the Jaina *Sūtras* in favour of the theory that Mahāvīra reformed an already existing religion, and did not found a new one, are briefly these. Mahāvīra plays a part wholly different from that of Buddha in the histories of their churches. His attainment to the highest knowledge cannot be compared to that of Buddha. The latter had to reject wrong beliefs and wrong practices before he found out the right belief and the right conduct. He seems to have carved out his own way,—a fact which required much strength of character, and which is easily recognised in all Buddhist writings. But Mahāvīra went through the usual career of an ascetic; he seems never to have changed his opinions nor to have rejected religious practices, formerly adhered to. Only his knowledge increased, as in the progress of his penance the hindrances to the higher degrees of knowledge were destroyed until it became absolute (*kevala*). His doctrines are not spoken of in the *Sūtras* as his discoveries, but as decrees or old established truths, *paññattas*. All this would be next to impossible if he had been like Buddha the original founder of his religion; but it is just what one would expect to be the record of a reformer's life and preaching. The record of the fourteen *pūrvas* points the same way; for these books, which were lost some generations after Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa*, are said to have existed since the time of the first Tīrthakara Rishabha or Ādinātha; they must therefore be considered as the sacred books of the original Nirgranthas previous to Mahāvīra's reforms. But all these arguments are open to one fatal objection, viz., that they are taken from the Jaina literature which was reduced to writing so late as the fifth century A.D. During the preceding ten centuries, an opponent will say, the Jains modelled everything in their sacred books on the preconceived theory of the uninterrupted existence of their faith since the beginning of the world. On this supposition the whole of the *sūtras* would be a most wonderful fabric of fraud; for everything is in keeping with the theory in question, and no trace of the contrary

left. I place much confidence therefore in the Jaina *Sūtras*, being of opinion that they are materially the same as they were in the early centuries after Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa*, as may be proved to be the case with the *Āchārādāṇa*, the present disposition of which is already followed in Bhadrabāhu's *Niryukti*. Yet we must confirm the above suggested opinions by evidence from another quarter, open to no objection. If the sects of the Bauddhas and Jainas were of equal antiquity, as must be assumed on the supposition that Buddha and Mahāvīra were contemporaries and the founder of their sects, we should expect either sect mentioned in the books of their opponents. But this is not the case. The Nirgranthas are frequently mentioned by the Buddhists, even in the oldest parts of the *Piṭakas*. But I have not yet met with a distinct mention of the Bauddhas in any of the old Jaina *Sūtras*, though they contain lengthy legends about Jāmālī, Gosāla and other heterodox teachers. It follows that the Nirgranthas were considered by the Bauddhas an important sect, whilst the Nirgranthas could ignore their adversaries. As this is just the reverse position to that which both sects mutually occupy in all after-times, and as it is inconsistent with our assumption of a contemporaneous origin of both creeds, we are driven to the conclusion that the Nirgranthas were not a newly-founded sect in Buddha's time. This seems to have been the opinion of the authors of the *Piṭakas* too; for we find no indication of the contrary in them. In James d'Alwis' paper on the *Six Tīrthakars*, the "Digambaras" appear to have been regarded as an old order of ascetics, and all of those heretical teachers betray the influence of Jainism in their doctrines or religious practices, as we shall now point out.

Gosāla Makkhaliputta was the slave of a nobleman. His master from whom he ran away, "pursued him and seized him by his garments; but they loosening Gosāla effected his escape naked. In this state he entered a city, and passed for Digambara Jaina or Bauddha, and founded the sect which was named after him." According to the Jains he was originally a disciple of Mahāvīra, but afterwards set himself up for a Tīrthakara. In the *Mahāvīra-Charitra* of Hemachandra, he defends the precept of nakedness against the papils of Pārśva, and "gets beaten, and almost killed by the women

of a village in Magadha, because he is a naked Śramaṇa, or mendicant."—Wilson, *Works*, vol. I. p. 294, note 2.

Purāṇa Kāśyapa declined accepting clothes "thinking that as a Digambara he would be better respected."

Ajita Keśakambhala believed trees and shrubs to have a *jīva*, and that "one who cut down a tree, or destroyed a creeper, was guilty as a murderer."

Kakudha Kātyāyana also "declared that cold water was imbued with a soul."

The preceding four Tirthakas appear all to have adopted some or other doctrines or practices which make part of the Jaina system, probably from the Jains themselves. More difficult is the case with Sañjaya-Belāṭṭhaputta. For the account of his doctrines in the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* has been so differently translated by M. Burnouf and by M. Gogerly as to suspend decision. According to the former Sañjaya's doctrine, which is called *anuttamavāda*, would coincide with the *syādvāda* of the Jains; but according to the latter it denotes no more than perfect indifference to all transcendental problems, not the compatibility of one solution with its contrary. All depends on the interpretation of the two words we use in the text, about which it is impossible to form a correct opinion without the help of a commentary.

It appears from the preceding remarks that Jaina ideas and practices must have been current at the time of Mahāvira and independently of him. This, combined with the other arguments which we have adduced, leads us to the opinion that the Nirgranthas were really in existence long before Mahāvira, who was the reformer of the already existing sect. This granted, it is not difficult to form a tolerably correct idea of the relation between Buddhism and Jainism. The former is not an offshoot of the latter; for Buddha rejected the principal dogmas and practices of the Nirgranthas; it is rather a protest against it. All that has been said to maintain that Buddhism stands in a closer connection with Jainism, is to no effect from lack of proof. The proposed identification of Mahāvira's disciple, the Gautama Indrabhūti with the Gautama Śākyamuni, because both belonged to the *gotra* of Gotama, has been refuted by Profs. Wilson, Weber and others. It can only be maintained on the principles of

Fluellen's logic: "There is a river in Macedonia; and there is also, moreover, a river in Monmouth. It is called Wye at Monmouth, but it is out of my prains what is the name of the other river. But 'tis all one: it is so like as my fingers to my fingers; and there is salmons in both."

Little better is the second argument, that there were twenty-four Buddhas who immediately preceded Gautama Buddha. These twenty-four Buddhas have been compared with the twenty-four Tirthakaras of the Jains, though their names have little in common. As Buddharejected the last Tirthakara at least as an heretic, he could only have recognised twenty-three. The only inference which can be made from the twenty-four Tirthakaras and twenty-five Buddhas in texts of recognised authority is that the fiction in question is an old one. Whether there be any foundation for this Buddhistical theory, it is not for me to decide; all authorities on Buddhism have given their verdict to the contrary. But it is different with the Jains. For, since we know that Jainism was not founded by Mahāvira, it follows that somebody else was the real founder of the sect, and it is possible that many reformers preceded Mahāvira.

It is the opinion of nearly all scholars who have written on this question that Pārśva was the real founder of Jainism. The Rev. Dr. Stevenson says in his Preface to the *Translation of the Kalpasutra*, p. xii: "From Mahāvira upwards, indeed, to the preceding Tirthakara Pārśvanāth, we have no list of head teachers, but we have only an interval of 250 years, while the term of Pārśva's sublunary existence is still bounded by the possible number of a hundred years. . . . The moderation of the Jains, up to the time of Pārśvanāth, is the more remarkable as after that they far outstrip all their compeers in the race of absurdity, making the lives of their Tirthakaras extend to thousands of years, and interposing between them countless ages, thus enabling us to trace with some confidence the boundary between the historical and the fabulous." Whatever may be thought of this argument, it is at least favourable to the opinion that Pārśva is an historical person. This is rendered still more credible by the distinct mention of his followers and his doctrines in the Jaina *Sūtras*. That self-same doctrine, the *cātaryāna dharma*, is mentioned by the Buddhists, though ascribed to Nātaputta.

But there is nothing to prove that Parśva was the founder of Jainism. Jaina tradition is unanimous in making Rīṣhabha the first Tīrthakara. Though he is stated to have lived 840,000 great years, and have died something less than 100,000,000 oceans of years before Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa, yet there may be something historical in the tradition which makes him the first Tīrthakara. For the Brāhmins too have myths in their *Parāṇas* about a Rīṣhabha, son of king Nābhi and Meru, who had a hundred sons, Bharata and the rest, and entrusting Bharata with the government of his kingdom, adopted the life of an anchorite.—Wilson, *Viṣṇu Parāṇa*, vol. II., p. 103 sqq. All these particulars are also related by the Jains of their Rīṣhabha; and from the more detailed account in the *Bhāgavata Parāṇa* it is evident that the fabulous founder of the Jaina sect must indeed be meant (*ibid.*, p. 104, note 1). But what value belongs

to these myths of the *Parāṇas* about Rīṣhabha, whether they are founded on facts, or were merely suggested by the legendary history of the Jāinas, it is wholly impossible to decide.

Of the remaining Tīrthakaras I have little to add. Sumati, the fifth Tīrthakara, is apparently identical with Bharata's son Sumati, of whom it is said in the *Bhāgavata* that he "will be irreligiously worshipped, by some infidels, as a divinity" (Wilson, *ibid.*).

Arīṣṭanemi, the 22nd Tīrthakara, is connected with the Kṛṣṇa-myths through his wife Rāgimati, daughter of Ugrasena.

But we must close our researches here, content to have obtained a few glimpses into the prehistorical development of Jainism. The last point which we can perceive is Pārśva; beyond him all is lost in the mist of fable and fiction.

Münster, Westphalia, 18th March 1880.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM NEPĀL.

BY PANDIT BHAGVĀNLĀL INDRAJĠ, AND DR. G. BÜHLER, C.I.E.

No. 1.—An Inscription of Māndava, dated
Samvat 886.

This inscription is incised on the lower part of a broken pillar placed to the left of the door of the temple of Chāngu-Nārāyaṇa,¹ about five miles to the north-east of Kāṭmāṇḍu. The pillar is about twenty feet high without the capital. Its lower half is square, half of the upper part is octagonal, higher up it becomes sixteen-cornered, and finally round. Originally it was crowned by a lotus-capital surmounted by a Garuḍa, about four feet high, shaped like a winged man kneeling on one knee. The workmanship is very good, and the figure shows the flowing locks, which occur frequently on the sculptures of the Gupta period. The weight of the Garuḍa seems to have been the cause of the pillar's fall from its old base, which is still to be seen just opposite the door of the temple, where numerous fragments of its capital and of the Garuḍa also are lying about. After its

fall, a royal physician, called Chakrapāṇi, about twenty years ago, had a new capital made for it, consisting of a gilt lotus and a *Chakra*, and put it up in its present position. In doing so the Vaid neglected to add a new base. He simply planted the pillar in the ground. Hence a portion of the inscription, which is incised on three sides of the square lower part of the pillar, has been buried in the earth. In spite of my entreaties the priest at Chāngu-Nārāyaṇa would not allow me to lay the buried lines bare. I have, therefore, been obliged to present the inscription in a mutilated form.

The form of the letters agrees exactly with that of the Gupta inscriptions. They are clearly and sharply incised. With the exception of the first part the preservation is good. The language is Sanskrit, and excepting the two first lines, the whole is in verse. The numbers of the verses are marked by the ancient figures.

Transcript. Part I.

[¹] संवत् ३८९ ज्येष्ठमासे शुक्लपक्षे प्रतिपदि १

[²] [रो]हिणीनक्षत्रयुक्ते चन्द्रमसि मुहूर्ते प्रशस्तेभिजिनि

¹ This temple stands in the centre of a small village on a spur of the hills, at the base of which flows the river Manmadī. Chāngu, literally 'he with a bill,' is in the Nepāl language a name of Garuḍa, and the 'compound' means therefore Garuḍa and Viṣṇu. The temple contains an

old composite image of Viṣṇu riding on Garuḍa. The present building is new, having been erected in Nepāl Samvat 884, or 1024 a.d. by Queen Biddhi-Lakṣmi, as is shown by an inscription: see also below.

- [³] [श्री]कृत्साङ्कितदीप्तचारुविपुल[प्रो]दृत्तव[क्ष]स्थलः
 [⁴] - वक्ष - नपद्यवाहु[रुचिरः] स्म[र्त्तु]प्रवृद्धोत्सवः [I]
 [⁵] [त्रै]लोक्यभ्रमयन्त्रव - - - - - व्यासङ्गनित्योव्ययः
 [⁶] [दो]ल्लाहौ निवसञ्जयत्यनि[मि]षेरभ्यर्च्यमानो हरिः [II] १ [II]
 [⁷] - - - - - स्ता - - - - - यप्रतापविभ[वे]र्षा[याम]संक्षेपकृत्
 [⁸] [राजा]भू[दृ]षदेव इत्य[नु]पमः स[त्य]प्रतिबोधयः [I]
 [⁹] - - - - - सवितेव दीप्तकिर[णैः] सम्यग्भू[तैः] सैः सुतैः
 [¹⁰] [विद्व]द्विर्वह्मगार्ध्वतैरच[पलैः] रूप्यतै[र्विनीता]त्मभिः [II] २ [II]
 [¹¹] [त]स्याभूत्तनयः समृद्ध[विष]यः सङ्क्षेपज्योरोभिः
 [¹²] [राजा] शङ्करदेव इत्यप - - - - - तिप्रदः सत्यधीः [I]
 [¹³] - - - - - विक्रमदानमानवि[भवे]र्लब्ध्वा यशः पुष्कलम्
 [¹⁴] - - - - - ररक्ष नामभि[मते]र्भू[यै]र्भूगेन्द्रोपमः [II] ३ [II]
 [¹⁵] [तस्या]प्युत्तमधर्मकर्मय - - - - - विद्वामिकः
 [¹⁶] [ध]र्मा[त्मा] विनयेप्सुरुत्त[मगुणः] श्रीध[र्मे]देवो नृपः [I]
 [¹⁷] [ध]र्मेणैव कुलकमागत - - - - - राज्यं महत्²

Part II.

- [¹] देवी राज्यवती तु तस्य नृपतेर्भार्याभिधाना सती³
 [²] श्रीरेवानुगता भविष्यति तदा लोकान्तरासङ्गिनी [I]
 [³] यस्याज्जात इहानवदाचरितः श्रीमानदेवो नृपः
 [⁴] कान्या शारदचन्द्रमा इव जगत्प्रह्लादयन्तर्भेदा [II] ७ [II]
 [⁵] प्रत्यागत्य सगङ्गदाक्षरमिदन्दीर्घं विनिश्चस्य च
 [⁶] प्रेम्णा पुत्रमुवाच साश्रुवदना यातः पिता ते दिवं [I]
 [⁷] हा पुत्रास्तमिते तवाद्य पितरि प्राणैर्वृथा किम्मम
 [⁸] राज्यम्पुत्रक कारयाहमनुयाम्यशैव भर्तुर्मातिम् [II] ८ [II]
 [⁹] किम्मे भोगविधानविस्तरकृतैराशामयैर्व्वन्धनैः
 [¹⁰] मायास्वप्ननिभे समागमविधौ भर्त्ता विना जीवितुम् [I]
 [¹¹] यामीत्येवमवास्थिता खलु तदा दीनात्मना सूनुना
 [¹²] पादौ भक्तिवशात्त्रिपीठ्य शिरसा विनापिता यज्ञतः [II] ९ [II]
 [¹³] किम्भोगैर्मम किं हि जीवितसुखैस्त्वद्विप्रयोगे सति
 [¹⁴] प्राणान्पूर्वमहज्जहामि परतस्त्वं यास्यसीतो दिवम् [I]
 [¹⁵] इत्येवमुत्पङ्क्तुतान्तरगतैर्व्वाम्बुभिर्भेददं
 [¹⁶] शम्भुशैर्व्विहग्रीव पाशवशगा बद्धा ततस्तस्थुषी [II] १० [II]
 [¹⁷] सत्पुत्रेण सहोर्द्धुदेहिकविधिं भर्तुः प्रकृत्यात्मनः

Part III.

- [¹] अन्नापास्त्रविधानकौशलगुणैः प्रज्ञातसत्त्वोरु[भिः]⁴
 [²] श्रीमन्महामुजः प्रमृष्टकनकश्लक्ष्णावदातच्छविः [I]

* Nine lines following line 17 are buried in the ground.

* L. 1, read अभिधानात्. L. 8, the enclitic कार्त्त is improperly used for the simple verb. L. 14, read

प्राण². L. 15, read रुद्धम्. L. 17, the म of भर्तुः looks like क. After line 17, seven lines have been lost.

* L. 1, read 'सत्त्वोरुभिः'.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

- [³] पीनांसो विकचासितोत्पलदलप्रस्पर्दमानेक्षणः
 [⁴] साक्षात्काम इवाङ्गवान्नरपतिः कान्ताविलासोत्सवः [11]१३[11]
 [⁵] सूपैश्चारुभिरुच्छितैर्वर्जितुमती पिबा ममालङ्कृता
 [⁶] क्षात्तेणाजिमखाश्रयेण विधिना दीक्षाश्रितोहं स्थितः [1]
 [⁷] यात्राग्रसरितङ्गुयाय तरसा गच्छामि पूर्वान्दिशम्
 [⁸] ये चाज्ञावशवर्तिनो मम नृपाः संस्थापयिष्यामि तान् [11]१४[11]
 [⁹] इत्येवञ्जननीमपेतकलुषा राजा प्रणम्योचिवात्
 [¹⁰] नाम्बानृण्यमहन्तपोभिरमलैः शक्नोमि यातुमित्तुः [1]
 [¹¹] किन्नात्तेन यथावदस्त्रविधिना तत्पादसंसेवया
 [¹²] यास्यामीति ततोम्बयातिमुदया दत्ताभ्यनुजो नृपः [11]१५[11]
 [¹³] प्रायान्पूर्वपथेन तत्र च शठा ये पूर्वदेशाश्रयाः
 [¹⁴] सामन्ताः प्रणिपातबन्धुरशिरःप्रधष्टमोलिखजः [1]
 [¹⁵] तानाज्ञावशवर्तिनो नरपतिः संस्थाप्य तस्मान्पुनः
 [¹⁶] निर्भीः सिंह इवाकुलोत्कटसटः पश्चाद्भुवञ्जमिवान् [11]१६[11]
 [¹⁷] सामन्तरूपं च तत्र दुष्टचरितं श्रुत्वा शिरः कम्पयन्
 [¹⁸] बाहुं हस्तिकरोपमं स शनैः स्पष्टाब्रवीत्तद्वैतम् [1]
 [¹⁹] आहूतो यदि नैति विक्रमवशादेत्यस्यसौ मे वशं
 [²⁰] किं वाक्यैर्वर्धुमिर्विधातुगदितैः संसेपतः कथ्यते [11]१७[11]

Translation.

On the first day of the bright half of the month Jyeshthā of Sāvat 386, while the moon stood in the constellation Rohiṇī, in the excellent Muhūrta called Abhijit.*

1. Hari conquers, whose resplendent, beautiful, broad and high chest is marked by the Śrīvatsa, . . . whose lotus-arms shed radiance, who increases the happiness of his worshippers, who is constantly busy with . . . the machine for moving the three worlds, who is eternal, who dwells on Dolādri,⁷ and who is worshipped by the immortals.

2. There was a king called Vṛishadēva, who . . . by his valour and wealth lessened trouble,⁸ who was incomparable and prosperous because he kept his word. As . . . the sun is encircled by brilliant rays, so he was surrounded by his learned, proud, constant, famous and obedient sons.

3. His son was truthful king Śānkara-dēva, whose country prospered, who was

inconquerable in battle by his enemies, and who gave Through valour, presents, honours bestowed (on his servants), and riches, he gained great fame; comparable to a lion he protected the earth through approved ministers

4. His son also, illustrious king Dharmadēva, who knew the most excellent doctrine, works, who was righteous, virtuous, fond of modesty, possessed of excellent qualities according to the hereditary law a great kingdom.

5—6

7. But that king's faithful wife, Queen Rājyavatī by name, was doubtless heavenly Śrī, who had followed (her husband into this world).⁹ From her was born illustrious king Mānadēva, whose course of life in this world is unblamable, and who always gladdens the world by his beauty, like the autumnal moon.

8. Approaching and sighing deeply, her eyes filled with tears, she (Rājyavatī) affec-

* L. 12, read "द्विपथ्यसौ".

⁶ The day is divided into fifteen Muhūrtas, the eighth of which is Abhijit.

⁷ Dolādri or Dolaparvata is the name of the hill on which the temple of Chāngunārāyaṇa is situated.

⁸ The meaning of this mutilated pāda probably is that his wealth and valour made his enemies keep quiet, and thus his own and his subjects' troubles were small.

⁹ Probably the preceding verse 6 contained an identification of the king with Vishva.

tionately spoke to her son, with faltering accents: "Alas, my child, thy father is gone to heaven. As thy father is now dead, why preserve my useless life! Reign thou, dear son; to-day, even, I follow my husband on his road."

9. "Of what use are the fetters of hope that are lengthened for enjoyment¹⁰, and that bind me to a widowed life in a world similar to a lying dream? I will depart." While thus, forsooth, she was resolved, her sad son reverentially pressed her feet with his head, and anxiously spoke thus to her;

10. "What are joys to me, what the pleasures of life when I am parted from thee! First I will give up my life; thereafter thou mayst go hence to heaven." Thus she stood like a snared bird, firmly bound by the word-bonds, that, mixed with tears, lay in (his) mouth.

11. Then together with her virtuous son she performed the last rites for her own husband

13. The prince (*Mānadvā*), whose strength is known to (his) enemies, though they are clever in the use of weapons of offence and defence,—whose arm is beautiful and lovely,¹¹ whose complexion is pure and bright like burnished gold,—whose shoulder is strong,—whose eyes rival (in beauty) full-blown blue lotuses,—who is visibly an incarnation of Cupid, a festival of dalliance for the fair ones, (*spoke thus to his mother*):

14. "My father adorned the earth with beautiful, high rising (pillars of victory, resembling) sacrificial pillars. Here I stand initiated in the rites of the battle-sacrifice offered by Kshatriyas. Quickly I shall depart on an expedition to the East, to crush my foes. (There) I shall instal those princes who will remain obedient to me."

15. Thus the king (*spoke and*) bowing to

his mother, whose sorrow fled, he continued (*in this wise*): "Mother, I cannot pay the debt due to my father by pure austerities; but I shall attain this end, worshipping his feet by true and rightly performed feats of arms."

Then the king received the consent of his overjoyed mother;

16. And he set out on the road to the East. Having reduced to obedience those roguish feudal chiefs of the East, from whose heads bent in prostration the diadems fell, the prince, like a fearless lion with thick and bristling mane, (*returned*) thence, and marched to the Western districts.

17. Hearing there of the evil doings of a chieftain, shaking his head and slowly touching his arm that (in strength) resembled an elephant's trunk, he proudly spoke (*thus*): "If he does not come at my command, then he will be conquered by my valour. What is the use of saying much? Shortly I tell (him) in the words of the Creator"

No. 2.—An inscription of Jayavarman, incised during the reign of Mānadvā Śaivrat 413.

This inscription is incised on a square stone, which originally formed the base of a Līnga, and is placed opposite the northern door of the temple of Paśupati.¹² At present the stone supports a composite trident, about twenty feet high, which according to the *Vaśīṣṭha* was dedicated by Śankara-deva, the grandfather of Mānadvā.¹³ It would seem that Jayavarman's Līnga somehow or other was destroyed, and that at one of the restorations of the temple, Śankara-deva's Trīśūla was transferred to its place.

The letters of the inscription belong to the Gupta period. Owing to the daily ablutions of the Trīśūla they have suffered very considerably. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit.

¹⁰ Rather "that are lengthened by enjoyments."—G. B.
¹¹ Rather "whose beautiful arm holds the goddess of Fortune."—G. B.

¹² The famous temple of Paśupati is situated in Devapīṭha, an old town, mostly in ruins, on the river Vāgmati, three miles north-east from Kāṭyāveda. The present temple has three stories fifty feet high, and is built in the modern Nepalese style. It is of brick and wood. According to tradition Queen Gaṅgā erected it in Nepālā Śaivrat 705 or 1535 A.D. The temple consists of an adytum, surrounded by cloisters, and has four doors. In the centre of the garbhagrāha stands a līnga of hard sandstone, about three feet and a half high, from which four faces and four pairs of hands jut forth. Each right hand holds a

Badrākṣa Mālā, and each left a Kamaṇḍala. Similarly ornamented Līngas, dating from the Gupta period, are found in Mathurā and in Udayagiri near Bīlāsa. The base of the Līnga is about a foot and a half high, and four feet in diameter, and covered with thick silver plates. Ordinarily the Līnga is concealed under a mass of gold and silver ornaments, which are taken off at the time of worship. In the court of the temple stand many statues of other deities, as well as of kings and private persons, who gave endowments to the temple. The name for these figures is *Śālīka*. There are also many modern inscriptions, which, I regret, I neglected to copy.

¹³ Wright, Nepāl, p. 123, and below.

No. 2. INSCRIPTION OF JAVAVARMA, SAMVAT, 413.
a. FACSIMILE OF CLOTH COPY.

සහ ၂၄၇ = ခြောက်ဆယ့်သုံးနှစ်၊ နှစ်တစ်ရာနှင့်သုံးရာတစ်ရာ
 ပြည့်စုံသော နှစ်တစ်ရာနှင့်သုံးရာတစ်ရာတို့တွင် နှစ်တစ်ရာနှင့်သုံးရာတစ်ရာ

a. FACSIMILE OF RUBBING.

နှစ်တစ်ရာနှင့်သုံးရာတစ်ရာတို့တွင် နှစ်တစ်ရာနှင့်သုံးရာတစ်ရာ
 ပြည့်စုံသော နှစ်တစ်ရာနှင့်သုံးရာတစ်ရာတို့တွင် နှစ်တစ်ရာနှင့်သုံးရာတစ်ရာ

No. 4.—An inscription dated Śaivāt 535.

On a broken slate-slab, lying in a street of Lagantol, Kātmāṇḍu, near to some stones smeared with red paint.

Characters,—Gupta, but the curved stroke

of the medial *i* is drawn deeper down between the lines, and the left hand stroke of the *va* becomes round. Preservation bad. Greater part defaced, and seven or eight lines at the top are lost.

Transcript.

[¹] ----- देव -----
 [²] ----- पुण्यो -----
 [³] ----- रायावः प्रसादीकृतः -----
 [⁴] ----- जः पृथुक्षेत्रम् पूर्व -----
 [⁵] ----- लस्य क्षेत्रम् ततो भरतश्च -----
 [⁶] ----- तुलाक्षेत्रम् ततस्तेम्वल्पा -----
 [⁷] ----- आदित्यगुप्तस्य क्षेत्रम् । पूर्वद -----
 [⁸] ----- [क्षेत्रम् ततस्तेम्वल्पा नारायण -----
 [⁹] ----- स्तेम्वल् प्रदीपगौष्टिकानाम् तस्या भूमेर्दक्षिण -----
 [¹⁰] ----- [दक्षिण] राजकुलस्य दक्षिणपश्चिमेन -----
 [¹¹] ----- पञ्चालिकानाम् पश्चिमेन पर्वत -----
 [¹²] ----- [पश्चि] मोक्षरेण पर्वतभूमि -----
 [¹³] ----- [परि] शिष्यं भूमिरित्यवगम्य न कैश्चिदप्य -----
 [¹⁴] ----- स्मत्पादोपजीविभिरप्यं प्रसादोऽन्यथा करणीयो यः -----
 [¹⁵] ----- माजामनादृत्यान्यथाकुर्यात्कारयेद्वा तमहमुत्पद्यता -----
 [¹⁶] ----- [मि] नं नियतमनुशासितास्मि भविष्यद्विरपि भूपतिभि -----
 [¹⁷] ----- कृतप्रसादानुवर्तिभिरेव भवितव्यमिति दूत[को] -----
 [¹⁸] च राजपुत्रविक्रमसेनः संवत् ५३५ श्रा[व] -----
 [¹⁹] [ण] शुक्र दिवा सप्तम्याम् ॥ × ॥

A translation of the main part of this inscription is impossible. It appears, however, that it refers to the grant of a piece of land, the boundaries of which were accurately described. In the last lines, which are tolerably well preserved, the king declares his determination to punish persons interfering with the donees. We also learn from lines 17 and 18 that the Dātaka or executive officer was Prince Vikra-

masena, and the date the seventh day of the bright half of Śrīvaṣa Śaivāt 535.

No. 5.—An inscription of Śivadeva.

On a broken slab of hard sandstone fixed in a wall near a bell at Buddha Nīlkanth,¹⁸ near the Śivapuri hill, five miles north of Kātmāṇḍu. The characters closely resemble those of the preceding inscription. The language is Sanskrit.

Transcript.

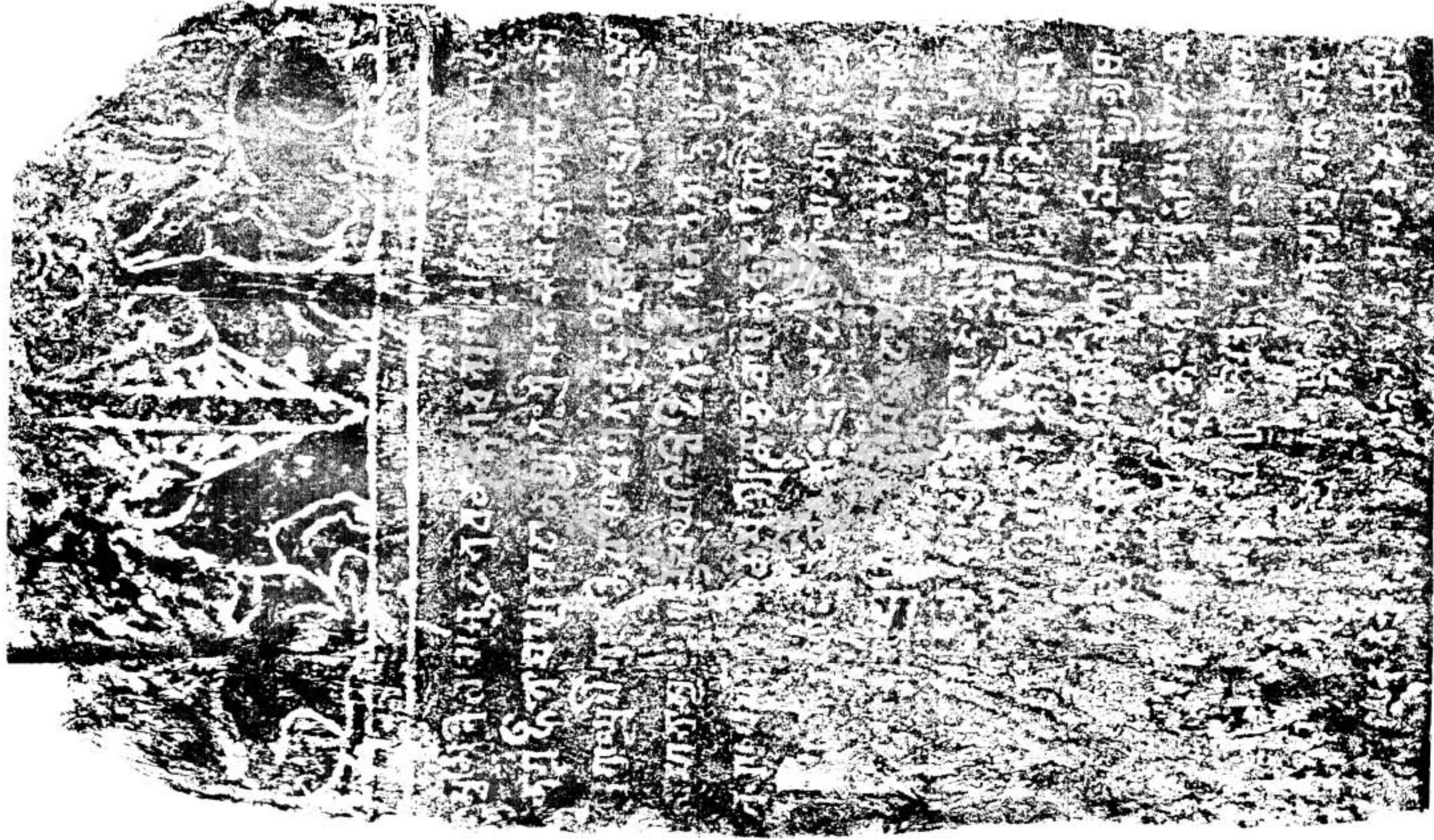
[¹] स्वस्ति । मानगृहाच्छ्रुतनयविनयशौर्यधैर्यवीर्यादशेष-
 [²] स्रुणगणाधारो लिच्छविकुलकेतुर्भट्टारकमहाराजश्रीशिव-
 [³] वदेवः कुशली ----- पिता नरसिंहो भय -----

¹⁸ Buddha Nīlkanth is a small tank about forty feet square, fed by a spring which passes through three stone *śaikhā* held by three images, which are placed in its north-eastern corner. In the middle of the tank lies an image of Vishnu; 'reclining on the waters,' made of black stone. According to the chronicle of Nepāl this image was dedicated by king Haricaran of the Solar race. But from its appearance and workmanship I conclude that it is not so old. As

the name of the place is Buddha Nīlkanth, i. e. 'submerged Śiva,' and as the name of the brook which flows from the tank is Bādravati, it seems probable that the tank originally contained a *linga*, and that one of the later Vaisnava kings placed the image of Vishnu in it. In support of this conjecture I may also adduce the fact that the neighbouring village is called Śivapuri.

[illegible]

[illegible]



- [⁴] निवासिनो यथाप्रधानद्वामकुटुम्बिनः कुशलमाभाष्य
 [⁵] समाज्ञापयति विदितम्भवतु भवतां यथानेकपुत्र-
 [⁶] मरत्सम्पत्तिविजयाधिगतशौर्यप्रतापापहतसक-
 [⁷] लशत्रुपक्षप्रभावेन सम्पत्तज्जापालनपरिश्रमोपाजि-
 [⁸] तशुभ्रपशोभिर्व्याप्तदिग्मण्डलेन श्रीमहासामन्तांशुवर्मा²⁰
 [⁹] णा युष्मद्वितविधानाथ विज्ञापितेन मया तद्गौरवा
 [¹⁰] ----- न्यधिकृताना समुचित -----

Translation.

Hail! From Mânagṛīha. The illustrious lord and great king Śivadeva—who is the abode of all good qualities such as learning, policy, modesty, bravery, constancy and heroism, who is the banner of the Licchavi race, being in good health, addresses greeting to all the cultivators residing in . . . according to their rank, and gives (these) orders: Be it known to you that I, being advised for your welfare by the illustrious great feudal chief Amśuvarman, who has destroyed the power of all (my) enemies by his heroic majesty, obtained by victories in numerous hand-to-hand fights,—whose brilliant fame gained by the trouble of properly protecting (my) subjects, pervades the universe . . .²⁰

No. 6.—Inscription of Amśuvarman, dated Śrīharsha Samvat 34.

This inscription is incised on a slab of sand-

stone in the neighbourhood of a large village, called Bungmatī, four miles to the south of Kātmāndū between the rivers Nyekha and Vāgmatī. Its sculptured top shows Banddha symbols, viz., 'the wheel of the law' between two deer. The stone lies ordinarily buried in a field to the east of the village, and is taken out every twelve years on the occasion of a great festival (rathayātrā) of Avalōkitēśvara²¹ at Bungmatī. The reason of this custom is not known. I found considerable difficulty in obtaining a sight of the stone, though I had an order from the Nepalese Government.

The characters are the same as those of the preceding two inscriptions. Regarding the era in which it is dated, an explanation will be given below.

Transcript.

- [¹] स्वस्ति कैलासकूटभवनाद्वगव्यशुपतिमश्वरकपादा-
 [²] नुगृहीतो वप्पपादानुध्यातः श्रीमहासामन्तांशुवर्मा कुशली
 [³] बुगायूमीया[म]निवासोपगता[न] कुटुम्बिनो यथाप्रधानकुश-
 [⁴] लमाभाष्य [समा]ज्ञापयति विदितम्भवतु भवतांकुटुम्ब-
 [⁵] कराणा ----- नां मत्स्यानाञ्चावाधनेन परितुष्टैस्माभि-
 [⁶] र्भ ----- प्रसादः [क]तो युष्माभिरप्ये-
 [⁷] ----- यदा च पुनर्धर्मसङ्कराणि
 [⁸] ----- [त]दा राजकुलं स्वयम्यविचार-
 [⁹] ----- प्रसादोऽस्मभ्य-
 [¹⁰] ----- विलङ्घयन्पथा
 [¹¹] ----- नो नियतमुष्कला मर्यादा व-
 [¹²] ----- भिः पूर्वराजकृतप्रसादा-

²⁰ L. 8 read सामन्ता²⁰—

²⁰ From the epithet given to Amśuvarman it appears that he occupied the position of a major domus, who wielded the real power, while the king was ruler only in name.

²¹ The temple of Avalōkitēśvara, called Mnteyendranātha by the common people, is situated in the centre of the village. The image which it contains is made of mud and covered with silver plates. It remains half the year only in this temple; during the other six months it is kept at Lalitapattan.

[¹³] ----- दूतकश्चात्र महासर्वा-
 [¹⁴] --यकविक-----संवत् ३४ ज्येष्ठ शुक्ल दशम्याम्²²

Translation.

Om. Hail! From the palace, (called) Kailā-sakūṭa.²³ The illustrious great feudal chief Aśśuvarman, who is favoured by the feet of the lord, the divine Paśupati, and meditates on the feet of Baṣṣa, being in good health, addresses greeting to the inhabitants of the village of Bugāyāmi according to their rank and issues (these orders): Be it known to you that We rejoicing at the preservation of the cocks, pigs and fishes.
 The executive officer is here.

Vikra (masculine). . . . On the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Jyeshṭha, Saṁvat 34.

No. 7.—An inscription of Aśśuvarman, dated Śrībhāraka Saṁvat 39.

On a slab of slate, standing near a small temple of Gaṇeśa, in the high street of Deva-pāṭana, not far from the temple of Paśupati. It bears at the top the representation of a reclining bull, facing the proper right.

The characters are like those of the preceding inscriptions.

Execution and preservation good.

Transcript.

- [¹] उँ स्वस्ति कैलासकूटभवनादनिशि निशि चानेकशा-
 [²] स्त्रार्थविमर्शावसादितासदृशतया धर्माधिका-
 [³] रस्थितिकारणमेवोत्सवमनातिशयमन्यमा-
 [⁴] नो भगवत्पशुपतिभट्टारकपादानुगृहीतो बप्प-
 [⁵] पादानुध्यातः श्र्यंशुवर्मा कुशली पश्चिमाधिक-
 [⁶] रणवृत्तिभुजो वर्तमानाभविष्यतश्च यथार्ह-
 [⁷] कुशलमाभाष्य समाज्ञापयति विदितम्भव-
 [⁸] तु भवताम्पशुपतौ भगवाञ्छूरभोगेश्वरोस्मद्भ-
 [⁹] गिन्या श्रीभोगवर्म्मजनन्या भोगदेव्या स्वभर्तु राज-
 [¹⁰] पुत्रशूरसेनस्य पुण्योपचयाय प्रतिष्ठापितो
 [¹¹] यश्च तदुहिवास्मद्भागिनेय्या भाग्यदेव्या प्रतिष्ठा-
 [¹²] पितो लङ्कितमहेश्वरो यश्चेतःपूर्वजैः प्रतिष्ठापि-
 [¹³] तो दक्षिणेश्वरस्तेषामधःशालापाञ्चालिकेभ्यः प्रतिष्ठा-
 [¹⁴] लनायातिमुष्टानामस्माभिः पश्चिमाधिकरणस्याप्र-
 [¹⁵] वेशेन प्रसादः कृतो यदा च पाञ्चालिकानां यत्किञ्चन
 [¹⁶] कार्यमेतद्व्रतमुत्पत्स्यते यथाकालं वा नियमितं व-
 [¹⁷] स्तु परिहापयिष्यन्ति तदा स्वयमेव राजभिरन्तरा-
 [¹⁸] सनेन विचारः करणीयो यस्वेतामाज्ञामतिक्रम्यान्वया
 [¹⁹] प्रवर्त्तिष्यते तं वयम् मर्षयिष्यामो भाविभिरपि भूप-
 [²⁰] तिभिर्धर्मगुरुतया पूर्वराजकृतप्रसादानुवर्त्तिभि-
 [²¹] रेव भवितव्यमिति स्वयमाज्ञा दूतकश्चात्र युवरा-
 [²²] जोदयदेवः संवत् ३९ वैशाख शुक्ल दिवा दशम्या

²² L. 14 read ज्येष्ठ.

²³ Kailāsakūṭa is at present the name of a large mound about forty feet high situated to the north of Paśupati's

temple. It is covered with ruins, and no doubt is the site of the palace mentioned in this inscription and the following ones.



No. 8, INSCRIPTION OF ANSUVARMAN, DATED SAMVAT 45.

અંબન પૂજા કેમલક
શ્રીમદ્ધ્રુવપ્રસાદકવિઃપદ્મચિત્રદય
કવિનમસ્તુભ્યંચંદ્રકવિસુદ્ધાભ્યં

Translation.

Om. Hail! From the palace, (called) Kailāsa-kūta.

The illustrious Aṁśuvarman, who has been favoured by the feet of the divine lord Paśupati, and meditates on the feet of Bappa, who, having destroyed his (former) false opinions by pondering day and night over the meaning of various *Sāstras*, considers the proper establishment of courts of justice²⁴ his greatest pleasure, being in good health, addresses greeting to the present and future officials of the Western (provinces) according to their rank, and issues (these) orders: "Be it known to you that the (three *Līngas*), viz., the divine Śūrabhogēśvara dedicated at (the sanctuary of) Paśupati by our sister Bhogadevī, the mother of the illustrious Bhogavarman for the increase of the spiritual merit of her husband prince Śūrasena, Laḍitamahēśvara²⁵ dedicated by her daughter Bhāgyadevī, our niece, and Dakṣiṇēśvara dedicated by her ancestors, have been made over for protection to the Adhahālā-Pāñchālikas,²⁶ and that we have favoured them by forbidding the interference of the officials of the Western (province); and when any business referring to these (*Līngas*) arises for the Pāñchālikas, or when they neglect to do in time anything appointed (for them to do), the king himself shall privately investigate (the case). But we shall not suffer it that any one violates this order and acts otherwise. Future kings also, as they are teachers of justice, should continue the favour shown by their predecessors (to the Pāñchālikas). (This is our) own order, and

the executive officer here is the Yuvarāja Udayadeva. On the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha Sāvat 39.

No. 8.—Vibhavarman's inscription, dated
Śrīharsha Sāvat 45 (P).

On the side of the mouth of the spout of a watercourse, on the road from Kātmāṇḍu to the Residency near the Bāṅpokrī tank. The place is called Satdhārā, (i. e. *saptadhārā*) because the water issues from the spring in seven streams.

Characters as those of preceding inscriptions. Preservation good.

Transcript.

- [1] संवत् ४५ (!) ज्येष्ठ शुद्ध ---
[2] अयं शुभमर्मप्रसादेन पितुः पुण्यविवृद्धये
[3] कारिता सत्प्रणालीयं वर्तनं विभुवर्मणा

Translation.

On . . . of the bright half of the month *Jyeshtha*, Sāvat 45,²⁷ by the favour of the illustrious Aṁśuvarman, this conduit has been built by Vārta Vibhavarman²⁸ for the increase of his father's spiritual merit.

No. 9.—Jishnugupta's inscription, dated
Śrīharsha Sāvat 48.

On a slab of black slate placed upright in the ground near the temple of Mumura or Chhinnamastikā Devī in the Tarjhā Mahalla (ward) of Lalitapattana.²⁹ The letters are well cut and the inscription well preserved. The characters if compared with those of Aṁśuvarman's inscriptions, show slight changes. The medial *i* goes down a little deeper, the *pa* shows an ornamental notch in the lower line.

Transcript.

- [1] ॐ स्वस्ति ----- महारकमहाराज-
[2] श्रीधुवदेव[स्य] ----- प्रजाहितैषी निरवश्वतः
[3] पुण्यान्वयादागतराज्यसम्पत्समस्तपौ[रात्रि]तशासनो यस्त कैलासकूटभ-
[4] रनाद्रगवत्यशुपतिमहारकपादानुगृहीतो वप्पपादानुध्यातः श्रीजिष्णुगुप्तः
[5] [कु]शली यवूगाकुलूलवाटिकायामेषु निवासमुपगतान्कुटुम्बिनः कुशल-

²⁴ The translation hardly covers the entire meaning of *dharmaśāhikāra*, which includes both the civil and criminal courts, and the authorities dealing with religious and charitable institutions.

²⁵ *Laḍitamahēśvara* is the northern form for *Lalitamahēśvara*. Neither the Nepalese nor the Kashmirans pronounce or can pronounce the southern *la* ॐ; they always substitute *ḍa* for it.

²⁶ The word *Pāñchālikas* seems to be a technical expression corresponding to the southern *Pāñchālikas* and the modern "Panch." At present also temples and endow-

ments of temples in Nepal are administered by committees called *paṭṭā*.

²⁷ The second figure is doubtful.
²⁸ *Vārta* I take to be the name of a family, as a country called *Vārta* is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. It may, however, be also derived from *vṛtti* "herdhood," and indicate that Vibhavarman held a *vṛtti* from the king.

²⁹ *Lalitapattana* or *Pāṇa* is situated one and a half miles east of Kātmāṇḍu. Its Nepālī name is *Tinyala*, i. e. on the road (to) to Kātmāṇḍu (*Tinya*), because in ancient times the road from Bhāgīn to Kātmāṇḍu went by *Lalitapattana*.

- [⁶] मा भण्य समाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु भवताम्भहारकमहाराजाधिराज्यं शु-
 [7] बर्म्मपदैर्युष्मदीययामाणामुपकाराय योसौ तिलमक आनीतोभूय-
 [8] तिसंस्काराभावादिनष्टमुदीक्ष्य सामन्तचन्द्रवर्मविजयैरस्माभिस्तस्यै-
 [9] व प्रसादीकृतस्तेन चास्मदनुज्ञातेन युष्मद्दामाणामेवोपकाराय
 [10] प्रति संस्कृतोस्य चोपकारस्य पारम्पर्याविच्छेदेन चिरतरकालोद्दहना-
 [11] य युष्माकं वाटिका अपि प्रसादीकृतास्तदेताभ्यो यथाकालमिच्छ-
 [12] कमुपसंहर्य भवद्विरेव तिलमकप्रतिसंस्कारः करणीय एतद्दाम-
 [13] वयव्यतिरेकेण चान्ययामनिवासिनाम् केवाश्विन्नेन लभ्यतेस्य च
 [14] प्रसादस्य चिरस्थितये शिलापट्टकशासनमिदन्दत्तमेवैवदिभिर्न
 [15] कैश्चिदयम्प्रसादोपया करणीयो पस्वेतामाज्ञामतिक्रान्यथा तिलम-
 [16] क[न]येनस्यावश्यन्दण्डः पातयितव्यो भविष्यद्विरपि भूपतिभिः पूर्वा-
 [17] जकृतप्रसादानुवर्त्तिभिरेव भवितव्यमिति अपि चात्र वाटिकानामुद्देशः
 [18] यवूयामस्य दक्षिणोद्देशे पूर्वेण रामवि मा २ तिलमकस्य पश्चिमप्रदेशे मा १
 [19] -- कुलं पूर्वेण मा ४ मूलवाटिकायामस्पोत्तरतः अशिक्षोपदेशे मा ८
 [20] -- -- प्रदेशे मा १ गाङ्गुलामं पश्चिमेन कडम्प्रिहप्रदेशे मा ४ कङ्गुलप्रदेशे
 [21] मा ४ स्वपमाज्ञा संवत् ४८ कार्तिक शुक्ल २ दूतको युवराजश्रीविष्णुगुप्तः

Translation.

Om. Hail
 (of the) illustrious lord and great
 king Dhruvadeva.
 The illustrious Jishnu-
 gupta, who desires the welfare of his subjects,
 who is of pure conduct, who, sprung from a
 virtuous family, has obtained a prosperous
 kingdom, whose orders are obeyed by all citi-
 zens, who has been favoured by the feet of the
 divine lord Paśupati, and who meditates on
 the feet of Bappa, sends greeting from the
 palace (called) Kailāśakūṭa to the cultivators
 residing in the villages Thambū, Gaṅgūl, and
 Mūlavāṭikā, and issues (these) orders: Be
 it known to you that, seeing the water-course,²⁰
 which the illustrious lord and great king
 Aśvavarman led to your villages for your
 benefit, destroyed through want of repairs, we
 being addressed by the feudal chief Chandra-
 varman, have presented it to him; that he,
 with our permission, has repaired it for the benefit
 of your villages; and that in order to ensure the
 constant continuance of the benefit we have
 presented the irrigable fields (mentioned below) to

you. Wherefore you shall pay an assessment²¹ for
 these (fields), and repair the watercourse (here-
 after). The inhabitants of other villages except
 of those three (mentioned above) shall not lead
 this watercourse elsewhere; and in order to en-
 sure the long continuance of this grant, this edict,
 engraved on a stone tablet, has been promulgated.
 Nobody, who knows this, shall alter the grant.
 But he who, violating this order, leads the water-
 course elsewhere, shall certainly be punished.
 Future kings also ought to act in accordance with
 the grant made by their predecessors. Moreover,
 a brief description of the irrigable fields (is given)
 herewith: south of the village of Thambū, east
 of the field²² of Rāma two māś,²³ west of the
 watercourse one māś, east of . . . four māś
 north of Mūlavāṭikā on the site called
 Aśinko eight māś, on the site . . . one
 māś; west of the village of Gaṅgūl, on the site
 called Kaḍampriṅg, four māś, on the site
 called Kankulam four māś. (This is) our
 own order. On the second day of the bright
 half of Kārttika, Saka-vat 48. The executive
 officer is the illustrious Yuvarāja Viṣṇu-
 gupta.

²⁰ The word *tīlaka* is not found in any dictionary. But it seems certain, from the context, that it must be some kind of watercourse. Probably it denotes a channel which leads the water from the hillside over the fields which rise in terraces one above the other.

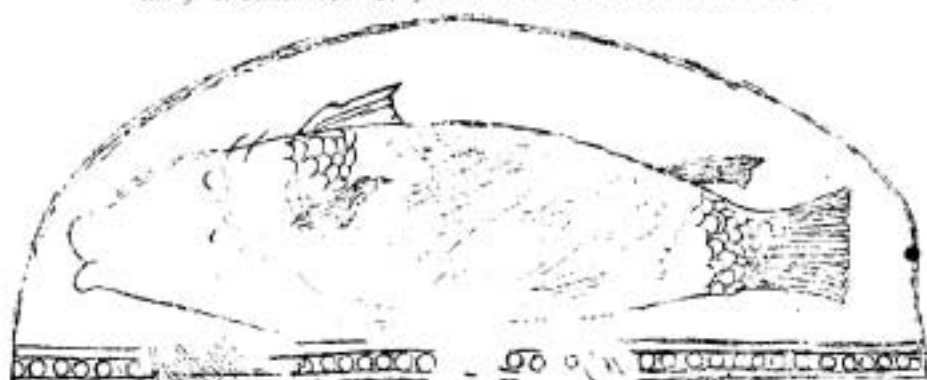
²¹ *Pipṣā*, which is a synonym of the more common

grā, seems to denote a share of the produce of the field, see below, No. 11, line 15.

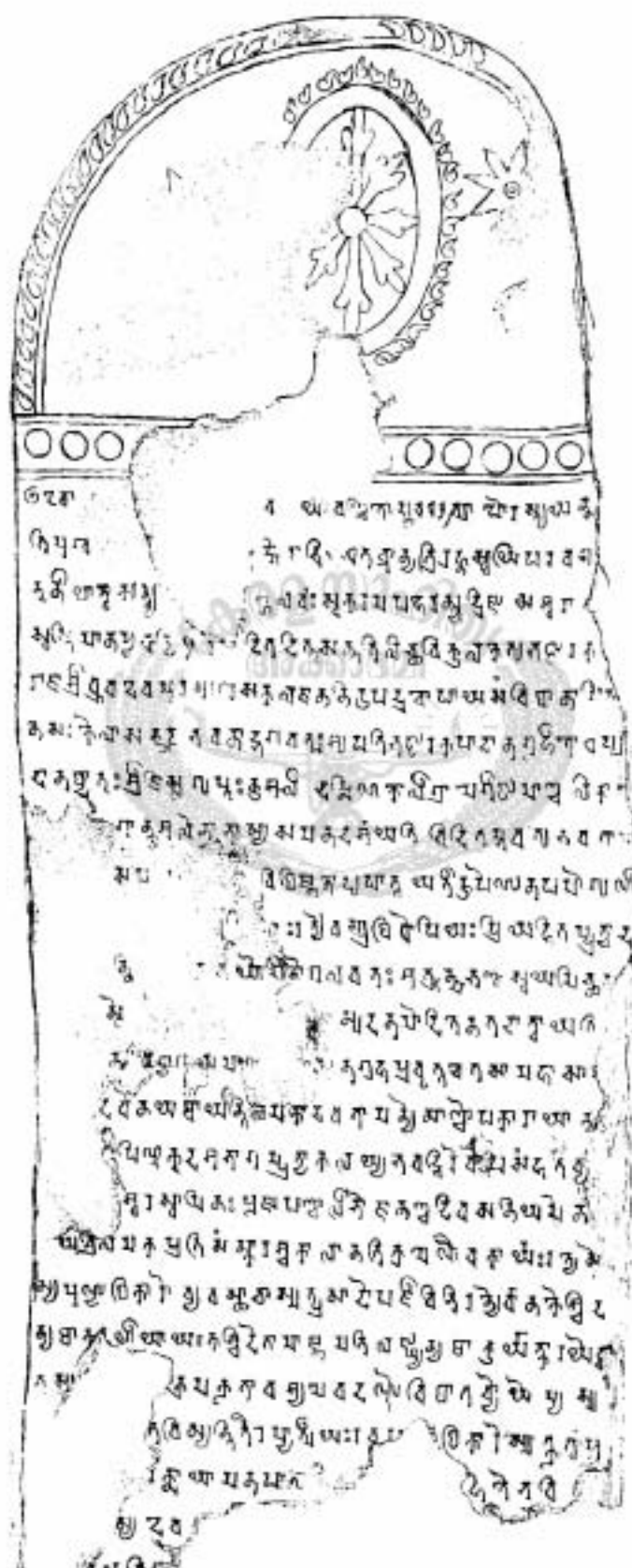
²² *Viś* is probably a *Nepālī* word, and corresponds with the modern *van* 'a field.'

²³ *Mā* is probably an abbreviation of *mān*, intended for some measure. The present *Nepālī* measure is the *roco*, see also below.





[The text in this block is extremely faint and largely illegible due to fading or damage.]



No. 10.—An undated inscription of
Jishnugupta.

On a slab of black slate, standing near a
temple of *Vishnu*, called *Mina-Nārāyaṇa*,

close to the *Bhairava-ḍhokā* or southern gate of
Kāśmāṇḍa. Its top is decorated by a *chakra*.
Parts of the inscription have peeled off. The
remaining portions are in good condition.

Transcript.

- [¹] उँ देवा ----- यावस्थितो ----- त्मा पौरुषयन्त्र-
[²] तिमुख ----- देवाविम् एतच्चान्यच्चिरद्वस्वपि परवश-
[³] न्दनीयो ----- लैवः स्वरमपहरन्त्य[द्रि]जा सेश्वरा[श्रीः]²⁴
[⁴] स्वस्ति मानगृ[हा] ----- दितचित्ततन्ततिलिच्छविकुलकेतुभट्टारक-
[⁵] राजश्रीधुवदेवपुरस्सरे ----- सकलजननिरूपद्रवोपायसंविधानार्पित[मा]-
[⁶] नसः ----- कैलासकूटभवनाद्भगवत्पशुपतिभट्टारकपादानुगृहीतो वप्-
[⁷] पादानुभ्यातः श्रीनिष्णुगुप्तः कुशली दक्षिणकोलीग्रामे गीटापाञ्चालिका -
[⁸] ----- गान्कुशलेनाभाप्य समनुदर्शयति विदितम्भवतु भवताम् -
[⁹] ----- स ----- विधिज्ञानादुपासायती रूपेणानुपमो गुणी
[¹⁰] ----- इत्येवमर्थितोपि यः प्रियहितम्पत्पाद -
[¹¹] ----- बलवतः शबून्वभञ्ज स्वपमित्य -
[¹²] ----- छे ----- स्मदनुमोदितेन तदात्वायति -
[¹³] ----- व्याप्रियमाणो ----- नुपहप्रवृत्तचेतसा महासा[मन्त]
[¹⁴] ----- देवेन यथायन्तिलमको भवतामन्येषाञ्चोपकारायाक -
[¹⁵] ----- पिण्डकदशभागमन्याकलय्य भवद्विरेवोपसंहर्तव्यः -
[¹⁶] ----- लेश्वरस्वामिनः पूजा पाञ्चालीभोजनञ्च दिवसनियमेन -
[¹⁷] ----- य तिलमकप्रतिसंस्कारश्च कालानतिक्रमेणैव कार्य इत्येषो-
[¹⁸] स्व पुण्याधिकारो व्यवस्था चास्मत्प्रसादोपजीविभिरन्यैर्वा न कैश्चिद[प्य]
[¹⁹] न्यथाकरणीया यः कश्चिदेतामाज्ञामतिलङ्घ्यान्यथा कुर्यात्कारयेद्वा
[²⁰] ----- क्रमकृतावश्यमेव दण्डो विधातव्यो येष्यस्म -
[²¹] ----- संभविष्यन्ति तैरप्यात्मीय इव ----- धिकारेस्मत्कृतव-
[²²] ----- स्य रक्षायामनुपालने च ----- हितैर्भवि[तव्य]
[²³] ----- स्य देव -----
[²⁴] ----- व इति -----

Abstract.

The first three lines probably contained a verse in honour of *Lakshmi* and *Vishnu*. On this supposition it is necessary to read *abdhijā* instead of *adrijā*. The fact that a *Chakra* adorns the top of the stone makes it probable that the grantee was a *Vaishnava*. Lines 4-8 contain the preamble of the grant, and show that *Jishnugupta* acknowledged *Dhruvadeva*, of the *Lichchhavi* race, who resided at *Mānagrīha* as lord paramount. Unfortunately the word following *Dhruvadeva*'s name, which has been ren-

dered in the transcript by *purassara* is not certain. *Jishnugupta* dates from the *Kailāsakūṭa* palace, and addresses his edict to the *Gṛha-Pāncālī-kus*, apparently a committee thus named, residing in the village of *Dakshinākoll*. The contents of the body of the inscription (ll. 9-24) seem to have been very similar to those of No. 9. They refer to the repairs of a watercourse (*tilamaka*) which had been first dug by some person whose name ended in . . . *deva* (line 14), and the cultivators using it are ordered to pay an assessment (*piṇḍaka*) of one-tenth of the pro-

duce (line 16), to feed the Pāñchālī or Panch worshipping a deity whose name ended in . . . *lesvarasāmīn*, and to provide for the repairs of the watercourse.

No. 11.—An undated inscription of *Jishnugupta's* reign.

On a stone supporting a parasol over an image of *Chandēśvara*,²³ which is placed on a quadrangular base in the south-eastern corner of the enclosure of the great temple of *Pāśupati*. The inscription originally consisted of thirty lines, twenty-five of which have been preserved.

Characters as those of the preceding inscriptions.

Transcript.

- [¹] सम्प्रज्ञानादियुक्तः सक-
 [²] [ल]गुणगणं शोभयिता प्र-
 [³] [पा]नम् ब्रह्मादिस्थावरान्त-
 [⁴] अगदिदमसिलं योसृज-
 [⁵] द्विश्रुपम् आजीव्यं सर्व-
 [⁶] पुंतां गिरितरुगहनं यः करो-
 [⁷] यैकरूपम् पायाःसौष्ठवं प्रस-
 [⁸] नः स्मरतनुदहनच्छत्रच-
 [⁹] ण्डेश्वरो वः ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीजिष्णुगुप्त-
 [¹⁰] स्य प्रवर्द्धमानवितपरान्ये आ-
 [¹¹] चार्यभगवत्प्रनर्दनप्राणकौ-
 [¹²] शिकेन भगवत्शत्रुचण्डेश्वरस्य
 [¹³] कूपामे प्रणालिकायाश्च ल-
 [¹⁴] [ण्ड]स्फुटितसमाधानार्थमुदि-
 [¹⁵] [श्य] मुण्डशृङ्खलिकपाशुपताचा-
 [¹⁶] र्यपर्वदि वाराहस्वामिधर्म-
 [¹⁷] - - - - - सोमसङ्कुतानाञ्च अशी-
 [¹⁸] [ति] - पिण्डकमानिकानां भूः प्रतिपादि-²⁴
 [¹⁹] ताः[ता]सां प्रदेशा लिख्यन्ते पिष्कू-
 [²⁰] ग्रामे मा १० सामानोदूलके मा २०

- [²¹] पागुमके मा ५ पोयामे मा २ लू-
 [²²] लप्रङ्गमे मा ९ भूपो मा १५ वि -
 [²³] - - कयेते अयान्याभ्युद्विक्कितिका
 [²⁴] - - यच्चके - - - अत्र विंशतिमानिका
 [²⁵] - - - - - शेषाः शृङ्खलिकपा-
 [²⁶] - - - - - [वाराहस्वामि]प्रभृतिभि-

Translation.

May *Chhatra-Chandēśvara* graciously protect you, he who burned the body of *Cupid*, who is possessed of true knowledge and so forth, who, stirring the primary germ which contains all the (*three*) fetters, produced this whole multiform creation from *Brahmā* to inanimate objects, who uniformly (*everywhere*) creates the forests and the mountains on which all men live.

Hail! During the prosperous and victorious reign of the illustrious *Jishnugupta Āchārya*, the worshipful *Pranardananprān-akapāsika*²⁵ has given to *Vārāhasvāmīn*, *Dharma* and to the *Somakhadukas*²⁶ in the congregation of the *Muṇḍaśrīṅkhalika*²⁷ *Pāśupati Āchārya*, fields of eighty measures for repairing (*the sanctuary of*) the divine *Chhatrachandēśvara* and the spout of the watercourse in *Kūgrāma*. The sites of the fields are described (*as follows*): In the village of *Pikhūten māś*, in *Samānodūlaka* twenty *māś*, in *Pāgumaka* five *māś*, in the village of *Potwo māś*, in the village of *Khūlapreṅg* nine *māś*, further fifteen *māś*.

No. 12.—Inscription of *Śivadeva*, dated *Śrīharsha Sakvat* 119.

On a slab of black slate, leaning against the wall of a small modern temple of *Vishṇu*, situated in *Lagantol Kātmāṇḍu*. The top of the stone shows a well carved relief, which represents *Nandi* reclining on *Kailāsa*.

Characters as those of preceding inscription. Execution and preservation in general good.

Transcript.

- [¹] उँ स्वस्ति श्रीमकैलसकूटभवनात् लक्ष्मीलतालम्बनकल्पपादपो
 [²] भगवत्पुष्पतिमहारुपादानुगृहीतो वप्पपादानुध्यातः परमभट्टार-

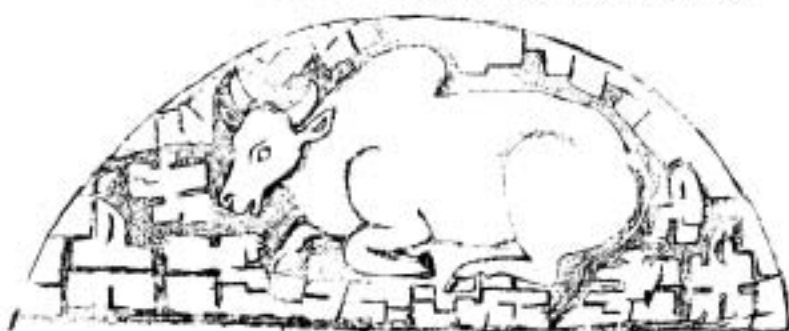
²³ It was an ancient custom to place an image of *Chandēśvara* to the south or south-east of *Śaiva* temples, and to offer to it the remainder of the materials used for the worship of *Śiva*. The images of *Chandēśvara* resemble those of *Śiva* and hold the same attributes. In addition they show the same peculiarity as the Greek deity *Priapus*. Hence the common people call them *Kāndēśvara*. Such images are also found in the mounds at *Mathurā*.

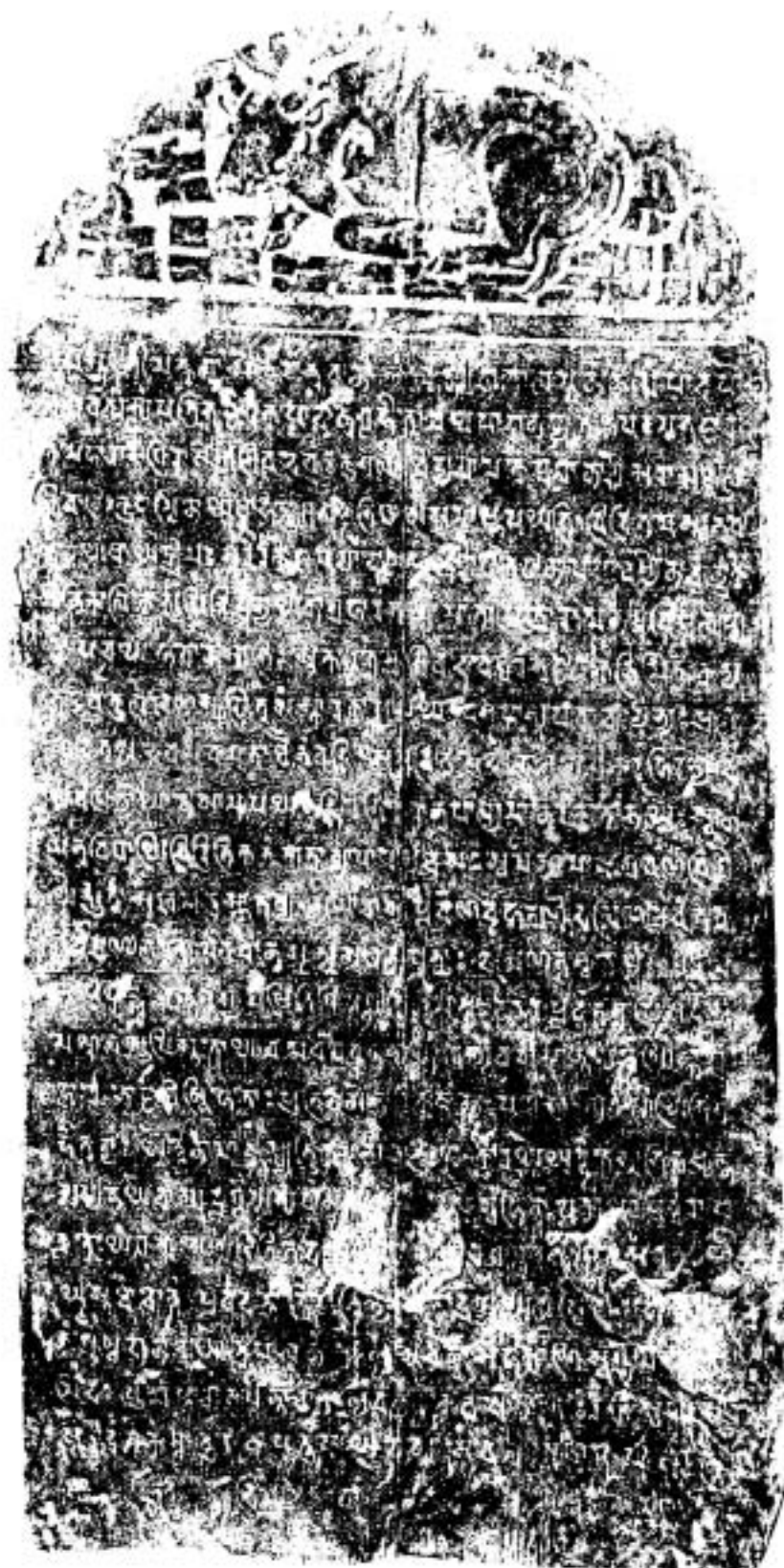
²⁴ Line 18, read पुनः —

²⁵ The meaning of this name seems to be equivalent to the modern *Śivaprasāda* or *Śivāśīla*, and to mean 'dear as life to the roarer' (*Rudra*).

²⁶ *Khādēśika* occurs on other inscriptions as a name of certain priests of *Śiva*.

²⁷ *Muṇḍaśrīṅkhalika* literally "wearing a chain of skulls" is the name of a sub-division of the *Pāśupatas*.

[illegible]



- [²] कमहाराजाधिराजश्रीशिवदेवः कुशली । वैद्यामके प्रधानाधेसरांसकल-
 [⁴] निवासिकुटुम्बिनो यथाईकुशलमभिधाय समाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु भव-
 [³] तां यथायुद्धामः शरीरकोट्टमर्पादो[पयुक्त]आठभटानामप्रवेशेनाचन्द्रार्का-
 [⁶] वनिकालिको भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाप्रहारतया मातापिबोरात्मनश्च विपुलपु-
 [⁷] ष्योपचयहेतोरस्माभिः स्वकारितश्रीशिवदेवेश्वरं भट्टारकभिमित्तीकृत्य⁴⁰
 [⁸] तदेवकुलखण्डस्कृष्टितसंस्कारकारणाय वशपाशुपताचार्येभ्यः प्रति-
 [⁹] पादितस्त्वदेवमवगतायैर्मवद्विः समुचितदेयभागभोगकरहिरण्यादि-
 [¹⁰] सर्वप्रत्यायानेषामुपप[च्छ]द्विरेभिरेवानुपायमानैरकुतोभयैः स्वक-
 [¹¹] र्मानुविधापिभिरितिकृतव्यताव्यापारेषु च सर्वेजमीयामात्राश्रयविधे-
 [¹²] यैर्भूना मुखमच स्यातप्य सीमा चास्य पूर्वेण बृहन्मार्गो दक्षिणपूर्वतश्च
 [¹³] शिबी प्रणाली तामेव चानुसृत्य स्वल्पः पन्था दक्षिणतश्च तेहूः पश्चिमे-
 [¹⁴] नापि तेहूः उत्तरतस्यामपि चिश्मिण्डातिलमकः उत्तरपूर्वतश्चापि सहस्र-
 [¹⁵] मण्डलभूमिस्ततो यावत्त एव बृहन्मार्ग इत्येवं सीमान्तभूतेस्मिन्नय-
 [¹⁶] हारे भोष्टविष्टिहेतोः प्रतिवर्षं भारिकजनाः पञ्च ५ व्यवसायिभिर्भ्य-
 [¹⁷] हीतव्याः ये जेतामाह्वयतिक्रम्यान्पथा कुर्युः कारयेयुर्वा तेस्माभिर्भूशत्र
 [¹⁸] क्षम्यन्ते ये चास्मदूर्ध्वम्भूभुनो भविष्यन्ति तेषु प[र]स्वहितापेक्षया पूर्वराज-
 [¹⁹] कृतोयं धर्मसेतुरिति तद[वगम्य] --- रवा --- संरक्षणी-
 [²⁰] यस्तथा चोक्तं पूर्वदत्तां दिजातिभ्यो यत्नादक्ष युधिष्ठि[र] महीं महीम-]
 [²¹] तां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छेयोनुपालनं ॥ षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भू-]
 [²²] मिदः आक्षेपा चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ इति स्वयमा-
 [²³] ता दूतकश्चाप राजपुत्रजयदेवः संवत् ११९ फाल्गुन शुक्ल दिवा दशम्याम्

Translation.

Om. Hail! From the famous palace (called) Kailāśakūṭa! The supreme lord and great king of kings, illustrious Śivadēva, who resembles a tree of Paradise to which the creeper, Fortune, clings, who has received favour from the feet of the lord, the divine Paśupati, and meditates on the feet of Bappa, being in good health, sends due greeting to the headman and cultivators residing in the village of Vaidyaka, and issues (these) orders:—
 "Be it known to you that this village, including the land, the sky above and the nether regions below, together with . . . has been given by us in order to gain much spiritual merit for our parents and ourselves, as an Agrahāra to the Vaiśampāyanaśākhā for the sake of the lord Śrīśivadēvēśvara, dedicated by ourselves, in order to repair his temple, the village being not to be entered by our police officers,⁴¹ and

the grant to last as long as the moon, the sun, and the earth endure. You, understanding this, giving to him (the Āchārya) all the income, viz., the proper share (of the produce) and the taxes in gold and so forth, being protected by him (the Āchārya) alone, fearlessly following your occupations, and obeying him in respect to all work that may have to be performed, shall live there in peace. And the boundaries of this (village are as follows): To the east the high-road, and to the south-east the Śivī water-conduit and the little footpath along it, and to the south Tenkhū, to the west also Tenkhū, further to the north the Chīśmanjālā watercourse (Nāwaka); and further to the north-east the Sahaśramanjālā field, thence as far as the (above-mentioned) high-road. From this Agrahāra, which is enclosed by the abovementioned boundaries, the authorities shall take annually five (5) load-carriers for the Thibet service.

⁴⁰ L. 7, read "देवशर्म"; L. 8, read "वैद्यक"; L. 21, read "षष्टि".—

⁴¹ I take chāpāḥṣṭa to stand for chāpāḥṣṭi śāsta, i.e. 'soldiers against robbers,' and to be a name of the royal police, see also the Kṣendrapāścheritā.

But those, who violating this order act otherwise, or incite others to act otherwise, will certainly not be pardoned. And the kings who may come after us should protect this grant, understanding that it is 'a bridge to heaven' built by a former king for his own and others' welfare. And it has also been declared (in the *Mahābhārata*), 'Oh Yadhishtira, zealously protect the (grants of) land given to Brahmins by former kings; oh best of kings, protecting is better than giving. The giver of land rejoices in heaven during sixty thousand years; he who interferes (with a grant of land), and he who permits it, will dwell in hell for as long a period.' (This is my) own order, and the executive officer here is prince Jayadeva. On the tenth day of the bright half of Phālguna Sāvat 119."

No. 13.—*Inscription of Śivadēva, dated Śrīkarekha Sāvat 143.*

This inscription is incised on a stone just outside the southern gate of the enclosure of the temple of Paśupatī. I have not seen it myself. A friend in Nepāl, who used to go about with me, and to assist me in my work, sent me the

impression from which the photozincograph has been prepared.

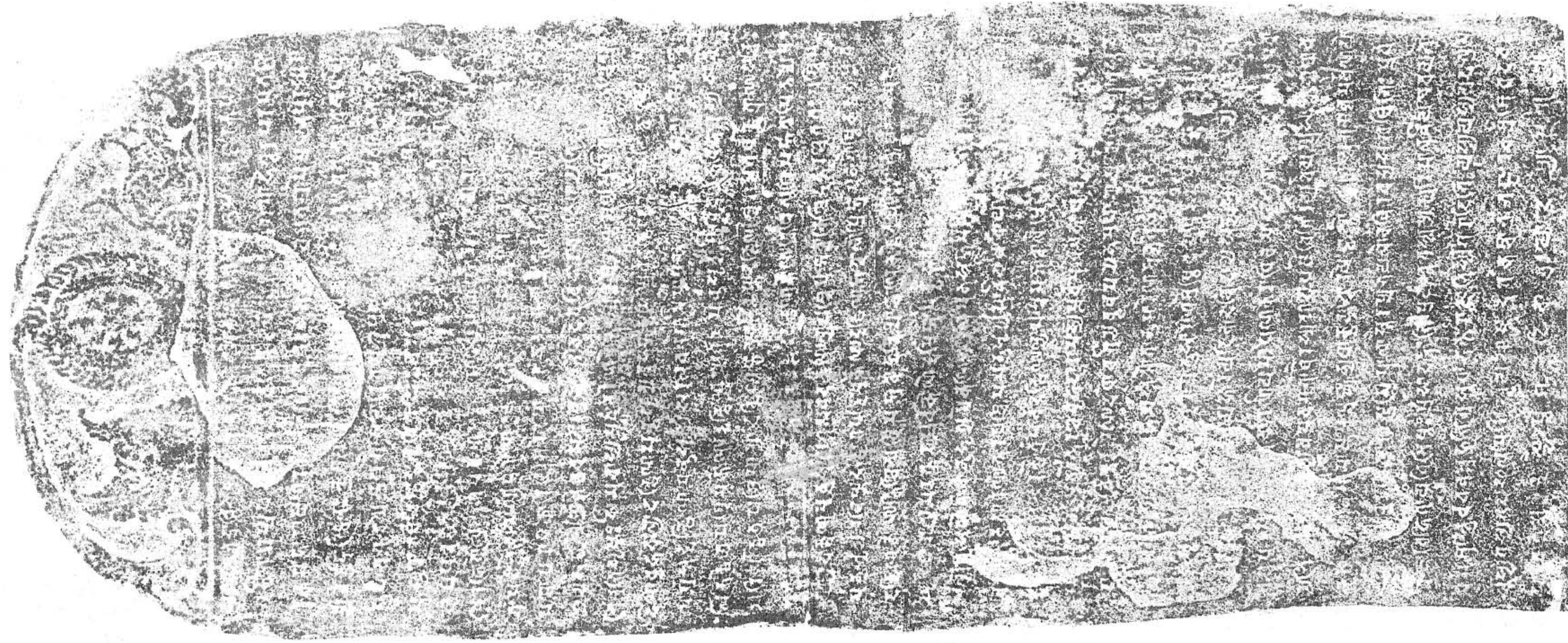
The inscription is very badly mutilated. But it is clear that it contained a grant of a village, which was given to the fraternity of Buddhist monks residing in the Śivadēva-vihāra. The name of the donor in line 3 is not distinct. It seems to me, however, that the faint traces of letters visible point to the reading given in the transcript. In favour of this reading the following additional reasons may be adduced.

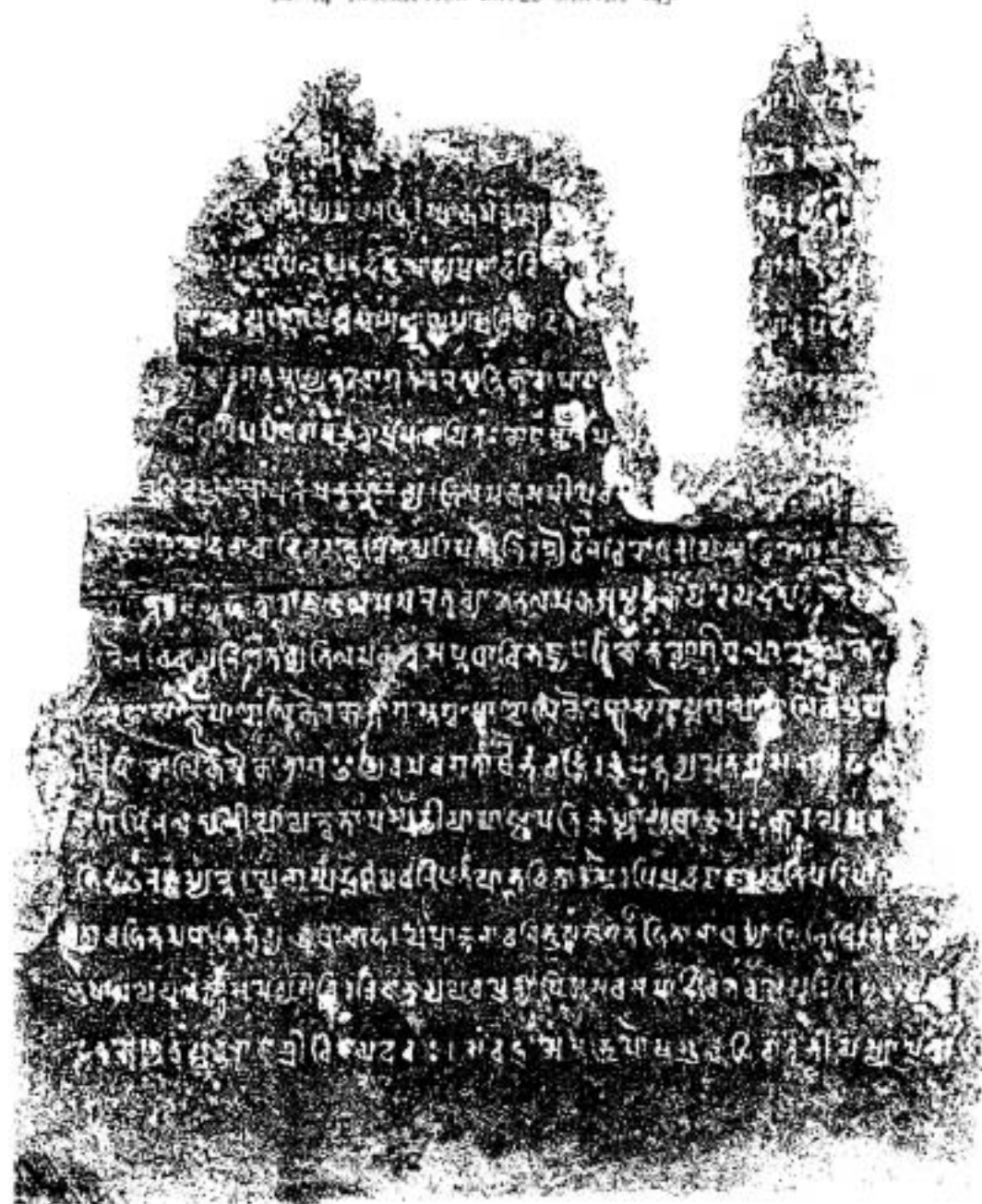
Firstly, the letters exactly agree with those of the preceding inscriptions. Secondly, the grant is in favour of a monastery founded by Śivadēva. Thirdly, that the *dātaka* (l. 36) is called Śivadēva-bhātīāraka, the lord Śivadēva. The epithet *bhātīāraka* is only given to a king or to a high priest. It is not known that a priest ever exercised the office of *dātaka*, while we have several instances where the king is his own *dātaka*.

As to the date, the figures for 100 and for three are, though faint, distinctly visible. The middle figure I take to have been 40. But I will not dispute that it may not have been 20 or 30.

Transcript.

- [¹] -- भद्राधि -- -- -- -- -- [प] शुपतिभट्टारकपादानु-
 [²] गृहीतो वपपा[दनुध्यातः] -- -- -- -- -- परममोहेश्वरपरमभट्ट-
 [³] रकमहाराजाधिरा[नश्री शिवदेवः कुशली] -- भतयामे प्रधानपुरस्सरा-
 [⁴] न्तर्वकुटुम्बिनः कुशल[माभाष्य] -- -- -- गुप्तवभु -- -- धयि-
 [⁵] ज्ञामो भगवत्पशुपतौ सु-रितसु -- -- -- न सर्वे विना -- --
 [⁶] मनुरोपायं -- -- -- -- --
 [⁷] ह्यपरः -- -- -- -- -- वि-
 [⁸] छिरहितो -- -- -- -- --
 [⁹] भयच -- -- -- -- --
 [¹⁰] पञ्चापरायकारिणां -- -- -- राजकुलानाम् -- -- -- कल्पवादि सर्व -- य-
 [¹¹] स्वार्यसङ्कल्प -- -- -- -- -- शिवदेवविहारचतुर्दिगार्यभिधुसङ्कायास्मा-
 [¹²] भिरतिसृष्टः सीमा चास्य पूर्वोत्तरेण श्रेष्ठिनुम्बू -- श्रीगुप्तमण्यमाली तस्याः किञ्चित्पू-
 [¹³] र्णे वृहदाव्या दक्षिणमनुसृत्य [वृ] त्ता -- मिम्पूर्वदक्षिणेन[वे]ष्टयित्वा -- -- म-
 [¹⁴] मार्गस्तदक्षिणमनुसृत्य सरलवन [ग्राममार्ग] स्त -- -- -- सृत्य -- --
 [¹⁵] लिक्क्षेत्रपश्चिमकोणादक्षिण[पश्चि]ममनुसृत्य श्रीविदुरिकविहारस्य सन्धी
 [¹⁶] मरिमत्तेवपश्चिमाव्या दक्षिण[त्वा] -- -- च्छम्भूदक्षिणेश्वराम्भतीर्यसेवाणां सन्धिः
 [¹⁷] -- -- -- -- -- दक्षिणकोणात्किञ्चित्पश्चिमज्जत्वा मितम्भूमे --
 [¹⁸] दक्षिणमनुसृत्य सत्पूर्वदक्षिणाव्याः पश्चिमज्जत्वा किञ्चिदुत्तरञ्च ततः पश्चिम-
 [¹⁹] मनुसृत्य च निम्बूदक्षिणपश्चिमकोणादक्षिणज्जत्वा लेपिद्धामकगौष्ठिकक्षेत्रम्





- [²⁰] दक्षिणकोणात्किञ्चिन्वाश्विमङ्गत्वा ह्युपिपाञ्चालिकक्षेत्रम् --- ल्या दक्षिणमनुसृत्य
 [²¹] --- राभूमेरुत्तरपूर्वकोणे ह्युपिग्रामी बृहत्पथस्तत्प[श्चिममनु]सृत्य ह्युपि ---
 [²²] --- स्त - रोधेनुसृत्य मेकणि - [स्ति]लमकस्तद्वाम --- मधिरुह्य ---
 [²³] --- कसारेणोत्तरपश्चिममनुसृत्य - नी ---
 [²⁴] --- [श्च]रक्षेत्रं पूर्वदक्षिणाभ्याः पश्चिमङ्गत्वा लोपि --- तक्षेत्रन्ततः
 [²⁵] --- स्तस्योत्तरञ्च बृहदारामस्य पूर्वमुखे महापथः --- ङ्गत्वा बृह -
 [²⁶] --- कोणादधोवतीर्य वनपर्यन्तमुपादाय --- तस्त -
 [²⁷] --- स्तस्रोतोनुसारेण श्वधतीर्य --- गम्ब - र्य
 [²⁸] --- दारामानुसारेण श्रेष्ठि --- लिन्या
 [²⁹] --- सहाये यदि कदाचिदार्यसङ्गस्य शि --- र्यस ---
 [³⁰] तदा प - मा --- वारणीयमापणकराधिकमा --- एवा-
 [³¹] र्यमि --- त्येवमवगतार्थैरस्मत्वादोषार्थैर्विभिरन्यैर्वापम्पसा[दिन्य]था न
 [³²] --- मात्रामुलङ्घ्यान्यथा कुर्यात्कारयेद्वा --- स्मृतरात्र मर्षणीया
 [³³] ये --- भूमिपालास्तैरप्युभयलोकनिरवद्यमुखायैभिः पूर्व-
 [³⁴] राजविहितो विशिष्टः प्रसाद इति प्रयत्नतस्तम्भपरिपालनीय एव पतो
 [³⁵] धर्मशास्त्रवचनम्बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्तगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि-
 [³⁶] स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति । स्वयमाज्ञा । दूतकश्चात्र भट्टारकप्रीतिवदेव ।
 [³⁷] संवत् १ [४] ३ ज्येष्ठ शुद्ध दिवा षयोदश्याम् ।

No. 14.—An inscription dated Śrīharsha
Sakaat 145.

Location : a stone placed near a water conduit close to the temple of Manjughosha or Minānātha Lalitapattana. It is very badly mutilated, and has lost a great many lines at the top. It would seem that it refers to the repairs and to the right to use a water-course (*tilamaka*).

The name of the king who issued the edict has been lost. The *dātaka* is the Yuvārāja, or heir apparent, the illustrious Vijayadeva, and the date, the third day of the bright half of Paṇṣha, Sakaat 145. The letters closely resemble those of the preceding inscriptions, and leave no doubt that it most probably belongs to Śivadeva himself.

Transcript.

- [¹] ---
 [²] --- स्वस्वान्तरेप्यमुं जानद्विरस्माकमन्यथा ---
 [³] --- व्यमुपलपनं च कुमार्या प्रसादं वि --- सास ---
 [⁴] --- यूपयामे यूचि --- मा प्रतिपादित ---
 [⁵] --- ज्ञाद्योरगनस्तस्यान्तरे चागूतग्वनेत्पत्तिका चाघाटा ---
 [⁶] --- पिध --- मपराधं कृत्वा प्रपलापितः कोट्टस्यानम ---
 [⁷] --- निवेद्य यथापु[र्व]मनुष्ठातव्यं तिलमकसमीपे च ---
 [⁸] --- औ दिवा चा --- तैश्चित्तपरिपन्थिभिरन्यैर्वा न विरोधनीयस्तद्विरोधक ---
 [⁹] --- [द्विरेव] गृहीत्वा राजकुलमुपनेतव्याः तिलमक --- कार्यञ्च यदुत्पश्यते ---
 [¹⁰] [ते] नैव विचार्य निर्णेतव्यं तिलमकश्च सप्तधा विभज्य परिभोक्तव्यो गिग्वल्याञ्चालिकैरे[को भा-]
 [¹¹] [गः] द्यासाञ्जापाञ्चालिकैरेको भागस्तेग्वल्याञ्चालिकैरेको भागो यूग्वल्या[ञ्चालिकैरे]को भागो
 [¹²] --- पाञ्चालिकैरेको भाग इत्येवमवगतार्थैर्भवद्विरनुमन्तव्यमेतच्छासन --- [म-]
 [¹³] नागपि न लङ्घनीयो ये स्वेतामस्मदीयामाज्ञामतिक्रम्यान्यथा कुर्युः कारयेयु[र्वी]

[¹⁴] [स्मा]भिर्दृढं [न क्ष]म्यन्ते ये चास्मदूर्ध्वमवनिपतयो भवितारस्तैरपि पूर्वराजस्थितिपरिपाल-
 [¹⁵] [ने] व्यवहितमनोभिर्भाव्यं [य]या चाह ये प्राक्तनावनिभुजां जगतीहितानां धर्म्या स्थितिं
 स्थितिकृता[म]

[¹⁶] नृपालयेयुर्लक्ष्म्या समेय सुचिराभिजभाययैवा प्रेत्यापि वासवसमा दिवि ते वसेयुरिति[शुभमस्तु]

[¹⁷] दूतको युवराजश्रीविजयदेवः । संवत् १४५ पौष शुक्ल दिवा तृतीयायाम् ।

No. 15.—*Inscription of Jayaditya, dated Śrīharsha
 Śakāvat 153.*

Location: a slab of black slate 4' 4" by 3' 4" placed behind the bull or Nandi, opposite to the western door of the temple of Paśupati. The

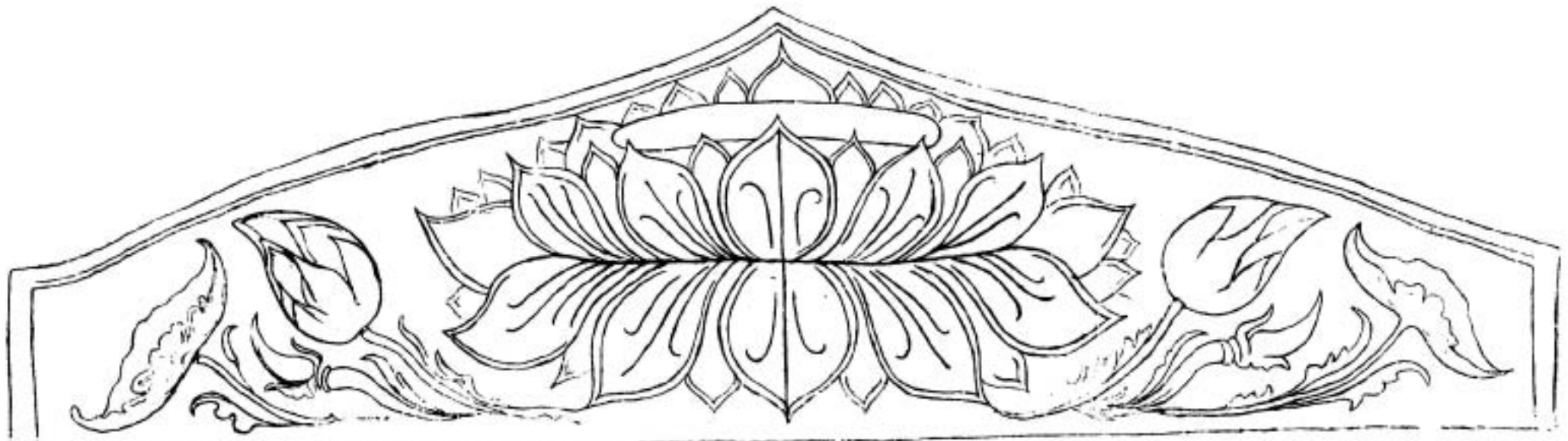
stone is ornamented with a lotus and buds.

The character is a modified form of the Gupta alphabet.

Execution: good. Preservation: in general excellent.

Transcript.

- [¹] अक्षस्त्यप्यव्यात्मा त्रिसमयसदृशस्त्रिप्रतीतस्त्रिलोकीनाता त्रेतादिहेतुस्त्रिगुणमयतया व्यादिभिर्व्य-
 ण्णितोलं । त्रिस्तोतौतमूर्द्धा त्रिपुरजिदाजितो निर्व्विबन्धविवर्गो य[स्यो]त्तुङ्ग[स्त्रि]शूल-
 [²] स्त्रिदशपतिनुतः --- तापनोभूत् ॥ [१] राजद्रावणमूर्द्धपङ्क्तिशिखरव्यासकचूडामणिश्रेणीसङ्कति-
 निश्चलात्मकतया लङ्काम्पुनानाः पुरीं । --- इ[त्य]पराक्रमा ---
 [³] --- सङ्कताः श्रीवाणासुरशेखराः पशुपतेः पादाणवः पान्तु वः ॥ [२] सूर्याङ्गप्रपौत्रान्मनुरय
 भगवाञ्जन्म लेभे ततोभूदिक्ष्वाकुश्चक्र[र्त्त] नृपतिरपि ततः श्रीविकुक्षि[र्व]भूव ।
 [⁴] जात --- विदितो भूमिपः सार्वभौमो भूतोस्मादिष्मश्वः प्रबलनिजबलव्याप्तविश्वान्त-
 रालः । [३] राजाष्टोत्तरविह्वलितितिभुजस्तस्माद्वीन्य क्मात्सम्भूतः सगरः पतिः ---
 [⁵] --- [साग]रायाः क्षितेः । जातोस्मादसमञ्जसो नरपतिस्तस्मादभूदङ्गुमान्स श्रीमन्तमजी-
 जनन्नरवरो भूषं दिलीपाङ्ग्यं [४] भेजे जन्म ततो भगीरथ इति ख्यातो नृपोऽन्तरे भूपाला ---
 [⁶] --- [जातो] रघोरप्यजः श्रीमन्नुत्तरयस्ततो दशरथः पुत्रैश्च पौत्रैस्तमं राजोष्टावपरान्वि-
 हाय परतः श्रीमान्भूलिच्छविः ॥ [५] अरुणैव क्षितिमण्डनैकतिलको लोकप्रतीतो महाना ---
 [⁷] --- प्रभावमहताम्मान्यः सुराणामपि । स्वच्छं लिच्छविनाम विभ्रदपरो वंशः प्रवृत्तोदयः श्रीमच्च-
 द्रकलाकलापधवलो गङ्गाप्रवाहोपमः ॥ [६] तस्मालिच्छवितः परेण नृपतीन्विता प-
 [⁸] --- र श्रीमान्पुष्पपुरे कृतिः क्षितिपतिर्जातः सुपुष्पस्ततः । साकं भूपतिभिस्त्रिभिः क्षितिभृतां त्य-
 ज्जान्तरे विंशतिं ख्यातः श्रीजयदेवनामनृपतिः प्रादुर्बभूवापरः ॥ [७] एकादशक्षिति-
 [⁹] --- [त्य]ज्जान्तरे विजयिनो जयदेवनाम्नः ॥ श्रीमान्वभूत् वृषदेव इति प्रतीतो राजो-
 त्तमः सुगतशासनपक्षपाती ॥ [८] अभून्नतः शङ्करदेवनामा श्रीधर्मदेवोऽप्युदपादि तस्मात् ।
 [¹⁰] श्रीमानदेवो नृपतिस्ततोभूत्ततो महीदेव इति प्रसिद्धः ॥ [९] वसन्त इव लोकस्य कान्तः शान्तारि-
 वियहः । आसीद्वसन्तदेवोस्मादन्तसामन्तवन्दितः ॥ [१०] अस्यान्तरेऽप्युदयदेव इति क्षितीशाज्या-
 तास्त्रयो-
 [¹¹] दश [तत]श्च नरेन्द्रदेवः । मानोऽन्तो नतसमस्तनरेन्द्रमौलिमालारजोनिकरपाङ्गुलपादपीठः ॥ [११]
 दाता सङ्कविणस्य भूरिविभवो जेता द्विपसंहतेः कर्त्ता बान्धवतोषणस्य
 [¹²] यमवताता प्रजानामलं हर्त्ता संश्रितसाधुवर्गविपदां सत्यस्य वक्ता ततो जातः श्रीशिवदेव इत्यभिमतो
 लोकस्य भर्त्ता भुवः ॥ [१२] देवी बाहुबलाढ्यमौखरिकुलश्रीवर्मचू-
 [¹³] ङामणिख्यातिहेपितैरिभूपतिगणश्रीभोगवर्म्मोद्भवा ॥ दौहित्री भगधापियस्य महतः व्यादित्यसेनस्य
 या व्यूढा श्रीरिव तेन सा क्षितिभुजा श्रीरुसदेव्यादरात् ॥ [१३]

[illegible]

- [¹⁴] तस्माद्भूमिभुजोप्यजायत जितारातेरजयः परै राजश्रीजयदेव इत्यवगतः श्रीवत्सदेव्यात्मजः ॥ आगी
मानधनो विशालनयनः सौजन्परजाकरो विद्वा[न्सक्त]चिराश्रयो
- [¹⁵] गुणवतां पीनोरुक्तास्थलः ॥ [¹⁶] माशदन्तिसमूहदन्तमुसलक्षुण्णारिभूभृच्छिरोगौडोद्दिकलिङ्ग-
कोसलपतिश्रीहर्षदेवामजा ॥ देवी राज्यमती कुलोचितगुणैर्युक्ता प्रभूता
- [¹⁶] कुलैर्येनोदा भगदत्तराजकुलजा लक्ष्मीरित्स्माभुजा ॥ [¹⁷] अङ्गश्रिया परिगतो जितकामरूपः
काञ्चीगुणाढ्यवनिताभिरुपास्यमानः कुर्वन्पुराष्ट्रपरिपालनकार्यचिन्तां यः सार्व-
- [¹⁷] भौमचरितं प्रकटीकरोति ॥ [¹⁸] राज्यं प्राप्सुमुखोर्जितद्विजजनप्रत्यर्पितान्याहुतिव्योतिर्जात-
शिलाविजृम्भजिताशेषप्रजापदुजं । विभक्तकण्टकवर्जितं निजभुजावष्टम्भविस्फूर्जितं
- [¹⁸] शूरत्वात्परचक्रकाम इति यो नाम्नापरेणान्वितः ॥ [¹⁹] स श्रीमाज्जपदेवाख्यो विशुद्धबृहदन्वयः ल-
ब्धप्रतापः सम्प्राप्तवहुपुण्यसमुच्चयः ॥ [²⁰] मूर्त्तिरष्टाभिरष्टौ महयितुमतुलैः
- [¹⁹] स्वैर्लैरष्टमूर्त्तैः पातालादुत्थितं किं कमलमभिनवं पद्मनाभस्य नाभेः । देवस्यास्यासनायोपगतमिह
चतुर्वक्त्रसादृश्यमोहादिस्त्रीणं विष्टरं किं प्रविकसितसिताम्भोजमम्भोज-
- [²⁰] योनेः ॥ [²¹] कीर्णां किम्भूतिरेषा सपदि पशुपतेर्नृत्यतोच प्रकामं मौलीन्दोः किम्पयूलाः शरद-
मभिनवां प्राप्य शोभामुपेताः । भक्त्या कैलासशैलादिमनिचयरुचः सानवः किं
- [²¹] समेता दुग्धाब्धेरागतः किं गलगरसहजपीतिपीयूषराशिः ॥ [²²] राजः ॥ देवं वन्दितुमुद्यतो
द्युतिमतो विद्योतमानद्युतिः किं ज्योत्स्नाधवला कणावलिखितं शेषस्य सन्दृश्यते ।
- [²²] भन्तर्दूरसातलाश्रितगतैर्देवप्रभावश्रिया [ः] किं क्षीरस्नपनं विधातुमुदिताः क्षीराण्णवस्यो-
र्मयः ॥ [²³] विष्णोः पातालमूले कणिपतिशयनाकान्तिलीलासुखस्थादाज्ञां प्राप्योत्प-
- [²³] तन्यास्त्रिपुरविजयिनो भक्तितोभ्यर्चनाय । लक्ष्म्याः संलक्ष्यते प्राक्करतलकलितोत्कुललीलासरोजं किं
वेतीयं वितर्कास्पदमतिरुचिरं मुग्धसिद्धाङ्गनानाम् ॥ [²⁴] नाली नालीकमेतन्न खलु समु-
दितं राजतो
- [²⁴] राजतोहं पया पदासनाब्जे कथमनुहरतो मानवा मानवाभे पृथ्व्यां पृथ्व्यान् मादृग्भवति हतजगन्मा-
नसे मानसे वा भास्वाभास्वान्विशेषं जनयति न हि मे वासरो वा सरो वा ॥ [²⁵] इतीव
- [²⁵] चामीकरकेसराली सिन्दूररक्तद्युतिदन्तपङ्कजा । राजीवराजीम्रति जीवलोकं सौन्दर्यदर्पादिव स-
प्रहासं ॥ [²⁶] एषा भाति कुलाचलैः परिवृता प्रालेयसंसर्गिभिर्वेदी मेरुशिलेव काञ्चनमयी
देवस्य
- [²⁶] विश्रामभूः । शुभैः प्रान्तविकासिपङ्कजदलैरित्याकलय्य स्वयं रौप्यं पद्मचक्रित्यशुपतेः पूजार्थमयु-
ज्वलम्¹² ॥ [²⁷] राजः ॥ यं स्तौति प्रकटप्रभावमहिमा ब्रह्मा चतुर्भिर्मुखैः यच्च श्ला-
- [²⁷] घयति प्रणम्य चरणे पद्भिर्मुखैः षण्मुखः । यन्दुष्टाव दक्षाननोपि दक्षभिर्वक्त्रैः स्फुरत्कन्धरः सैवां
यस्य करोति वामुकिरलं जिह्वासहस्रैः स्तुवन् ॥ [²⁸] ख्यात्या यः परमेश्वरोपि बहते वासो
- [²⁸] दिशामण्डलं व्यापी सूक्ष्मतरश्च शङ्कुरतया ख्यातोपि संहारकः । एकोप्यष्टतनुः सुरासुरगुरुर्वी-
तत्रो नृत्यति स्थाणुः पूज्यतमो विराजति गुणैरेवं विरुद्धैरपि [²⁹] राजः ॥ तस्येदं प्रमथा-
- [²⁹] धिपस्य विपुलं ब्रह्माञ्जनुष्यं शुभं राजद्राजतपङ्कजं प्रविततं प्रान्तप्रकीर्णैर्दलैः । पूजार्थं प्रविधाप्य
तत्पशुपतेर्यथापि पुण्यमया भक्त्या तत्प्रतिपाद्य मातरि पुनः संप्राप्तुयाभिर्धुतिम् ॥ [³⁰]
राजः ॥
- [³⁰] किं शम्भोरुपरि स्थितं ससलिलं मन्दाकिनीपङ्कजं स्वर्गोद्भिन्नवांजुजेषणधिया सम्प्राप्तमम्भोरुम् ।
देवानां किमियं शुभा सुकृतिनां रम्या विमानावली पदं किं करुणाकरस्य करतो

- [³¹] लोकेश्वरस्यागतम् ॥ [२९] राज्ञः ॥ स्रोतःस्वर्गापगायाः किमिदमवतरलोलकलोलरम्यं किं ब्रह्मोत्पत्ति-
पदं तलकमलवरप्रेक्षणयोपपातं । सम्प्राप्तं चन्द्रमौलिरमलनिजशिरश्चन्द्रबिम्बं किमप्येवं
- [³²] यदीक्ष्य शङ्कां वहति भुवि जनो विस्मयोत्कुलनेत्रः ॥ [३०] श्रीवत्सदेव्या नृपतेर्जन्मन्या समं समन्ताव्य-
रिवारपद्मैः सौम्यं हरस्योपरि पुण्डरीकं तदादरैः कारितमनुदारम् [३१] पुण्यं पुत्रेण दत्तं शशिकर-
विमलं
- [³³] कारयित्वाऽजमुत्सवं प्राप्तं शुभं शुभञ्च स्वयमपि रजतैः पद्मपूजां विधाय । सर्वं श्रीवत्सदेवी निज-
कुलध्वलाञ्चितवृत्तिन्दधाना प्रादात्कल्याणहेतोर्विरमवनिभुजे स्वामिने स्वर्गाय [३२]
कुर्यात्कु-
- [³⁴] लजः पुमान्निजगुणश्लाघामनिर्दोष्यया राज्ञा सत्कथिनापि नो विरचितं काव्यं स्ववंशाश्रयं । श्लो-
कान्यञ्च विहाय साधुरचितान्प्राप्तेन राज्ञा स्वयं खेदाद्भुवि बुद्धकीर्तिरकरोऽपूर्वामपूर्वामिमाम् ॥
[३३] योगक्षेमविधानबन्धुरभु-
- [³⁵] जस्तं वदन्पन्थवान् शिवात्पुत्रकलत्रभृत्यसहितो लब्धप्रतापो नृपः दीर्घायुर्भितराभिरामयवपुष्-
त्पमोदन्वितः पृथ्वीमालयतु प्रकामविभवस्कीतानुरक्तप्रजाम् ॥ [३४] संवत् १९३ कार्तिक
शुक्ल नवम्याम् ॥

Translation.

1. He is the three-eyed one, the three *Vēdas* are his imperishable essence, he remains the same in the three (*divisions of*) time, he is felt in the three conditions (*of waking, sleep, and dream*), he is the protector of the three worlds, he is the primary cause of the triad (*of sacred fires*); he is fully praised by the three (*deities Brahma, Vishnu and Rudra*) and others, because he contains the three fetters (*goodness, passion and vice*); his head is laved by the tripartite stream, (*Gangā*), himself unconquered he conquered (*the demon*) Tripura, through him the three objects (*of human life—merit, wealth and pleasure*) are accessible. He wields the mighty trident, he who is worshipped by the lord of the three ten gods (*Indra*) became the destroyer of

2. May the particles (*of dust*) from Paśu-pati's feet protect you, which sanctify Laukā's town, because they firmly cling to the multitude of glittering crest-jewels fastened to the top of Rāvaṇa's row of beads⁴³ and which form a garland on famed Bāṇa-sura's head.

3. Now from Sūrya, the great grandson of Brahma, was born divine Manu, from him sprang Ikshvāku, from him king Vi-kukshi. A king who ruled over the whole earth was born from him; his son

was Viśhvagaṇva, who with his mighty host overran the universe.

4. Twenty-eight (*other*) kings passed by, then Sagara, the lord of the earth was born. His son was king Asamanjasa; from him descended Amśumat. That best of princes begot an illustrious king, called Dilīpa.

5. From him Bhagiratha, a famous lord of men, drew his origin. Then kings (*ruled*). From Raghu, Aja was born, from him Daśaratha, who rode on a lofty chariot. After eight other kings together with their sons and grandsons had passed, illustrious Lichchhavi was born.

6. A new great race, famous in the world, the chief ornament of the earth, increasing in prosperity, brilliant like the beautiful full moon, and similar to Gaṅgā's flood, which is to be honoured even by the gods that are great in majesty, and which bears the pure name Lichchhavi. exists even now.

7. kings following after that Lichchhavi are passed over; then an illustrious holy prince, called Supushpa was born in Pushpapura⁴⁴. No account is taken of twenty-three kings succeeding him; then another famous king called illustrious Jayadeva arose.

8. After the victorious Jayadeva eleven

⁴³ This line refers to the Purāṇic story, according to which Rāvaṇa shook Kailāsa, taking it into his hand, and

afterwards received a boon from Śiva.

⁴⁴ i. e. Pāṇaliputra or Pāṇsa.

kings are passed over. Then came a famous king, a follower of Sugata's doctrine, known as the illustrious Vṛishadēva.

9. From him was born Śāṅkaradēva, from him also Dharmadēva sprang. Then his son, the illustrious Mānadēva, became king, after him he who is known as Mahīdēva.

10. From him descended Vasantadēva, dear to the people like spring (*vasanta*), who finished the wars with his enemies, and was praised by his subdued feudal chiefs.

11. Afterwards came thirteen (*rules*), sprung from king Udayadēva, and then Narādēva, who was proud, and whose footstool was covered with the dust from the row of diadems worn by numerous prostrated kings.

12. Then illustrious Śivadēva, honoured by men, became the husband of the earth, he who gave wealth in charity, possessed great riches, conquered his numerous enemies, gladdened his relatives, like Yama protected his subjects, greatly relieved the sufferings of pious men depending on him, and spoke truth.

13. That prince respectfully took illustrious Vatsadēvi to be his queen, as if she were Fortune, her the daughter of illustrious Bhogavarman, who was the crest-jewel of the illustrious Varmanas of the valorous Maikhari race, and who by his glory put to shame (*all*) hostile kings, and the grand-daughter of great Ādityasena, the illustrious lord of Magadha.

14. The son of that prince, the subduer of his foes, and of illustrious Vatsadēvi is known as illustrious king Jayadēva, unvanquished by foes. Liberal he is and keeps honour as his only riches, far sees his eye. He is an ocean of politeness, he loves and long protects virtuous men. His chest is strong and broad.

15. That king wedded, as if she were Fortune, queen Rajyāmāti, possessed of virtues befitting her race, the noble descendant of Bhagadatta's royal line and daughter of Śrīharṣadēva, lord of Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kalinga, Kosala and other lands, who crushed the heads of hostile kings with the club-like tusks of his rutting elephants.

¹³ This and the following verses contain a description of the gilt lotus dedicated by Jayadēva in Paśupati's temple. The *Līlā* of Paśupati has, as stated above, four faces, and might, for that reason, be mistaken for Brahman.

16. He, clothed in beauty, surpassing Cupid, worshipped by females adorned with beautiful girdles, and giving his mind to the duty of protecting his beautiful kingdom, lives the life of a universal emperor.

17. He holds a kingdom where all the subjects' misfortunes are conquered by the spreading flames rising from the offerings made by Brāhmanas who have received great happiness (*from him*), which is free from internal enemies, and which has been extended in consequence of the support of his arm, and by reason of his heroism he has received a second name Parachakra-kāma (*greedy of the kingdoms of his enemies*).

18. That prince named Śrī-Jayadēva is descended from a pure and great race, has obtained greatness and acquired a large store of spiritual merit.

19. "Has a new lotus risen from the nether regions in order to worship with its eight petals the eight bodies of eight-formed (*Śiva*)? Or has the broad lotus-seat of lotus-born Brahman come from the navel of Viṣṇu to be the throne of this deity (*Paśupati*), because it mistook him for four-faced (*Brahman*)?"¹⁴

20. "Have the ashes (*covering*) Paśupati's (*body*) been scattered, while he violently danced according to his heart's desire? Or has autumn returned imparting brilliancy to the rays of the moon on Śiva's crest? Or have the table-lands glittering with masses of snow, leaving Kailāsa's mountain, collected here out of devotion (*to Śiva*)? Or has a flood of Amṛita lovingly come from¹⁵ the milk ocean out of affection for its kindred, the poison on Śiva's throat?"

(*The above verse is the king's (own composition.)*)

21. "Does the resplendent row of heads, brilliant like moon-light, belonging to shining Śeṣha, who dwells in the furthest recesses of the nether world, and has risen to worship divine (*Śiva*), appear here? Or do I see the waves of the milk-ocean that have come up to bathe in milk the majestic beauty of the Lord?"

22. "Or is it the full blown toy-lotus formerly held by the hand of Lakṣmī, who, with the permission of Viṣṇu, enjoying his ease in Pātāla on the couch formed by the king of serpents, is hastening up devoutly to worship the conqueror of Tripura?" Thus (*uttering various*

¹⁴ The poet wishes to describe the brilliancy of the lotus dedicated by Jayadēva, and compares it with various substances, possessing or supposed to possess extraordinary 'whiteness' as the Hindu poets say.

questions) the young wives of the Siddhas (made the lotus) a pleasant object of their guesses.

23. "Forsooth this is not a lotus composed of (common) fibres; I am made of silver by the king. How, oh men, can the two lotuses of Śrī and of Brahman, which do not possess a fresh brilliancy, rival me? On the broad earth not one (flower) like to me is found, neither in the delighted hearts of men," nor in (lake) Mānasa; neither the brilliant sun, nor the day nor the lake produces any difference in me."

24. Thus the lotus spoke as if it were proud of its beauty, showing, in derision, its golden stamina, comparable to a row of teeth dyed brilliant red with minium, to all lotuses in this world.

25. "Thinking that this throne on which the deity rests, golden like Mount Meru, was surrounded by the imperishable (seven) primeval mountains covered by snow (the king) himself caused an exceedingly resplendent silver lotus with brilliant, wide-opened petals to be made for the worship of Paśupati."⁴⁸

(The above verse is) the king's (own composition.)

26—27. "That most worshipful Sthānu, whom Brahman, possessed of manifest glorious majesty, lauds with his four mouths, whom six-faced (Kumāra) bowing at his feet, praises with his six mouths, whom ten-headed (Rāsaṇa) even glorified by hymns from his ten mouths, whom Vāsuki with glittering necks worships devoutly, singing his praise with a thousand tongues, shines even through qualities that are opposed to each other. For though, according to report, a supreme lord, he wears the sky as his garment, he pervades (the universe), and (still is) exceedingly small; though praised as the giver of welfare, he is the destroyer (of the world); though he is one, he possesses eight bodies; and though he is revered by gods and demons, he dances shamelessly."

(The last of these two verses is) the king's (own composition.)

28. "May I obtain salvation, as I have caused to be made in honour of that Lord of the

Pramathas, this great, beautiful, brilliant silver lotus, which resembles the lotus forming Brahman's seat, and wide extends its expanding petals, and as out of devotion I have given to my mother that merit, which I obtained (thereby) from Paśupati."

(The above is) the king's own (composition.)

29. "Is this a lotus from Gaṅgā's stream, which was growing in the water on Śambhu's head? Or (is it) a lotus that has come desiring to see the water-roses, newly opened in heaven? Or is it a beautiful, lovely row of cars of the blessed gods? Or is it the lotus descended from the hand of compassionate Lōkēśvara (i.e. Avalōkiteśvara)?"

(The above verses is) the king's (own composition.)

30. "Is this the descending stream of heavenly Gaṅgā, beautiful on account of its restless waves? Or is it the lotus from which Brahman sprang, come to see the best of earthly lotuses? Or has the pure moon placed on Śiva's forehead approached this spot?" Such doubts arose in the minds of the people, when they gazed on it with wondering wide-opened eyes.

31. This very precious silver lotus, placed over Hara's (Līṅga),⁴⁹ together with the lotuses, which on all sides surround it to do it honour, has been dedicated by illustrious Vatsadēvi, the mother of the king.

32. The merit (which her son gained) by dedicating the chief lotus, that is resplendent like the rays of the moon and presented to her,⁵⁰ as well as the merit which she herself obtained by worshipping the lotus with (gifts of) silver, illustrious Vatsadēvi, who is pure in thought as becomes her race, has presented to her husband, the deceased king, for his welfare.

33. What man of noble race would shamelessly praise his own virtues? Though the king is a true poet, he has not composed the verses in honour of his own race. With the exception of five verses, which the clever prince himself composed right well, Buddhakīrti, out of affection for the king, wrote the above original (eulogy).

⁴⁸ Hindus always speak of the lotus of the soul, which has five petals of various colours, symbolical of the passions.

⁴⁹ The poet tries to prove that the lotus resembled the shrine of Paśupati. As the latter is of gold, so the centre also of the lotus is golden, and as the temple is surrounded by snowy mountains, so the petals of the lotus are made of silver.

⁵⁰ At present, too, a large silver lotus in a square frame is suspended by a chain from the ceiling just above the Līṅga of Paśupati. In shape it exactly resembles the picture at the head of the inscription. It is possible that it dates from Jayadeva's time, and is identical with the one described in this inscription.

⁵¹ See above v. 28.

34. May the king who is able to ensure security and welfare, who takes care of his relatives, who is surrounded by loving sons, wives and servants, and who has obtained greatness, long protect, in good health and joyfully the country where subjects are rich according to their desire, and loyal.

On the ninth day of the bright half of Kārttika, Sāmvat 153.

No. 16.—An inscription of Jyotimalla, dated Nepāla Sāmvat 533.

A slab of sandstone to the left of the western door of Paśupati's temple, inside the court.

Characters Nivāri. Ornaments on the slab a trident between two Nandā. Preservation good, but lower portion damaged. Language very incorrect Sanskrit, and towards the end Nivāri. Nivāri portion not copied.

Transcript.

श्रीश्रीनेपालखण्डे सकलमलहरे व्यापिनं पुण्यभूमौ शंभुं श्रीवत्सलेशं परमपशुपतिं पञ्चवक्त्रस्वरूपं ।
श्रीवाग्मन्यास्तटाले वरुणदिशि वरे वासुकीनागपूज्यं [तं चाहं] नौमि निखं मुनिजनसकलैर्वैदितं
पादयुग्मं ॥ [१] ॥

श्रीसूर्यवंशप्रभवः प्रतापः श्रीपद्मन्तः स्थितिमलदेवः ।

राजलदेव्याः पतिरिन्दुमूर्तिस्तस्यात्मजः श्रीजयधर्ममलः ॥ [२]

विद्वज्जनाम्भोजविकाशभानुर्विपक्षराजोन्नतचित्तहारी ।

श्रीवीरनारायणमूर्तिरेव श्रीधर्ममलो युवराजसिंहः ॥ [३]

तस्यानुजो गुणनिधिः सुकृतैकसिन्धुश्विन्तामणिः क्षितिरुहोपमदर्शनानाम् ।

भूदेवदेवपरिपूजनसाभिलाषो धाता तु मध्यजवरो जयजोतिमलः ॥ [४]

तस्यानुजो मदनरूपसमानदेहः सत्सुन्दरीहृदयपङ्कजभानुमूर्तिः ।

सन्मानदानगुणलक्षणभूषिताङ्गो धाता कनिष्ठरुचिरो जयकीर्तिमलः ॥ [५]

उदण्डक्षितिपालमण्डनमणिः सन्धीतिरज्जाकरो धर्माधर्मविवेकचारुचतुरः श्रीशंभुभक्तः सदा ।

पुण्यानामभिलाषचित्तसततं बाञ्छाप्रदो धार्मिको देवश्रीजयजोतिमलनृपतिः संसारदेवीपतिः [६]

सस्तिश्रीश्रीपशुपतिचरणकमलभूलिपूतारिताशैरोरुहश्रीमन्मानेश्वरीवरलब्धप्रसादितप्रणमदवनिपति-
मुकुटकोटिपङ्कुररुचिरचरणपलवचानक्यप्रभृतिविद्यावदातसमस्तराजनीतिरज्जाकरनिखिलगान्धर्वविद्यागु-
रुपरममादेश्वरपुङ्गवकुलकमलवनप्रकाशनैकभास्करदेवद्विजगुरुचरणाराधनैकस्वभावपङ्कदर्शनाराधनैकचित्त-
सकलार्थिजनकल्पतरुसर्वगुणैकनिधानदैव्यनारायणावतारश्रीपद्मचलक्षिखरोपरिधर्मालयस्थानाश्रितश्रीधर्म-
धातुवागीश्वरमूर्तिस्वरूपचैत्र्यभ्रमस्यापनमहाकीर्तिभारतविधिविरुदावलीसमलङ्कृतश्रीश्रीरघुवंशावतंसमहा-
राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकश्रीमत्श्रीश्रीजयजोतिमलदेवेन लक्षाहुतिमहायज्ञपूजाभिर्गणगुरुमातृगणदे-
वताः समाराधयित्वा श्रीदेवपट्टनमहास्थाने श्रीश्रीपशुपतिभट्टारकस्य प्रासादोपरि सुवर्णकलशावरोपणप्रतिष्ठा
कृत्वा ॥ तस्य राज्ञः ॥

जामाता जयभैरवेति नृपतिर्भूपालचूडामणिर्नाशास्त्रविचारणैकनिपुणः सद्धारवीभूषितः ।

दाता धैर्यगुणेन भूषिततनुः सत्येन भीष्मोपमो लोके प्रीतिकरः परार्थरसिकः श्रीजीवरक्षापतिः ॥

श्रीजोतिमलहृदयनन्दनयक्षमलः सर्वाङ्गसुन्दरवपूरातिमञ्जुवाणिः ।

भक्तापुरीनगरवासितसौख्यकारी दुर्भिक्षदुःखभयहारणदेवमूर्तिः ॥

जयलक्ष्म्याः सुतः श्रीमान् सुनयः पुण्यवत्सलः ।

जयन्तराजेति विख्यातो जयलक्ष्मीपतिः सुधीः ॥

अनेन पुण्येन च तस्य भूयात्सहस्रवर्षापुरहार्यकीर्तिः ।

नरेश्वरः श्रीजयजोतिमलः सत्पुत्रपौत्रैः सहभूत्यवैः ॥

संवत्सेपालकाख्ये विभुवनदहने कामबाणे प्रयाते

माघे शुक्ले च कामे तिथि—विदिते प्रीतिपोगे च पुण्ये

वारे पूषाभिधाने मकररविगते युग्मराशौ शशाङ्के

शम्भोः प्रासादशृङ्गे कनकमयध्वजं तत्र संरोहणं स्यात्

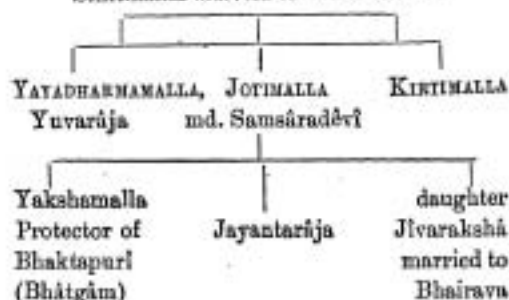
संवत् ५३३ माघ शुक्लत्रयोदशी पुनर्वसुनक्षत्रे प्रीतियोगे आदिश्वारे

Abstract.

I. Invocation addressed to Paśupati.

II. *Vaśādevī, Sāryavahini* :—

Sthitimalla married to Rājāladēvī



III. Description of Jyotimalla.

The ornament of the race of Raghu, supreme king of great kings, great lord and sovereign, the illustrious, famous Jyotimalla, who is adorned by the various honorific titles (*virādānā*), viz., 'he whose head is covered by the dust of glorious Paśupati's lotus feet', 'he who has obtained favour through a boon granted by glorious Mānēsvari',⁵¹ 'he whose tender feet are made resplendent by the crests of the diadems of bowing princes', 'he who is an ocean of all kingcraft (*taṅkt*) by Chāṇakya and other learned men', 'he who is master of the whole science of music', 'he who is the ardent devotee of Śiva', 'he who is the only sun able to unclose (*the flowers*) of the lotus-thicket of the race of Raghu', 'he who is

intent on worshipping the feet of Brāhmanas', gods, and of his Gurus', 'he who is exclusively engaged in studying the six kinds of philosophy', 'he who is a tree of Paradise for needy men', 'he who is the only vessel of all virtues', 'he who is an incarnation of Nārāyaṇa for (the destruction of) the Demons', 'he who is bending under the load of fame gained by the restoration of the Tope of Svayambhū and of the image of glorious Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara'⁵² (Manjuśrī) placed in the sanctuary on the top of famous Padmāchala'.⁵³

IV. *Object of grant*: to record the dedication of a golden *Kalāśa* on the temple of Paśupati at Devapattana, on which occasion a *Koṭyāñḍi* was offered to Gaṇeśa and to the Mothers (*Mātṛigaṇa*).

V. *Date*: Nepāla Saṃvat 533 (*tribhuvana daśama, kāmabāṇa*) on the 13th lunar day (*Kāsatithi*) of the bright half of Māgha, on a Sunday, under the constellation Punarvasu, while the sun stood in Makara (Capricorn) and the moon in Gemini, during the conjunction called Pṛiti.

No. 17.—An inscription of Siddhivinaiśa of Lalitapattana, dated Nepāla Saṃvat 757.

A slab in the wall of a temple of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa, standing opposite the palace in Lalitapattana. Characters Nepalese.

Language Sanskrit, and in the last portion Nivāri. Preservation good.

Transcript.

ॐ नमो गोपालाय ॥

ब्रह्मत्वे तृजते विश्वं स्थितौ पालयते हरे । हृदरूपाय कल्पान्ते नमस्तुभ्यं विमूर्त्तये ॥ १ ॥

प्राचीण्यप्रथितः प्रतापमयितप्रत्यर्थिदृष्टीपतिप्रोदामप्रमदौघलोचनपद्मप्रारब्धवारानिधिः ।

जातः श्रीहरिसिंहदेवनृपतिर्दाताज्ज्वातान्वये सम्प्राप्तः पृथुना नृपेण समतां यो वृत्तिदाता सताम् ॥ २ ॥

यस्यान्वायजलधातुदियाय राजचन्द्रो महेंद्र इव तत्र महेंद्रमलः ।

येनार्थिकल्पतरुणा गुणसागरेण राजन्वती वसुमती महती बभूव ॥ ३ ॥

यत्प्रौढप्रभवत्प्रतापपतिताः प्राकम्पिताः शत्रवो भेजुः शैलदरीं निहाय नगरीं त्यक्त्वा पुरे सुन्दरीम् ।

⁵¹ i. e. Tulajādēvī, who seems to have been Jyotimalla's Kaladovātā.

⁵² A sanctuary of Manjuśrī is found behind the Tope of Svayambhū, on a small separate head of the hill.

⁵³ Padmāchala is a hill to the south-west of Kāmrājā, on which the Tope of Svayambhū is situated, see Wright, *Nepal*, p. 23.

यस्याचारविचारपौरुषधरव्यग्रास्तमया गिरस्तस्य क्षोणिपतेः प्रसिद्धमहत्तः केनोपमेयं यशः ॥ ४ ॥

अस्यात्मजोजनि महीतलकल्पवृक्षो राजा विराजितपद्माः शिवसिंहदेवः ।

भूमीभुजा समरसीमिन् महाभुजेन क्षेमं क्षणेन रिपवो बहवो विनष्टाः ॥ ५ ॥

येन क्षोणिभुजा प्रयाणसमये पादातसेन्योच्छलदूलीजालसमुत्थितेन तमसा व्योमान्धकारीकृतम् ।

कूर्मो मर्मणि चूर्णितोपि नितरां धत्ते कथंचिद्दरां शिवः शेषदशाञ्जगाम सहसा सर्वसहा निःसहा ॥ ६ ॥

सनयोस्य विनयपूर्णो बभूव कर्णोपमो भूमी । हरिहरसिंहनरेन्द्रो वसुधाचन्द्रो बभूव[सौ] ॥ ७ ॥

अरीणाभिहन्ता यशःपारगन्ता सुशीलः समन्ताञ्जयन्ताधिकश्रीः ।

स्वतातानुरूपोत्तितेजःसुरूपो बभूववनीमण्डले चण्डरोचिः ॥ ८ ॥

इन्द्राणीव सुरेश्वरस्य दयिता पयेव पदापतेः वैदेहीव रघूत्तमस्य गृहिणी गौरीव गौरीपतेः ।

तस्य क्षोणिपतेर्बभूव महिषी भग्या भवानीसमा राणी लालमती सती गुणवती प्रायो रतिभारती ॥ ९ ॥

पौरन्दरी दिगिव नूतनभानुविमं सौन्दर्यकाननगजाननमम्बिकेव ।

पुत्रं पवित्रमथ सिद्धिनुसिंहमलं सा राजपुत्रतनया जनयाम्बभूव ॥ १० ॥

येनाकारि विपक्षपक्षमलदृशा दृग्वारिभिर्वारिधियेनाधारि जगन्मयोपरि शरचन्द्रावदातं यशः ।

बालपोषकम् एव विक्रमवत्स्वस्थापुना पौरुषे श्रीमत्सिद्धिनुसिंहमलनृपतेर्बुद्धे समर्थो हि कः ॥ ११ ॥

यद्गुमीपालगङ्गाजलविमलयशः पूरकपूरपूरैः ब्रह्माण्डे पाण्डुरेऽस्मिन्समजनि रजनीनायको निष्कलङ्कः ।

तत्किं भूतेवकोभून्मुखकमलमिषादेव यस्यामृतांशुः सोऽयं दीर्घायुरास्तामधिधरणिमणिः सिद्धिपूर्वो

नृसिंहः ॥ १२ ॥

दानान्पीकृतकल्पवृक्षगरिमा सीमा च तेजस्विनां श्रीमानद्भुतकीर्तियुक्तमहिमा भीमानुजः साहसे ।

दोर्दण्डद्वयचण्डिमन्तगलितप्रत्यर्थपृथ्वीपतिः श्रीमत्सिद्धिनुसिंहमलनृपतिर्वीरसि सर्वोपरि ॥ १३ ॥

प्रातिष्ठयं च युधिष्ठिराधिकतरं निष्ठा वसिष्ठाधिका कीर्तिः कार्तिककृतिकापतिमतिस्त्वस्याधिका वसन्ति ।

वाणी व्याससमा रमा स्थिरतमा रामाभिरामाकृतिः श्रीमत्सिद्धिनुसिंहमलनृपतेः किञ्चाम यन्माद्भुतम् ॥ १४ ॥

कदाचिदेतेन महोन्नतेन मठः कृतः कोपि धनैरनैकैः ।

श्रीबालगोपालविरामभूमिर्विकुर्वतामर्त्यधरा जगत्याम् ॥ १५ ॥

यो मेरुमन्दरमहेन्द्रहिमाद्रिविन्ध्यकेलासशैलशिखरभ्रममातनोति ।

किञ्चास्य हेमकलशानवलोक्य देवैः सन्दिह्यते कनकधामनि पर्वतेन्द्रे ॥ १६ ॥

हर्षाभेपालवर्षे स्वरशरतुरगैरङ्किते फाल्गुनीये पक्षे प्राप्ते बलसेमरगुरुदिवसे शङ्करेऽक्षे दशम्याम् ।

चके जाम्बूनदीयैर्गुहतरकलशैर्भास्वरैरेकविंशैः नेपालक्षोणिपालः प्रथितभुजबलो भूषणं तन्मठस्य ॥ १७ ॥

युद्धारम्भः कृतोस्मिन्पि शुभदिवसे शत्रुभिर्बुद्धशौण्डेर्दुष्टैः कोटोवरुद्धः कुटिलनृपभटैरद्भुतैः कोटिसंख्यैः ।

लीलामात्रेण शत्रूनपनयत तदा पार्थिवः पार्थवुल्यः कोटं निर्मोचयित्वा नमुचिरिपुरास्त्रानन्दसन्दोहमाप ॥ १८ ॥

राजसूय इवारब्धो मध्यस्थेन महीभुजा । विशिष्य शेषनागोपि न शक्तो यस्य वर्णने ॥ १९ ॥

आचार्यो यत्र मर्यादाभिर्षादार्पयदयानिधिः । विश्वनाथ उपाध्यायो विश्वनाथ इवाभवत् ॥ २० ॥

यो मेरुभूधर इवातिगुरुर्गरिम्णा योसौ महार्णव इवातिमहान्महिम्ना ।

यो व्यासवद्विबिधवैदिकमन्त्रपाठे यो निष्ठया भुवि वसिष्ठमहर्षिकल्पः ॥ २१ ॥

याचापाता मञ्जुयतः कियन्तो विद्यावन्तो जञ्जपूकापिवन्तः ।

नानादिभ्यः पण्डितैरभ्युपेतं सत्रे तस्मिन्मण्डपं मण्डितं यैः ॥ २२ ॥

दास्यात्तारौ कल्पितौ तत्र सत्रे द्वौ द्वौ द्वारि द्वारि देवधितुभ्यौ ।

भूषाभूतो विद्विषां दर्पहन्ता नेता तेषां विश्वनाथो मनीषी ॥ २३ ॥

आरब्धे शिविना नृपेण विधिना सत्रे पुरा गौरवादमेः खाण्डवखण्डनं समतनोद्गाण्डीवकोदण्डवान् ।

अस्मिन्सिद्धिर्नृसिंहमलनृपतेः सत्रे घृताजीर्णतः किम्बूयासमितीव मुञ्चति शिखी नाप्यानि धूमच्छलात् ॥ २४ ॥
 चत्वारिंशदिनान्यासीन्महासोमो महोत्सवः ।
 श्रीमत्सिद्धिर्नृसिंहेन कलिकर्णेन कारितः ॥ २५ ॥
 सम्भारः सर्व्ववस्तूनां राजसूये यथा श्रुतः ।
 तथैव तत्र सत्रेपि जातस्तदधिकोपि वा ॥ २६ ॥
 रत्ने स्वर्णे गवादौ करितुरगधने भूषणे दिव्यवस्त्रे दासीदासे निवासे विविधरसमये भक्ष्यमात्रे पवित्रे ।
 चत्वारिंशदिनानि क्षितिपकुलमणेरस्यपदे प्रसन्ने वाणी तत्रोललास प्रतिपलमधिका देहि देहीति माया ॥ २७ ॥
 पामरीवल्यकुण्डलादिकं दृष्टपूर्व्वमपि येन न कश्चित् ।
 तेन तत्र नृपतेः प्रसादतो भिक्षुणा निजतनौ समर्पितम् ॥ २८ ॥
 दिव्यान्वय गृहाणि दिव्यवसुधारत्नानि दिव्याम्बरं दिव्यान्वयेव विभूषणानि सदयो दिव्यानि रत्नानि च ।
 नेपाले प्रचरन्ति यानि वसुधावस्तूनि दिव्यान्वसौ श्रीमत्सिद्धिर्नृसिंहमलनृपतिः सर्वाणि तान्यार्पयत् ॥ २९ ॥
 यानि दृष्टानि वस्तूनि न श्रुतानि कदाचन ।
 तानि दत्तानि सर्वाणि तत्र सत्रे महीभुजा ॥ ३० ॥
 येनाकारि जगत्त्रयोपरि मठो होमोपि कोट्याहुतिर्दत्ता स्वर्णशतद्वयी प्रतिदिनं किंकिञ्च दत्तं धनम् ।
 दत्तस्तण्डुलपर्व्वतोपि विधिना कल्पद्रुमोप्यहुतः श्रीमत्सिद्धिर्नृसिंहमलनृपतिः कर्णोवतारो ध्रुवम् ॥ ३१ ॥
 विद्यावन्तः कियन्तो विविधगुणभृतः केपि विद्याविहीना नानादिभ्यः समेताः श्रुतनृपतिगुणा भिक्षवो
 लक्षसंख्याः ।
 तथा मन्त्रैः सुवर्णैः सुललितवसनैर्भूषणैर्दैनैर्घैर्दारिद्र्यं वारयित्वा नृग इव मुमुदे देवकन्योवनीन्द्रः ॥ ३२ ॥
 कर्णः कन्यातनूजो बलिरपि विदितः किन्तु दैतेयजन्मा पाषाणो देवतानां मणिरजनि महादारु देवद्रुमोपि ।
 भ्रान्तो राजा नृगोपि प्रथितभुजबलो भार्गवो मानुहन्ता कोन्यो धन्यो वदान्यो जगति विजयते सिद्धिपूर्वा-
 श्रीसिंहात् ॥ ३३ ॥

नृत्यानि गीतानि मनोहराणि वाद्यानि हृद्यानि च कौतुकानि ।
 अभ्यानि वस्त्राणि विभूषणानि सर्वाणि जातानि च तत्र सत्रे ॥ ३४ ॥

यावच्छ्रदिवाकरावुदयतो यावन्महीमण्डलं
 यावत्पर्व्वतनन्दिनी पशुपतेरुत्सङ्गमालिङ्गति
 यावज्जन्तुकलिन्दयोरपि सुते तावद्वीवर्त्ततां
 श्रीमत्सिद्धिर्नृसिंहमलनृपतेरेषा यशोवलरी ॥

॥ अथ नेपालभाषा लिख्यते ॥

सम्वत् ७५७ फाल्गुणमासे शुक्रपक्षे दशम्यां तिथी आर्द्रापरपुनर्व्वसुनक्षत्रे आयुष्मान्योगे बृहस्पति
 वासरे थ कुन्हु कोट्याहति यत्र याङन देवता स्थापन याङन नियछपु गजुरि छास्यं देवो दयकाव आय-
 प्रयाय दुंता । रोव ७ पोवि वूं रोव न्हेस पविस्त्रं ३ खोरागार वूं रोव स्त्रेपि १४ तवधर वूं करख छि १
 थंथ छे वाटिका थ तेया वरसानन नित्यपूजा निश्चावहोम याङन वुंसाधन वुंसाधन वुंसाधन इन्द्रयातन मतं छोपके
 स्वन्हंतो धारे कार्तिक लछि घेर ३ छि धारेण जलदेवा छोयके कृष्णाष्टमी कुन्हु चाक्रमतं छोयके ध्वते
 जुलो भूय रोव गुं ९ थंप्पाको वूं रोव च्या ८ काका पलि रोव श्रनछि १२ गुस्तलको वूं रोव न्हेस ७
 खोमोर वूं ध्वत वूया वरसानन फाल्गुनशुक्रपूर्व्वमासीप्रतिपत्तंथिस दोलयात्रा ज्येष्ठ शुक्रपूर्णिमा कुन्हु स्नान-
 यात्रा आषाढ शुक्रद्वादशी कुन्हु शयनपूजा देवशयन याचके श्रावण शुक्रद्वादशी कुन्हु पवित्रारोहण
 श्रावण कृष्णाष्टमी कुन्हु जन्माष्टमीपूजा चाक्रमतं छोयके कार्तिक शुक्रद्वादशी कुन्हु उत्थान पूजा वारी

ब्राह्मनेयातं दंशं गुपे फं १० जाक्य विष थ छपतक जुरो । भूय रोव शंखू १६ थे वूं रोव स्व थां वूं
 थतेय वरसानन कार्तिक लछि चेकन कुड पुन ६ । शंछिनिषात १२० चाकमतं थोपके माल भूय
 निश्चाव दछिना यात मगाडाव तंडा रोव डा ५ न्यंखुवूं-

Abstract.

I. Invocation to Gopāla (vs. 1.)

II. Vaidhātali (vs. 2-14.):

Harisimha

|

Mahendramalla

|

Sivasimha

|

Hariharasimha married to Lālamati

|

Siddhivinayaka [N.S. 757

A.D. 1637]

III. Object of inscription, to record the dedication of a temple (*maṭha*) of Bāla-Gopāla (Kṛishṇa), which was ornamented by twenty-one spires and *kalasas* (vs. 15-17). On the day of the dedication the king fought certain unnamed enemies, who besieged the fortress (of Lalitapattana), and drove them off (vs. 18). These two auspicious events were celebrated by offering a *Koṭyādhuti* (Tāntrika) sacrifice (vs. 31) under the superintendence of Viśvanātha, the king's Upādhyāya (vs. 20), and by giving daily two hundred gold mohars (*varṇas*) (vs. 31) during forty days (vs. 25) to the priests, by presenting 'a mountain of rice' (*tanḍulapareṣa*) and 'a tree of paradise' (*kalpadruma*), food and other gifts to Brāhmanas and beggars. The Nirāri portion mentions the details of the grants and allowances made to the temple, viz.:

1. A field (*vaṇā*) called *Povi* of seven *Ro* or $\frac{1}{3}$ of a *Bīga*,⁵⁰ about one-third of an acre.

2. A field (*vaṇā*) called *Pavikham* of seven *Ro*.

3. A field (*vaṇā*) called *Khorāgar* of three *Ro*.

4. A field (*vaṇā*) called *Thavadhara* of 14 *Ro*.

5. An irrigable field of inferior quality (*kāra-kha chhi vātika*) called *Thanthachhe* for the purpose of the daily worship of the Nirāva homa, of illuminating the temple (*chāḍkramatān*) for three days every year on the occasion of the festivals (*gātan*) of Matsyendranātha and Indra, of burning daily one *Pala* (*pla*) of

Ghi during the month of *Kārttika*, of illuminating the temple on the *Kṛishṇajānmashtami* (*Śrāvṇa vadi 8*).

Further;

1. A field (*vaṇā*) called *Yampyāko* of nine *ro*.

2. A field (*vaṇā*) called *Kāhāpali* of eight *ro*.

3. A field (*vaṇā*) called *Gastalako* of twelve *ro*.

4. A field (*vaṇā*) called *Khomor* of seven *ro*, for the purpose of swinging the image of Kṛishṇa (*dānyātrā*) in the interval between the 15th lunar day of the bright half and the 1st of the dark half of Phālguna (March), of bathing the image (*śudhāyātrā*) on the full moon of Jyeshtha, of putting the image to bed and of worshipping his bed (*āyānaprāja*) on the 12th of the bright half of Āshāḍha, tying the *Pavitra* or three hundred and sixty threads round the neck of the image on the 12th of the bright half of Śrāvṇa, of worshipping and of illuminating the temple on the *Kṛishṇajānmashtami*, and of giving to the Brāhmanas who perform the ceremony of *Uttāna* (waking the god) on the 12th of the bright half of *Kārttika* ninety *phāṇā* (or *pāthā*)⁵¹ of rice.

Moreover:

1. A field (*vaṇā*) called *Thae* of 16 *ro*.

2. A field called *Thadā* of 3 *ro*, for the purpose of expending in the month of *Kārttika* daily six *kuḍas* of oil, and of providing with that quantity 20 lamps;

Finally, a field called *Ngakhā* of 5 *ro*, for the purpose of giving fees and food to the Brāhmanas.

IV. Date, the tenth lunar day of the bright half of Phālguna, Nepāla Samvat 757 (A.D. 1635), a Thursday, conjunction *Āyaskṛmān*, under the Ārdra and Panarvasa constellations (vs. 17 and beginning of Nirāri portion).

No. 18.—An inscription of Pratāpamalla of Kāṭmāṇḍa, dated Nepāla Samvat 769.

On a slab in the wall near the southern door of a temple of Viṣṇu close to the royal

⁵⁰ Hemādri, *Dśakhaṇḍa*.

⁵¹ See *Matsyapurāṇa*, *adhyaṅga* 277.

⁵² At present the Nepālese reckon 25 *Ro* to a *Bīga*, but in older times a *Bīga* contained 16 *Ro* only.

⁵³ The Nepālese *pāthā* holds, according to Wright (p. 298), 8 pounds avoirdupois, according to Pāṇḍit Bhagvānā 3 *shers* of 7½ tola each.

palace in Kātmāṇḍu. This temple is apparently the building mentioned in the inscription. It is an octagon, and has three stories.

Characters Nepālī; language Sanskrit, and Nivāri in the concluding portion, which has not been copied.

Transcript.

आसीच्छ्रीसूर्यवंशे रघुनृपकुलजो रामचन्द्रो नृपेशः तद्वंशे नान्यदेवोवनिपतिरभवत्सुतो गङ्गदेवः ।
 तत्पुत्रोभून्नृसिंहो नरपतिरतुलस्तत्सुतो रामसिंहस्तब्जः श्रीशक्तिसिंहो धरणिपतिरतो भूपभूपालसिंहः ॥ १ ॥
 तस्मात्कर्णाटचूडामणिरिव हरयुतिसिंहदेवोस्य वंशे भूपः श्रीयक्षमलो नरपतिरतुलो रत्नमलोप्यमुष्मात् ।
 तस्माच्छ्रीसूर्यमलो ह्यवनिपतिरभूत्तत्तनूजोमरास्यो मलोभूत्तस्य पुत्रो रिपुगणविजयी श्रीमहेन्द्राख्यमलः ॥ २ ॥
 तस्माच्छिवसिंहोभूद्वरिहरसिंहसुतस्तस्मात्
 तस्मालक्ष्मिन्नृसिंहो नरसिंहपराक्रमः - - - ॥ ३ ॥
 तस्मात् श्रीमत्प्रतापो नरपतिरभवद्भूपभालावलीपु न्यस्यत्पादारविन्दद्वयरसविलसद्रेणुभिर्भूषणानि ।
 योकार्णीकूतिखासाकिरमिति स्ववंशे भोटभूपस्य देशाज्जगद्देवावदीनं प्रतिदिनमपरे यं भजन्ते नरेशाः ॥ ४ ॥
 भक्त्यामनोरेक्षमलनृपतिदत्तचेभमेनं भिया भेजेसौ वसुधां जहार सुदृढं सं [धाय] दुर्गं पुनः ।
 श्रीमद्भुवनेशहभूपतिवलं विध्वंस्य हत्वा बलं श्रीमत्सिद्धिर्नृसिंहमलनृपतेर्जगद्दुर्गावलीम् ॥ ५ ॥
 आस्ते काप्यमरावतीव विलसदन्तीन्द्रदिव्यांगना युक्ता स्वर्णमयी विहारनगरी सा राजधानी परा ।
 श्रीमच्छ्रीकमलाधिका मधुपतेरिन्द्रेण तुल्यस्य च प्रसूतिव्रजनिर्जितस्य नवपुष्पारायणस्यापि च ॥ ६ ॥
 लक्ष्मीनारायणस्तस्माद्दीनारायणस्ततः
 पुत्री रूपमती तस्य प्राणनारायणः सुतः ॥ ७ ॥
 तस्य रूपमती सती गुणवती स्वर्णश्रुतिः सम्मतिर्माद्यकुञ्जरगामिनी प्रणयिनी साक्षात्परा रुक्मिणी ।
 आसीत्सर्वगुणा पितुर्नरपतेः श्रीमत्प्रतापस्य सा पत्नी प्राणसमा यथा जलनिधेः पुत्री जगत्पाविनः ॥ ८ ॥
 कर्णाटी रङ्गवाटी कुचकनकघटी कामलीलैकवाटी सार्णालङ्कारकोटी हरितदृशकटी चारुदेहा नृपाटी ।
 नासा राजमती महारसवती भूपप्रतापस्य सा भूता भोगवधूटिका किल हरेर्भोगिव जीवाधिका ॥ ९ ॥
 स्वर्गार्थं कृतशान्द्रतापनृपतिः सद्योषितोरेतयोः प्रासादं वसुपत्रपद्मसदृशं शृङ्गाष्टकैः शोभितम् ।
 नानाधिपतिराजितं सममिदं सदैजयन्तेन वै होमादौरकरोच्छ्रुतिस्मृतिमत्तैरस्य प्रतिष्ठाविधिम् ॥ १० ॥

संवत् ७६९ फाल्गुन शुद्ध पष्ठ्यां त्रिंशो अनुराधानक्षत्रे हर्षणयोगे बृहस्पतिवासरे.

Abstract.

I. *Vaiśāṇavi*. In the Solar race, in the family of Raghū, was born Rāma. In his family was born—

Nānyadēva
 |
 Gangadēva
 |
 Nṛsiṅha
 |
 Rāmasiṅha
 |
 Śaktisiṅha
 |
 Bhūpālasiṅha
 |
 Harasiṅha⁵⁴

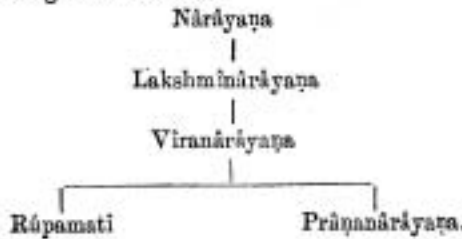
In his family was born—

Yakṣhamalla
 |
 Ratnamalla
 |
 Sūryamalla
 |
 Amaramalla
 |
 Mahendramalla
 |
 Śivasīṅha
 |
 Hariharasiṅha
 |
 Lakshminṛsiṅha
 |
 Pratāpa

married to Rāpamati and Rājamatī.

⁵⁴ The name is given as Harayatsiṅha, which for metrical reasons has probably been used for Harasiṅha.

Pratāpa took (vs. 4-5) the province of Kūt-khāsākiram from the Bhotas, i.e. the Tibetans, he took Evāvadin prisoner. The king of Bhātgām Nareśamālla (Narendramalla) presented him with an elephant. He defeated the army of Dambarasāhā, an ancestor of the present Nepālese Gorkhā line, who ruled over Gorkhā in 1633-42 A.D. He defeated the army of Siddhinriśimha (inscr. XVII.) of Lalitapattana, and took his fortresses. Rūpamati was descended from the Rājas of Vihāra (Behār), whose line is given as follows:



Pratāpa's second wife Rājamatī came from a Karpūṣa family.

II. *Object of the inscription*, to record the consecration (*pratīkṣā*) of an octagonal (*śaṣṭapadmasādhā*) temple with eight Śikharas (*śringa*) built for the sake of the two queens, on which occasion the usual *Homas* were offered.

III. *Date*, the sixth lunar day, of the bright half of Phālguna (Nepāla) Sāvat 769, a Thursday, under the constellation *Anurādhā*, conjunction *Harshana*.

No. 19.—An inscription of Pratāpamalla, dated Nepāla 778.

On a slab of black stone, 4' 9" by 2' 6", standing in the court of the temple of Paśupati, decorated by a *trīśūl* between two Nandis. Letters Nivārī, language Sanskrit. Preservation good.

Transcript.

श्री ३ भवानीशङ्कराभ्यां नमः

नवा गिरीन्द्रतनयां प्रलयानलामां भालोलसललितचन्द्रकलाभिरामाम् ।
 मलप्रतापनृपतिः स्वकुलप्रकाशां वंशावलीं सुतनुते विमलां कवीन्द्रः ॥ १ ॥
 श्रीविष्णोर्भयनाम्बुजाक्षिजगतीपापान्तकर्त्ता रविः प्रोद्भूतस्त्रिमिरौघवारणघटाविद्रावणः केसरी ।
 कालाकाशदिशां प्रकाशनिपुणः कन्दर्पदर्पापहस्तानन्दं सरसीरूपेण तनुते मैत्रीं विचित्राकृतिः ॥ २ ॥
 गाम्भीर्यादिगुणेन सागरसमो धैर्येण विन्ध्याचलः सौन्दर्यप्रकरेण देखदलनो रूपेण कामोपमः ।
 जातो भूमितले ततोतिविमले वैवस्वताख्यो मनुर्मर्यादा रचिता सतां समुचिता कीर्त्तिपदा येन वै ॥ ३ ॥
 तदंशे विमले बभूव धरणीचन्द्रो दिलीपो हि यो देवेन प्रमथाधिपेन तुलनां प्राप प्रचण्डे रणे ।
 यस्य प्रौढतरप्रतापदहने नित्यं द्विषः शेरते दृष्ट्वा तस्य कलेवरं सुविमलं कामेन दग्धं वपुः ॥ ४ ॥
 जातस्सन्धुपसत्तमो रघुरिति ख्यातस्ततो वीर्यवान् बाणधैः परिमध्य शक्रहृदयं कीर्त्तिः स्थिरा स्थापिता ।
 यस्य प्रौढतरप्रतापतपनवासेन सदा कृता वृष्टिस्तेन धनेश्वरेण ललिता कार्त्तस्वरी भूतले ॥ ५ ॥
 जातो भूपवरस्ततः कलिहरः श्रीमानजो वीर्यवान् दुष्टानां किल दर्पणहारणविधौ प्रोद्भूतकण्ठीरवः ।
 सिष्ठानां प्रतिपालकः प्रतिपलं दानैः — — — मनः पश्चादिन्दुमतीवियोगजनितक्लेशाब्धिमथ्येपत् ॥ ६ ॥
 जातो देवतनुस्ततो दशरथः कन्दर्पदर्पापहः सेनापत्यमुपेय पङ्कपतितः शत्रुः कृतो निर्भरः ।
 क्रूरः कोपरतः प्रसारितभयो भेनुं गतः कृत्तिकां पापे संसक्तचित्तः शनिरपि सहसा स्तम्भितो येन मार्गे ॥ ७ ॥
 जातस्सन्तनयो महानययुतो रामोभिरामाकृतिः दानेन प्रचुरेण बद्धितगुणः ख्यातस्त्रिलोकीतले ।
 वच्चा यो जलधि निश्चाचरभटान्त्रिजित्य लङ्कापुरीं गत्वा रावणराक्षसं कलिकरं हत्वा वशे लब्धवान् ॥ ८ ॥
 तत्पुत्रः सूर्यतुल्यो लव इति विदितो प्रोलसदानपुण्यैर्जातो भूचक्रशक्रः प्रथितगुणधयः सम्मतस्सज्जनानाम् ।
 शत्रूणां शासकोसौ प्रबलरणधराभारणादत्तभारो धर्मात्मा देवतुल्यो दशरथतनया निर्जिता येन संख्ये ॥ ९ ॥
 जातः श्रीहरिसिंहदेवनृपतिः प्रौढप्रतापोदयः तदंशे विमले महारिपुहरे गाम्भीर्यरत्नाकरः ।
 कर्त्ता यः सरसामुपेय मिथिलां संलक्ष्य लक्षप्रियो नेपाले पुनराख्यवैभवपुते स्वैर्यं विधत्ते चिरं ॥ १० ॥

मानिक्यप्रतिमप्रतापपटलैरादीप्तलोकत्रयो मुक्तापंक्तिः सहस्रशोभनयशोवृन्देन संशोभितः ।
 पञ्चशकृतिकर्णवारणगिरियाम्बनव्याकुलः पारावारमिवैव यः परिहसत्याधाय चित्तच्युतं ॥ ११ ॥
 तत्पुत्रो यक्षमलः प्रबलरिपुहर्ः कर्णतुल्योवनीशः सर्वासां नागरीणां नयनसुखकरस्सर्वदस्सज्जनानाम् ।
 प्रोद्यद्दोर्दण्डचण्डाहतनिशितमहाखड्गपातैर्विपक्षान् क्षिप्वा सद्यः क्षितीशान्क्षितितलविषये प्रोद्धसत्की-
 तिचन्द्रः ॥ १२ ॥
 तस्माच्छ्रीरत्नमलः समजनि विवुधाराधने दत्तबुद्धिर्दन्तीनां दानकर्त्ता प्रबलरिपुकुलोत्सादने पार्थतुल्यः ।
 यदानाम्बुप्रवाहप्रकरविकसितां वाहिनीं वीक्ष्य नूनं गंगासंगात्प्रवृद्धं प्रचलजलनिधिः प्रेमगर्वम्भुमोच ॥ १३ ॥
 योनु प्रौढतराभिह्व धरणीपालान्महासङ्गरे गात्रा कान्तिपुरं चकार विमलं राज्यन्तु स्वर्गोपमम् ।
 श्रीसिद्धिर्हरपूर्विका हरवधूराधनैस्सदृशे जाता भावदृता मुदा सुविदिता चाद्यापि या तिष्ठति ॥ १४ ॥
 प्रोद्यद्प्रौढप्रतापप्रचुरपरिलसत्कुङ्कुमक्षोदपूर्णः कीर्णः पाटीरपंकैः सितकरकिरणाकारकीर्तिप्रतारः ।
 मित्राणामत्र शैल्यं किमपि विरचयन्पूर्वपूर्वागतानां तत्पुत्रः सूर्यमलो नरपतितिलकः प्रादुरासीत्प्रवीरः ॥ १५ ॥
 तस्मान्मलनरेन्द्रनामधरणीपालो बभूव प्रभुः प्रोद्धतप्रवलप्रतापदहनज्वालावृताहस्करः ।
 यस्यारातिनितम्बिनी सूचकिता शुष्पन्मुखाभोरुहा स्थित्वा पर्वतगव्धरेतिविषमे दैन्यं सदाभ्यस्यति ॥ १६ ॥
 पुण्यौघैर्जपयज्ञदानविपुलैर्गौरीपदार्चाफलेः संजातस्तु महीन्द्रमलवसुधारजं ततस्तत्सुतः ।
 येनेमां किल काश्यपीं वतुमतीं रत्नेन पूर्णां वरां दत्त्वा भूमिसुराय स्वर्गभवने कीर्तिः स्थिरा स्थापिता ॥ १७ ॥
 श्रीयामे भक्तपूर्वे विनिहितसहसावासरूपप्रतिष्ठा भावैर्निर्मित्य देवीं कलिकलुपहरीं दैव्यदर्पापहन्त्रीम् ॥
 आनीय स्वर्गतुल्ये रचितगृहवरे स्थापिता येन पूर्वं नित्यं तत्पूजनेन त्रिभुवनललितां सिद्धिमुद्यामवाप ॥ १८ ॥
 तस्माच्छ्रीशिवसिंहनामनृपतिर्जातो धरामण्डले नेपालक्षितिपालमालतिलकः कन्दर्पदर्पापहः ।
 संसारार्णवतारणाय सततं नित्यं भवानीपदध्याने दत्तमनाः समस्तविदुषो मध्ये प्रसिद्धक्रियः ॥ १९ ॥
 वैरिस्त्रीनयनाञ्जननिर्गतजैलधाराम्बुभिर्येन वै शस्ताः सान्द्रकबन्धरन्ध्ररुधिरैर्नद्यः समासादिताः ।
 तासां संगमसंभवं सुविमलं तीर्थं प्रयागादप्यं । यत्र श्रान्तकृता प्रलब्धमनिशं शशुक्ष्यं सत्कलम् ॥ २० ॥
 तस्माद्गिरिहरसिंहो नरपतिसिंहो बभूव भूपालः ।
 गच्छति जलनिधिपारं कीर्तिरेकाकिनी यस्य ॥ २१ ॥
 धत्ते गैरिकरागविभ्रमभयं यस्य प्रतापोत्करो यत्कीर्तिर्गुणपर्वतोपरिसरी कौतूहलं यच्छति ।
 एतेनैव तु हेतुनास्य तु गुणान्विज्ञाय शैलोत्तमान् दूरस्थाः प्रपलाप्य सन्निधिममी कुर्वति यद्वैरिणः ॥ २२ ॥
 श्रीलक्ष्मीनरसिंहनामनृपतिस्समादभूत्तन्मतिः बाणधैः परिपन्थिमन्यनकरः कारुण्यपुण्याकरः ।
 यन्दृष्ट्वा खलु वैरिवर्गवनिता कम्पाकुला सर्वदा प्राणेशस्य सुजीवितं मम विभो देहीति संयाचते ॥ २३ ॥
 अष्टाशास्त्रपि यत्प्रतापतपनस्पालोक्य निलोदयं दीप्तान्मापि दिशानिशां भृशमहो विश्वान्धकारापहम् ।
 आन्मानं सहसा समीक्ष्य मनसा हीनं हठाद्गर्हयन् सायं सायमयं स्वयं दिनमणिर्दीनोन्मुधौ मज्जति ॥ २४ ॥
 श्रीलक्ष्मीनरसिंहभूपतिदिवप्रस्थानकालोद्यते देवैः शंखमुदंगभेरिपटहध्वानैर्दिशः पूरिताः ॥
 प्रौढाः शूरतराः प्रदारितरिपोर्ब्रह्माण्डचण्डोलसन्मार्गैर्नैव विनिर्गताः सुयमिताः प्राणास्त्रपोस्यामलाः ॥ २५ ॥
 तत्पुत्रोसौ कवीन्द्रः क्षितिपतितिलकः श्रीप्रतापाभिधानः संग्रामे वैरिवर्गप्रबलतरलसद्वर्षदावानलाभः ।
 तर्कालंकारकोशादिकसत्कलमहाशास्त्रमार्गप्रवीणो नानागद्यानवशासुललितकवितानर्त्तकीरङ्गभूमिः ॥ २६ ॥
 मेदिन्यामुदधौ सरस्तु सरिताम्मध्ये गिरौ कानने यस्य प्रौढतरप्रतापतपनस्पालोक्य दीप्तिं पराम् ।
 अन्युत्कर्षमवेक्ष्य संप्रति समासादापकर्षश्चिरादौर्वः स्वर्वयशाः प्रक्षाम्यति हठान्मयः समुद्राम्भसि ॥ २७ ॥
 दृष्ट्वा तस्य प्रतापं तपनमनुपमं हन्त दृष्टो विवस्वान्नेने ब्रह्माण्डभाण्डभ्रमणविधिकृतं श्रान्तमेव श्रमौघम् ।

⁸⁰ Vs. 11 read माक्षिक⁸⁰; — Vs. 13, दन्तिदा⁸¹ is the recorrect form which the royal poet probably found inconvenient on account of the metre.

व्यस्ताहोराविभेदं विभुवनभवनं व्याप्तमेनं विदिता किञ्चायं चक्रवाकः शिथिलयति शुचं सर्वतः
सर्वबीजं ॥ २८ ॥

शस्त्रे शास्त्रवेरे सदा सुखकरे सज्जीतविशारे सानन्दं किल केलिकर्मकुशलव्यापारकण्ठीरवः ।
स्वर्गे भूमितले तथा दशदिशाम्प्रान्ते गिरौ कानने कोप्यस्तीति निगद्यते मम समो राजेन्द्रचूडामणिः ॥ २९ ॥
नेपाले संवत्स्मिन्द्यगिरिमुनिभिः संयुते माघमासे सप्तम्यां शुक्लपक्षे रविदिनसहिते रेवतीकक्षराजे ।
योगे श्रीसिद्धिसंज्ञे रजतमणिलसत्स्वर्णमुकाप्रवालैरेकीकृत्य प्रदत्तं हयशतसहितं येन दानं तुलाख्यम् ॥
इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्रीश्रीराजराजेन्द्रकवीन्द्रजयप्रतापमलदेवविरचिता निजवंशावली समाप्ता
माधुर्यादिचित्रिताखिलपदन्यासैर्मनोहारिणी संक्षिप्तेन कवीन्द्रभूमिपतिना वंशावली निर्मिता ।
प्रत्येकं किल कीर्तिशौर्यनिखिलप्रौढप्रतापादिकं भूपानां रचितुं विमृश्य निपुणं शको न वा वाक्पतिः ॥ ३० ॥

Abstract.

I. Invocation to Bhavāni and Śankara.
II. *Vaśīḍavali*, composed by king Pratāpamalla, a prince of poets:—
Vishnu
Sūrya
Manu Vaivasvata,
From him were descended :
Dillipa
Raghu
Aja
Daśaratha
Rāma
Lava.
In his race were born :
Harisimha,
who dug tanks in Mithilā and settled Nepāla.
Yakshamalla,
(falsely here called his son)
Ratnamalla
Sūryamalla
Narendramalla
Mahindramalla
who brought an image of Devī from Bhāṅgam
Śivasimha

Harisimha
Lakshminarasimha
Pratāpamalla.

III. Object of inscription, to record the presentation of a *Talāpurusha*, i. e. the king's own weight in gold, silver and pearls, together with one hundred horses.

IV. Date, the 7th day of the bright half of Māgha, Nepāla Samvat 778, a Sunday, constellation *Revati*, conjunction *Siddhi*.

No. 20.—An inscription of *Riddhilakshmi*, dated Nepāla Samvat 810.

On a slab in the wall of a great temple of Śiva, close to the palace in Kātmāṇḍu. On the upper portion of the same stone is found a hymn to Śiva, in the Bhujangametre, composed by Sri-Śrī-jaya Bhupālendramalla, who describes himself as follows:

*Śrīmat pañpatichayāṇakamādhāśiddhīśvari
tāśīroṇha — śrīmadāśīśvarīśatadevatāvaralabha-
prasāda — dādīpyamāsamānānatāśīraghuvān-
īśvatāra — vakulatilaka — kamadevīkva-
nepāleśvara — mahārājadhīrāja, — sakalarājaka-
krādhīśvara.*

Letters Nivārī, language Sanskrit. Preservation good.

Transcript.

देवी श्रीऋद्धिलक्ष्मी विमलकुलभवा नीतिमार्गे निविष्टा शिष्टाचारैकभूमिस्त्रिभुवनजननीपादलब्धप्रसादा ।
शंभोरम्भोजनम्प्रभृतिभिरमरैः सेवितस्याति — विख्याता व्यक्तकीर्तिर्जगति विजयते सत्प्रजानन्द-
दायी ॥ १ ॥

नेपालक्षितिपालभालतिलको विद्वद्गुणालङ्कृतो दानोद्रेककृतातिरेकमहिमः प्रौढप्रतापोन्नतः ।

देवो यत्तनयो नयोदयलसत्कीर्तिप्रचारः श्रिया भूपालेन्द्र इति प्रथामुपगतो भूपो वरीवर्त्तते ॥ २ ॥
नेपालाब्दे गगनधरिणीनागयुक्ते किलोर्जे मासे पक्षे विधुविरहिते सुद्धितीयातिथौ सा ।
कृत्वा देवालयमपि रवौ ऋदिलक्ष्मी प्रसन्ना चक्रे देवी सुविधिविदितां शङ्करस्य प्रतिष्ठाम् ॥ ३ ॥

Abstract.

I. *Object of inscription*: to record the consecration of a temple of Śiva, built by Queen Riddhila kshmi, the mother of king Bhūpāleन्द्रamalla.

II. *Date*, the 2nd lunar day of the dark half of Kārttika, Nepāla Sakaṣat 810 (1690 A.D.).

No. 21.—An inscription of Śrinivāsa, dated Nepāla Sakaṣat 792.

On the lintel of the door²² of the temple of Avalokiteśvara in Bungmati (see above No. 6).

Letters Nivārī, language Sanskrit. Preservation good.

Transcript.

श्रीलोकेश्वराय नमः

मत्स्येन्द्र योगिनां मुख्याः शाक्ताः शक्तिं वदन्ति यम् ।
बौद्धा लोकेश्वरं तस्मै नमो ब्रह्मस्वरूपिणे ॥ १ ॥

नेपालाब्दे लोचनच्छिद्रसमे (३)

श्रीपञ्चम्यां श्रीनिवासेन राज्ञा

स्वर्णद्वारं स्थापितं तोरणेन

सार्द्धं श्रीमलोकनाथस्य गेहे.

Translation.

"Praise to (that Deity), bearing the form of Brahman, whom the Śāktas, best of ascetics, call Matsyendranātha and the Buddhists Lokēśvara!

On the fifth day of the bright half of Māgha (Śrīpāṇṇamī) king Śrinivāsa placed a golden door and toraṇa in the temple of glorious Lokanātha."

No. 22.—An inscription of Princess Yogamati, dated Nepāla Sakaṣat 843.

On a stone in the inner wall of a small temple of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa situated close to the palace in Lalitapattana.

Letters Nivārī, language corrupt Sanskrit.

Transcript.

यन्माभीतरसीरुहे समजनि ब्रह्मा जगत्सृष्टिकृत् य-
त्पादाम्बुजतो ववाह जगतामालम्बिनी स्वर्णदी ।

येनाधारि धरा ब्राह्मवपुषा दंष्ट्रायकेनोच्चकैः प्रत्यु-
द्यान्नवनीरदायिरुचये तस्मै परस्मै नमः ॥ १ ॥

सजलजलदनीलः कामिनीप्रेमशीलः कलितभुवन-
लीलः कंसचानूरकालः ।

सुललितवनमालः मोक्षमार्गेकसातः भवतु मम मुदेसौ
सर्वदा नन्दबालः ॥ २ ॥

आसीत्सिद्धिनिर्दिष्टमलनृपतिः सूर्यान्वये कीर्त्तिमान्ने-
पाले ललिताभिधाननगरे पौरान्सदा पालयन् ।

गोपीनाथपदारविन्दमधुपो वाचस्पतिर्द्वीवरः संसारं
जलबुद्बुदोपममसौ हिला गतो जगन्हवीम् ॥ ३ ॥

तस्यात्मजो भूपतिरेव जातः श्रीश्रीनिवासो ननु
श्रीनिवासः ।

तापानलो वैरिमहीरुहाणां स राजतेतीव सुधाकरेव
॥ ४ ॥

तस्यात्मजो योगनरेन्द्रमल्लोमलेन्द्रचानूरहतुल्यवीर्यः ।
कन्दर्पसौन्दर्यविनिन्दिरूपः राज भूमाविव देवराजः
॥ ५ ॥

दोलपर्वतमसावभिगम्य तत्र विष्णुभवने सह ताभिः
एकविंशतिसतीभिरगच्छत् केशवं प्रति समाहि-
तचित्तः ॥ ६ ॥

तस्यात्मजा योगमती बभूव निमेषचिह्ना लक्ष्मी-
रिवापरा ।

सुवर्णकुम्भापुता नागहस्त यज्ञान्तरे स्नानकृतेन
पूता ॥ ७ ॥

तस्याः प्रसूत इव शक्तिधरोम्बिकायाः लोकप्रकाश-
नृपतिर्विराज धीरः ।

विष्णोः पदे स गतवाज्रमणीयरूपः हाहेति लोक-
मसकृज्जननीं विहाय ॥ ८ ॥

²² The door is made of gilt brass plates, and adorned by reliefs. The arch or toraṇa above the door, which is

likewise made of brass, encloses three images of Lokēśvara.

लोके किञ्च विलक्ष्यतेऽद्भुतरूपिः प्रासादराजो महा-
 आनातोरणमोहनावलिभरो जीमूतलेहायुतः ।
 शृङ्गं हेममयैर्मनोज्ञकलशैः सज्जालयैवो ---
 --- वसमीरणेन च भुवि शृङ्गं सुमेरोर्वभौ ॥ ९ ॥
 अन्दे रामप्रजेश्वरास्पवसुभिर्नाघे सिते पक्षके
 शूले चोत्तरफाल्गुने शशधरे वारे द्वितीयातिथौ ।
 [पुत्रार्थे] कुरुते सुधाशुवदना पाषाणदेवालयम्
 कृष्णं राधिकाया सहाय --- कृत्वा प्रतिष्ठाकरोत्

Abstract.

I. Invocation to Vishnu—Krishna.

II. *Vandāvali*.

Siddhingarīśiṣhamalla, king of Lalitapattana, became an ascetic, and went to dwell on the banks of the Gaṅgā (Benares).

Śrinivāsa

Yoganarendramalla went with his

twenty-one wives to Dolaparrvata, and died in the temple of Vishnu.

Yogamati

Lokaprakāśa, died before his mother.

III. *Object of the inscription*, to record the consecration of a temple of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa, built by Princess Yogamati in memory of her son.

IV. *Date*, 2nd lunar day of the bright half of Māgha, Nepāla Samvat 843 (1723 A.D.), a Monday, constellation—Uttaraphālguna, conjunction—Śūla.

No. 23.—*An inscription of Queen Lalitatripurasundarī, dated Vikrama Samvat 1878.*

On a pillar, supporting a Nandī, placed opposite the western door of a temple of Tripurēśvara on the road from Kaṭmanḍu to Lalitapattana, close to the river Vāgmatī.

Letters Devanāgarī, language Sanskrit. Preservation good.

Transcript.

श्रीगणेशाय नमः

सस्ति श्रीमन्निराजचक्रचूडामणिमरीचिनीराजितचरणतलबुहिनगिरिवरासन्नमहाचीनसीमपर्य-
 न्तनेपालदेशजयजनितयशोराशिविशदितासामण्डलस्य श्रीगोरक्षचलाधीशश्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीपृथ्वी-
 नारायणशाहदेवस्य पौत्रो दयादाक्षिण्यादिप्रधानगुणनिधानश्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीसिंहप्रतापशाहसनयो
 निखिलमहीपालमौलिमालालालितपादपीठः श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीरणवाहादूरशाहदेवः शतरूपास्वर्ण-
 वतीतरङ्गिणीपर्यन्तवारुणैन्द्रदिग्भागसाम्राज्यविख्यातमूर्तिरभूतपूर्वः समजनि
 युद्धे रुद्रः प्रतापे रविरखिलभुवो रक्षणे वासुदेवः स्यागे कर्णः क्षमायां क्षितिरखिलजनानन्दने पूर्णचन्द्रः ।
 सखे धर्मः सुरूपे रतिपतिरप्यस्थायिनां दण्डधारो नानादेवस्वरूपो जयति रणवाहादूरशाहो नृपेन्द्रः ॥

तस्य पुत्रः सकलगुणगणाभिरामप्रजारञ्जनानुकतरामावतारः श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीगीर्वाणयुद्धवि-
 क्रमशाहदेवः प्रतीतस्तदान्तजे सकललक्षणशोभिते श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीराजेन्द्रविक्रमशाहदेवे मेदिन्यां
 पालयति श्रीमद्रणवाहादूरशाहदेवपट्टराज्या श्रीमल्लितविपुरसुन्दरीदेव्या स्वभर्तुः स्वर्गसाधनप्रयासोत्कया
 वेदविद्यानिपुणनानाविद्वन्मण्डलीप्रार्थनासञ्चारितविचारनिश्चितधर्मप्रधानशिवालङ्कादिदेवप्रतिष्ठादिकर्मत-
 या स्वपौत्रानुमत्या तत्कार्यनिर्वाहानुगुणसामग्रीसम्पत्तिस्तथादनक्षमं भीमसेनं मन्त्रीवरं तत्साधने नियोज्य
 सांप्रतं तत्कर्मविधानं नियुक्ताः श्रीगुर्वीदिब्राह्मणा वेदसप्तगजेन्दुमिते १८७४ वैक्रमे शाके शुचिशुक्लनवम्यां
 सोमान्तितायां शिलाधिवासनः कर्म यथाविधि सम्पाद्य तस्मिन्नेव शके भाद्रकृष्णनवम्यां शुक्ले शिलाप्रवेशं
 विधाय बाणस्वरनागभूमिते १८७५ शके माघमासि तृतीयायां गुरौ शिवलिङ्गादिदेवप्रतिष्ठाकर्म समाचरन्
 मध्ये श्रीविपुलेश्वरो यमदिशि द्वारे स्थितो भैरवो जेवाः शङ्करभागतो हरिरिद्विमातुराम्वास्ततः ।
 दक्षादिक्रमकोणगा अथ महाकालादिनन्दी तथा भृङ्गी श्रीगणपत्यश्च दक्षिणदिशो देशकामादिगताः ॥ १ ॥
 तद्वाक्ये स्पदिशि स्थिताः सुरपतिर्व्यन्धिर्यमो निर्ऋतिः पाशो वायुकुबेररुद्रविधयो नागाधिपोतः कमात् ।

ईशाने बलिशेषभागाभिमतश्चण्डेश्वरः पश्चिमे विख्यातो वृषभश्च मण्डलगता देवा इमे सम्मताः ॥ २ ॥
 रम्भापवकलप्रसूनललिते सत्तोरणाच्छादने नानावर्णपताककेतनलसप्रान्ते महामण्डपे ।
 कुण्डानां नवकं विधाप्य विधिवद्विधैर्विधानक्षमैः कर्माभ्यर्चकरं समापयदिदं श्रीरङ्गनाथो गुरुः ॥ ३ ॥
 दोषोन्मोषवृषप्रघोपादिविषस्तन्तोषपोषमः संयातानुलतीर्यभूतपरिषत्कारकस्पद्रुमः ।
 नानामङ्गलदिव्यवस्तुनिभूतस्तौर्यत्रिकोलासितो ह्यद्यः कोपि स वासरः समभवलोकप्रमोदोऽग्निलः ॥ ४ ॥
 ततस्तस्मिन्नेव शके मार्गकृष्णपञ्चम्यां बुधे देवालयप्रतिष्ठांमकुर्वन्
 दिग्भागान्तरसन्निवेशितचतुर्द्वारः सुखारोहणः पश्चाद्भूम्यसुवर्णकेतनतलन्यस्तत्रिशूलोन्तरः ।
 सौवर्णोज्ज्वलकुम्भपत्रपटलप्रोक्षासिताशामुखः प्रासादो दिशतादभीषितसदावासप्रसक्तो मुदः ॥
 ततः पाताललोकवसुवसुमती शके ज्येष्ठकृष्णदशम्यां रवौ श्रीशङ्खनीजलावतारसोपानारामघण्टाधर्म-
 शालाप्रतिष्ठाकर्म समापयन् ।
 सोपानालिरियं विदग्धरचनासुश्लिष्टचित्रोपला रम्या वायुसुताभिवासविहितप्रोदामविघ्नावलिः ।
 सम्पादान्दिकसक्तलोकविहितस्तेच्छावकाशस्थला स्नानध्यानहिता सुधाधवलितप्रान्ता चिरं राजताम् ॥ १ ॥
 नानादेशप्रभवसुफलव्रातभारातिनम्रवृक्षश्रेणीनियमस्वचितः शालसंगुप्तमध्यः ।
 आरामोऽयं सुरभिमुमनोराजिसंराजमानः नानावीरुललितसरणिः पूर्णकामः सदास्नाम् ॥ २ ॥
 घण्टानिनादकृतकर्णसुखातिथीरा पूजाविधानविहितध्वनिमादधाना ।
 देवप्रसादपरिपूरितहीनभागा सर्वोपचारपरिचारकृतां विधेयात् ॥ ३ ॥
 शालेयं विविधप्रवासिमनुजप्राभ्योपकारक्षमा रम्याचलरम्यकोष्ठविलसद्वातायना श्लक्ष्णभूः ।
 नानादेशसमागतान् पथिपरिआन्तान्सद्वाहिणो निर्य भोजनवासदानविधिना कामानुगन्तोषयेत् ॥ ४ ॥
 तदिदं साङ्गोपाङ्गकर्म सम्पूर्णमप्रापितं यजमानसङ्कल्पसिद्धिं सम्पादयति चिरं श्रीशिवादिदेवप्रीतये भूयात्
 धर्मायं कुलसन्ततिप्रचयदो लोकहयानन्दनस्तद्रोषे निरयादिदुःखजनका दोषाः परं कीर्तिताः ।
 ज्ञात्वा नृपमन्त्रिविप्रमनुजैरेतस्य संरक्षणे नालस्यं श्रयणीयमिदमिहितं रक्ष्यं श्रुतेः शासनम् ।

शुभभूयात्

Abstract.

I. Invocation to Gaucāṭ.

II. *Vanīśvali*,—

Prithvinārāgaṇa Shā,
lord of the Gorakshā hill (*Gorākh*), master
of all Nepāl up to the frontier of Mahāchīna.

Simhapratāpa Shā

Rajabāhādūr Shā,
who ruled in the west up to the Śatarudra
river (*Kālī*?) in the east up to the river
Svarṇavati.

Gīrvāṇyuddhāvīkṛāna Shā

Rājendrāvīkṛāna Shā

III. *Object of the inscription*, to record the
consecration of a temple of Śiva, built by Queen
Lalitātṛipurasundarī, the widow of
Rajabāhādūr Shā, in memory of her de-

ceased husband. She employed, with the per-
mission of her grandson, the minister Bhīm-
asena, the Upādhyāya and other Brāhmanas for
the execution of this work and for the ceremonies
incidental thereto. On the 9th of the bright half
of Āshāḍha, Vikrama Śaṁvat 1874, a Monday
the *śilādāna*, the worship of the stones for
the building was performed. The cornerstone
was laid (*śilāpūreṣṭi*) on the 9th day of the dark
half of Bhādrapada of the same year, and on
the 3rd day of the bright half of Māgha, of
the following year, a Monday, the *Lāga* of Śiva
was consecrated. At all these ceremonies the
royal Guru, Rāngamātha, presided. On the 5th
day of the dark half of Mārgaśīrṣa V. S. 1875
the temple itself was consecrated, and finally on
the 10th of the dark half of Jyēṣṭha 1877 a Dhar-
masālā and a staircase leading to the river Vāg-
matī a garden and a bell were made over to the
temple.

THE BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION AT KEU-YUNG-KWAN.

BY REV. S. DEAL, B.A.

Attention has elsewhere been drawn to the ancient Buddhist inscription at Keu-yung-kwan, a small village about five miles to the north of the Nankow Pass. This inscription is engraved in the characters of six different nations, viz., Mongol or Bishpah, Uighur, Nyachib, Chinese, Devanagari, and Tibetan. On examination it is found to contain certain Buddhist *dhāraṇī* or incantations, which in the paper alluded to (*Jour. R. A. Soc.*, vol. V. pp. 14ff.)¹ have been translated by Mr. Wylie and Dr. Haas for the benefit of the English reader. These *dhāraṇīs* are found in various Buddhist works, and are supposed to represent the highest and most potent charms which words proceeding from the top of the illustrious diadem (*chāḍa*) of Buddha's head are able to convey. This "honoured diadem of Buddha's head" refers to the well known conceit of the Buddhists that from the top of the cranium of their master proceeded an elongated excrecence (*ushāṣṭh*),² the top of which reached to the highest heaven. In all probability this imaginary formation is pictured in the Amaravati sculptures as the "pillar of glory surmounted by Ōm" proceeding from the throne supposed to be occupied by Bhagavat (see particularly pl. lxxi, figs. 1 and 2, *Tree and Serpent Worship*). These pillars of light are also referred to by Spence Hardy (*Manual of Buddhism*, 1st ed. pp. 180, 207), and perhaps originated in the idea of the Liṅga and its worship. Be this as it may, it is curious to trace as far back as we can the origin of such a peculiar idea; and for this purpose we have appended the translation of a *Sūtra* attributed to the Shāman Buddhavaṃ (*Āśoka-pāṇi*) of the Yang dynasty.

The Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Illustrious Diadem of Buddha's Surmounting Head.

"Thus have I heard. At one time Bhagavat was residing at Śrāvastī, in the garden of Jeta, the friend of the orphans, together with 1250 great Bhikṣhus, his disciples, and with upwards of 12,000 great Bōddhisattvas and priests. At this time there was amongst the Nēvas of the Trayastriśas Heavens, one in

the Assembly of the Saddharma Hall, called Shen-chu. This Dēva, whilst wandering to and fro in the celestial gardens, with the company of Dēvas who attended him, had heard a voice proceeding from space, and warning him that in a few days hence he should be called to give up his heavenly estate and be born in hell, after which he should receive a succession of births all more or less miserable and painful. On this, the Dēva hastened to Śākrarāja, and with doleful voice and many tears laid the case before him, asking and beseeching for advice and escape. Then Śākrarāja, having heard the words of Shen-chu, at once entered into a state of profound abstraction, and, perceiving that the case was to be with Shen-chu even as the voice had declared, he resolved at once to repair to the place where Buddha was residing, even to the garden of Jeta, and there having presented him with suitable gifts, to seek his counsel and advice on the point. Accordingly having done so, and having saluted the foot of Bhagavat and seven times circumambulated him, he stated the circumstances of Shen-chu's destiny, and humbly asked the advice of the World-honoured one."

Then Buddha caused to proceed from the top of his head every kind of glorious light, which spread itself from world to world through all space. Then this light again returned to the presence of Buddha, and having revolved around him three times entered through his mouth. Then the World-honoured gave a gentle smile, and addressed Śākrarāja as follows:—"Heavenly king, there are certain *dhāraṇīs* called the 'honoured diadem of Buddha's head,' which are able to deliver from every kind of evil birth, and to destroy every possible sorrow. If a man once hears these, and if they once pass through his ears, then all the evil deeds he has ever done shall be cancelled and their punishment remitted; if he writes them on a wall, or reads them, so written, to others, then shall the same consequences follow and full deliverance be obtained."

On this Śākrarāja entreated Buddha to repeat these charmed words, on which he did so.

¹ It belongs to the Mongol type, viz. 1345 A.D.

² See also Yule's *Illustrations*, vol. I, pp. 29, 344.—Ed.

³ The word *ushāṣṭh* usually means a 'turban,' but is used by the Buddhists as a technical term for the top-knot

on Buddha's head, by which all figures of him are distinguished: he is never represented in Indian sculpture with any sort of covering on his head.—Ed.

The *dhāraṇī* are much shorter than those on the Ken-yung gate, but contain the same leading words; we do not repeat them, our object being merely to show the purpose of their being placed on this barrier gate, through which Mongols and Thibetans must enter the

empire, and doubtless were glad to be so easily assured of deliverance by the repetition of the words.

"Śākrarāja, having heard these words, thankfully received them; and having saluted the World-honoured one, forthwith departed."*

NOTES ON THE KURRAL OF THE TAMIL POET TIRUVAḤUVAR.

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(Continued from Vol. VIII. p. 309.)

No. III.

It may seem strange that the introductory Chapter on God is followed by one on Rain. The connection, however, seems evident, as in *Acts* xiv. 17: 'Nevertheless He left not Himself without a witness, in that He did good, and gave us rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness.'

In the *Bhagavatgītā*, III. 14: 'All things which have life are produced from bread which they eat. Bread is produced from rain: rain from divine worship, and divine worship from good works.' The title of the second chapter, or collection of 10 *Kurraṭe*, is 'vān śirappu,' the specific qualities, or excellence of rain. The words for 'rain' in the chapter are *vān* and *maṇai*; those for 'cloud' are *puṇal*, *eril*; those for 'sky' are *vānam*, *viṇ*, *viṇṇam*.

A consideration of these words will prepare the way for the analysis of the chapter.

1. *Vān* and *vānam* are the same word. By apocope *vān* is used for *vānam* in poetry, and may signify 'the sky,' or the rain that falls from it. In common Tamil *vānam* is often pronounced *vānam*: thus, a district which, having no rivers, is wholly dependent on casual rains, is called *vānam pāṭṭa āmai*, 'a district that looks to the sky.' 2. *Viṇ* is, I suppose, a poetical variation of the same word. 3. *Viṇṇam*-*bu* (S. *viṇṇa* + *bu*; the postfix *bu* is added to many stems in Tamil to form a noun, with an idea of 'existence.' S. *dhū* means 'coelum' and by metonymy 'a cloud.' 4. *puṇal* (also *puṇal* and *piṇal*) = 'nimbus'. 5. *eril* (from *er*, 'arise': Lat. *or*) is 'that which arises.' 6. *maṇai* is the ordinary word for 'rain.' It appears also as *māri*; and *vāri* = 'water' (comp. S. *varish* and *vāri*). I regard the cerebrals in Tamil (and especially *r*) as resulting from

the attempt to pronounce a compound consonant such as *rs*.

The chief words for 'rain' or 'sky' in the Drāviḍian dialects are—

Tel.	Kan.	Mal.	Tam.
vān.	bān.	vān-am.	vān-am, viṇ.
varsha-mu	varsha.	varsha.	varsha.
	ma-le.	maṇa.	maṇai, māri.

(Tuda: māj)

I cannot help thinking that the Drāviḍian *vān* (both as a verbal root = 'fashion' and as a noun = 'sky,' 'rain') is connected with S. *Varuṇa*, 'the investing sky' in the old Aryan mythology.

Couplet I.

vānindr | *ulagam* | *varangi* | *varuthalāḍi*
tānam | *gītham* | *endr* | *aparai* | *pāṭṭu*.*

Scanning:

temā | pūṭimā | pūṭimā | pūṭimāngāi |

kūṭilāngāi | kūṭilāngāi | kūṭū.*

"Since by the continued existence of rain the world preserves its course, it (rain) is to be regarded as partaking of the nature of nectar."

The idea of this couplet is an obvious one: 'rain gives life to all creation, revives the dying vegetation, restores life to what seems dead.' Any one who has seen an Indian district suffering from drought, and noted the instantaneous change in the aspect of all living things when the long-expected rain has fallen, will understand the poet's feeling: 'rain is the elixir of immortality to the whole earth.'

Nindru (= having stood) is past adv. participle of R. *nīl*. [con. S. *nī* in *nīlāṭa*.] *vānindru* is, in fact, a nominative absolute.

Ulagam, Tam. form of S. *ulka*. Comp. Ch. I. 1.

Varangi, 'having gone on its way.' In Tamil a very large group of words from stem *var* is

* *The Orientalist*, Oct. 9, 1875.

* ' over a letter indicates omission of a letter according to

the Tamil laws of euphony. *ā* is always *fat* in Tamil, as in 'this.' * indicates a very short *a*, hardly audible.

found. Some of these are here given. (1). *var-akku*, *var-akkam*, 'custom.' This is also written with *p* for *v*. It is probable that *var* and *par* are only variations of the same stem. (2). *var-angu*, 'be in use,' 'pass current,' this is the word in the stanza. The transitive is not found; but *par-akku* 'to habituate, render common,' takes its place. This has an intransitive, *par-angu*. (3). *vari*, 'a road, way, what is old, antiquity, succession.' Here we find *para*, 'old'; and *pari*, 'guilt,' the transmitted liability to punishment, a man's old sin. *Parum* is 'fruit,' 'result of actions.' I suggest that *var* = *par* = S. *phal*. The cognates would be Gr. *ἐπὶ*; Lat. *flor*; Goth. *blom*. In ancient Kanarese this is *kefa*. Here may be an example of the law which I spoke of in my Dravidian notes, No. I. vol. V, p. 158. Other forms of the same stem are *pal*, *pan*, *pani*, illustrating the important fact that in the Dravidian languages cerebrals are interchangeable; and the original seems to be *l*.

Tamil possessed originally very few stems, and these were mostly, if not altogether, monosyllabic. These the poets, and especially the Jainas, (who were anxious to obliterate all traces of Sanskrit; to introduce a new language, as they had introduced a new religion,) varied in every possible manner, especially softening every harsh sound, and promoting assonance. Tamil and Telugu are, therefore, highly artificial languages, and in them the Aryan element has been designedly put out of sight.

Varuthalai: here final *l* is followed by initial *t* (dental), and both are changed into palatal *ç*. This is in accordance with the law that 'two consonants coming together must be of the same organ,' and assimilation: dental *t* becomes palatal, and *l* is assimilated. *Vá*, in inflection *var* or *van* = 'come' or 'go', 'proceed.' *varuthal*, is a verbal noun = 'the proceeding,' and *ál* is the sign of the instrumental ablative: = 'by the proceeding,' 'because it proceeds.' *l* or *ç* added to a stem, with or without euphonic insertions, form a Dravidian noun. This is sometimes changed into *n*, and equals *r* and *s*, in Aryan languages. *Vá* is in Kanarese *bá*. We may compare Oscan and Umbrian *bee* with Latin *ea*. *tás* is 'ipse.' *Sar* is the root of the reflexive pronoun in Aryan languages. Tamil would write this *ta*, having no sibilant and using *t* for *s* habitually.

Amiratham (S. *amrita*, Gr. *ambrosia*) = 'immor-

tal'; 'a medicine prolonging life,' 'the food of the gods.' Other forms are *amiratham*, *amiratham*, *amirthan*, *amutham*, and *amuthu*. Thus the S. *ri* is rendered by *iru*, *ir*, *ir*, and *u*. The Kan. has also *amudu*.

The use of *vara* for Gr. *huti*, *hós* has been referred to before.

Unar al = 'the perceiving, understanding.' This is a verbal noun, or infinitive mood, though very often the final *l* is omitted. The Latin suffix is *r* or *s* (see Roby), the Greek *n*, or *th*. The verb-stem *unar* is from *uñ* or *un* = 'within,' 'internal.' *ar* = 'know,' as a separate verb *arri*. *uñ* is much used (in cognate dialects = *ol*, *ol*). It is a case inflexion = 'in,' 'inter.' It is also the root of a verb = 'to be, exist.' It forms a verb *un* = 'eat,' 'suck in.' It forms a noun *un-mai* = 'reality, truth.' The equivalent root in the 'Ursprache' is *uñ* (see Fick).

Páñ is a form like *muthal* in Ch. I. 1. (see Notes on Kurral II, vol. VIII, p. 307).

The noun is *pál* (for *pay al*: S. *bhag*: Fick.) = 'essential property.'

Couplet II.

tappáñku | *tappáñ* | *tappáñki* | *tappáñku* |
tappáñ | *a tháñ* | *mañi*.

Scanning:

tēmāngāi | tēmāngāi | tēmāngāi | tēmāngāi
tēmā | pūñimā | mālār.

"For the eaters sweet food making,
To the eaters itself food becoming: such is rain."

The root *ta* = (1) 'eat,' (2) 'enjoy,' (3) 'experience.' Hence the noun *tappu* = (1) 'food,' (2) 'enjoyment,' 'sweetness.' [S. *dhak* = (1) milk, (2) enjoy].

There is a peculiarity in old Tamil, which is called *añab'edai* (= lengthening), by which in this case, short *u* is lengthened to *ū*, and then a short *a* is added, making *ā* out of *ū*. Thus *āñām* is made *āñāñām*. Hiatus is here allowed. This resembles the process by which Ionic Greek writes *hēlios* for *helios*.

The idea is here, that rain causes fertility and is itself necessary to quench the thirst of men and cattle. The punning and alliteration are thoroughly in accordance with Tamil ideas.

Couplet III.

Vipñāñdu | *poypññ* | *virññ* | *viññāñal* |
tappññdu | *uñññ* | *paññ*.

Scanning:

tēmāngāi | tēmā | pūñimā | kārū viññāñai |
tēmā | pūñimā | mālār.

"If the cloud standing (*in the sky*) deceives (*by not falling in rain to the earth*), hunger will afflict, standing in the midst of the wide-spread earth, though (*this earth is*) surrounded by an expanse of waters."

The clouds charged with moisture stand over the hills, big with the promise of fertilizing showers. If they remain there, and do not fulfil their promise, the earth, though surrounded by vast oceans of water, must fall a prey to all the miseries of famine.

During the late disastrous droughts, each day heavy clouds collected and hung over the Maisûr province; but winds arose and bore them away in the direction of the sea, leaving the broad fields dry and parched, and abandoning multitudes to misery and death by famine. Those who have seen this can understand the force of the poet's lines.

The compound *virī-nār-viyan-ulagam* is interesting. It is verb + noun + adjective + noun, extend + water + broad + world. 'The wide world around which the ocean spreads.' Observe the alliteration. Perhaps Sanskrit grammar would divide this into two compounds (1) *Viyan-ulagam*, being a 'Karmadharaya,' where *viyan* (S. *vīyat*) is descriptive of *ulagam* = *the wide world*; (2) *virī-nār* being a 'bahuvrīhi.'

Virī is the stem, or crude form, used in Sanskrit (Comp. S. *vrī*, *vi-vrī*, *vi-vrīta*.) The Tamil grammarians see here only ellipsis (*toḡai*) of inflectional particles and of connecting words.

Complet IV.

irū | *uṇḍar* | *uṇḍar* | *puyalennum*
vāri | *vaṭam kundri* | *kāl*.

Scansion :

tīmā | *pālimā* | *pālimā* | *pālimāṅgāy*
tēmā | *pālimāṅgāy* | *nā*.

"The ploughmen plough not with the yoked oxen when the abundance of the cloud-deluge is diminished."

Agriculture is the great employment of the Tamil people; it ceases when the rains are not abundant.

The roots *ir* and *uṇ* are very remarkable.

ir is 'the plough with its yoke of oxen.' It is found in all the S. Indian languages. *ir-utū* is 'a bull,' *ir-umai* is 'a buffalo,' *irru* is 'the male of any animal.' (Tuḍa, *er* and *est*.) Here we may compare A. S. *ear-lan*, (Eng. *ear*), Lat. *ar-are*,

arstrum. (See Fick), 'arman,' Lat. *ar-mentum*. (See also Fick, *arīya*).

The Kanarese has *uṇ* for *uṇ* (cerebrals interchangeable) and *hūḍ*. The Tamil has *uṇ-utū* for 'pulverised earth,' this in ancient Kan. is *hūḍ*.

It is curious that the Sanskrit and Telugu words for 'plough' are quite different from each other, and from Tam., Kan., Mal., &c.

Complet V.

Keḍuppathāṁ | *keḍuppathāṁ* | *iāreṇṇ mat* | *āṇḍ*
eḍuppathāṁ | *ellā* | *mārai*.

Scansion :

kārūḷiāṅgāy | *tē māṅgāi* | *tē māṅgāi* | *tēmā*
kārūḷiāṅgāy | *tēmā* | *mālār*.

"That which will ruin, that which will uplift, becoming a help to the ruined: all this is rain."

The destructive violence of tropical storms, and the life-giving effects of the first burst of the monsoons in India, are referred to here.

Keḍ = 'destroy,' 'perish.' [S. *śkad*, *chid*, Fick, another form is *śerū*.]

Śār = 'support.' The root *śār* = 'lean, recline against.' Hence the idea of 'prop,' 'support.' *śār* = 'approach.' Comp. S. *śar*.

Eḷu = 'take up,' 'lift,' 'assist.'

Roots with *d* as the significant letter, preceded by what seems to be a prefix, are many in Tamil. Thus :

1. *ko-ḍu* = 'give.'
2. *i-ḍu* = 'give,' 'place.'
3. *vi-ḍu* = 'leave.'
4. *d-ḍu* = 'move about.'
5. *pō-ḍu* = 'put.'
6. *e-ḍu* = 'take up.'
7. *ta-ḍu* = 'hinder.'
8. *na-ḍu* = 'middle,' 'plant.'
9. *a-ḍu* = 'cook.'
10. *ka-ḍu* = 'cross.'
11. *na-ḍu* = 'walk.'
12. *u-ḍu* = 'clothe.'
13. *o-ḍu* = 'run.'
14. *pa-ḍu* = 'suffer,' 'sink.'

Whether these are not compounds of a root like *d d* or *d h d* of the Sanskrit, and *de* of the Greek, is an interesting question.

A parallel list with *r* as the significant letter, which may be formed from a root like *ri* or *ar*, or *ru* of the Sanskrit is :

1. *ko-ru*, 'soft,' 'grow fat.'
2. *ka-ri*, 'pass off.'
3. *vi-ru*, 'fall.'
4. *a-ri*, 'perish.'
5. *va-ri*, 'way.'
6. *i-ru*, 'draw.'
7. *po-ri*, 'pour forth.'

8. e-ru, 'rise up.'
 9. a-ru, 'weep.'
 10. o-ri, 'cease.'
 11. ki-ri, 'tear.'

A comparison of e-ḡa with e-ru suggests that e is a prefix = 'up;' vi-ḡa with vi-ru suggests that vi = 'down,' 'away,' 'off.'

The Tamil seems to me to contain just such traces of these compounds as the Keltic dialects do: e.g. cy in Welsh answers to ke or ka in Tamil. [Cy-dio (W.) = ka-ḡu (T.) = 'join;' dad in W. is = re, un-dis-, back, comp. Tam. ta-ḡu, ta-ḡai.]

In regard to such compounds, is it not possible that S. krap (Fick) Gr. klep, are made up of ka = com, and a stem signifying 'take,' (ra or la)? Thus Varro says 'corripere' = 'klepere.' In Tam. ka-I = 'steal.'

Eu-ḡa = 'all.'

Couplet VI.

Vīṣumbil | tuḷi vīḡin | allānuff | 'āḡe
 paṣumpu | ḡalai kḡḡ | arithu.

Scansion:

pūḡimā | pūḡimāḡāy | tēmāḡāy | tēmā
 pūḡimā | pūḡimā | pīrāppū.

"Unless the drop of rain falls from the cloud, scarcely may you see the green grass putting forth its head."

Something of the effect of the rhythm may be seen in the following literal rendering, where the rhyme is preserved:

'If the drops | of the rain fall | not, then the | green shoots
 of the crops | are not seen | putting forth.'

Couplet VII.

neḡum kaḡalum | tannūmai | kundrum | taḡinḡ epili
 tā 'nalḡāḡ | āḡi | vīḡin.

Scansion:

kārūvilāḡāi | tēmāḡāi | tēmā | kārūvilāḡāi
 tēmāḡāi | tēmā | mālār.

"The broad sea even will diminish in goodness, if the cloud do not swell and pour down its gifts."

Kaḡ-al = 'sea': from kaḡ, 'cross over'; for epithet ne-ḡa = 'long' comp. Gr. 'euryporos.'

Couplet VIII.

Sīrappoḡu | pūṣamai | iellāḡu | vāṣam
 varrakkuḡēl | vāṣḡḡu | iḡḡu.

Scansion:

kārūvilāḡ | kārūvilāḡ | tēmāḡāi | tēmā
 kārūvilāḡ | tēmāḡāi | kūḡu.

"If the heaven dry up, worship to the heavenly ones with due solemnity on earth will not be paid."

Varr, 'dry.' co. Lat. ar-idus.

Sel = 'go,' 'go on,' [S. char. chaḡ.]

el = 'if,' a contraction from eu-el = 'if you say.'

vāḡ-ḡa = 'heaven.' Thence vāḡ-ḡa, 'a heavenly one,' plur. vāḡ-ḡa. Comp. Greek, ὄν in participles. vāḡ = 'he,' in Tamil, comp. Welsh, af.

Couplet IX.

dāḡam | tavam īrandum | taḡḡ | vīḡanulāḡam
 vāḡam | varāḡāḡ | enin.

Scansion:

tēmā kārūvilāḡāi tēmā kārūvilāḡāi
 tēmā pūḡimā mālār.

"Neither alms-giving nor ascetic practices will abide in the wide world, if the sky dispense not its gifts."

Asceticism, always an important subject in Oriental systems, is the subject of the next chapter

Vīḡan-ulāḡam: comp. notes on coup. III. and Greek, 'eu-achorea.'

Couplet X.

nīr indr' | amaḡāḡ | ulag'-enin | yāryāḡḡu
 eḡa indr' | amaḡāḡ | orukku.

Scansion:

tēmā | pūḡimā | kārūvilāḡ | tēmāḡāi
 tēmā | pūḡimā | pīrāppū.

"If the world's work to none goes on without water, without rain the proscribed order cannot be preserved."

Yār is plur. of yā-sa = 'who?' here it is doubled and am = 'and' is added = 'to any persons whatsoever.' ya = S. Ka. comp. Lat. use of *quis-que*.

Amāi is found in the form śamāi. Another of the group is amār. Initial s. is often omitted in words from Sanskrit (amāi = śamāi; aravam = sarpaḡ; amāiyam = samāyam.)

The S. root is kṣam, Gr. kom-izō.

Oru-kku—see var under coup. I.

This ends the second chapter. The importance of rain as necessary to the subsistence of all living creatures, and to the observance of piety, is its topic.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

DISCOVERY OF SĀYAṆA'S COMMENTARY ON THE ATHARVA-VEDA.

I trust you will kindly allow me the use of your columns to announce the discovery of Sāyana's

long-sought Commentary on the Atharva-Veda. Hitherto scholars had almost given up all hopes of finding the Commentary, which there was reason to believe did exist. And as all attempts to

find it made throughout the length and breadth of India had failed, and no trace had been found of it, scholars had already begun to say that it was never written by Sāyana, or, at any rate, that it had perished, like numerous other books which one hears so much about in Indian literature, and which, if found, would go very far to solve some knotty questions connected with Sanskrit literature.

The MS. of which I am now in possession contains Sāyana's *Commentary on the Śaṅkhī Sūkt of the Atharva-Veda*, and was discovered in the South through the kind offices of an enlightened friend, himself a Sanskrit scholar, Mr. V. N. Narasimayengar, of the Mysore Commission. It is written on palm-leaf, in what I suppose is called the Nandi-Nāgarī character, a form of Devanāgarī still in use in some parts of the Madras Presidency, especially on the Malabar Coast. Many in India had no doubt that the *Commentary* did exist; and as Sāyana, the great Vedic interpreter, lived in the South, and as that part of the country is still celebrated for Sanskrit lore and the preservation of ancient Sanskrit MSS., I directed my enquiries to centres of Sanskrit interest in that Presidency, and it is a matter for congratulation, in the interest of Vedic philology, that the long-lost thing has been found at last.

It is a pity, however, that the MS. does not contain the whole of Sāyana's *Commentary on the Atharva-Veda*. Of the twenty Kāṇḍas, or chapters, into which the *Atharva Śaṅkhī* is divided, the MS. contains the commentary on nine Kāṇḍas, viz., the first four Kāṇḍas, the three Kāṇḍas from 6 to 8, and the four Kāṇḍas from 17 to 20. We have thus three fragments of the *Commentary*, but put together they form about two-thirds of the whole. I am in hopes of getting some portions of the Kāṇḍas that are missing, as some have been already traced; but I may not be sure of completing the *Commentary* without waiting for an indefinite length of time.

The MS., so far as it goes, is correct, and it will be possible to edit the *Commentary* from it even if no other copies are obtained. And I have already been working at the *Śaṅkhī* and the MS. with a

view to place before scholars the results of this happy find of the year 1879.

It is fortunate that the first portion of the *Commentary* has been found. We have there Sāyana's usual introduction. And here we learn some interesting facts. The author says that he was ordered to write the *Commentary* by King Harishara, the son of King Bukka, with whom Sāyana's *Commentary on the Rīgveda* edited by Prof. Max Müller has acquainted the students of the Veda. From the introductory verses, when taken with the opening of the *Commentary on the Rīgveda*, it would appear that Sāyana and Mādharma are one and the same person. For, according to the present *Commentary*, Harishara commanded Sāyanaśāharya to compose—and it is Sāyanaśāharya that composes—the *Commentary*; and the author, farther on, says that he proceeds, therefore, to write his *Commentary*, having already written his *Commentaries* on the other three Vedas. In Sāyana's *Commentary on the Rīgveda* it is Bukka who commands Mādharmaśāharya to explain the *Rīgveda*, and it is that Mādharmaśāharya who composes the *Commentary*. The question, therefore, whether Mādharma and Sāyana were one and the same person, or, as has been supposed by some, different individuals, may be said to be set at rest by the *Commentary* now found.¹

The Preface distinctly says that the *Atharva-Veda Commentary* was written after three other Vedas had been explained by the author by commentary.

Sāyana quotes an authority which says that the *Atharva-Veda* has five "upavedas" or *Vedāṅgas*, which are *Sarpeveda* (the Veda about snakes), *Pitṛhasveda* (the Veda about ghosts and devils), *Asuraaveda* (the Veda about demons), *Dīdarsaveda* (the Veda of legends), and *Paṇḍaraveda* (the Veda of the *Paṇḍavas*).

According to Sāyana, there are nine branches, or Śākhās (he calls them *bhedas*), of the *Atharva-Veda*, which he enumerates as follows:—(1) the Paippalādas, (2) the Tandās, (3) the Maudās, (4) the Śaṅkaiyās, (5) Akshalās, (6) the Jaladās, (7) Brahmanvādās, (8) the Devadarīnās, and (9) the Chāraṇvādīyās. And he goes on to say that the ritualistic use of the verses of the four Śākhās of

¹ The introductory verses are as follows:—

Vidyāśāharyaḥ samamāsaḥ sarvāśākhānāṃ upakṛāṇe |
Yam natrā līkṣatyāyāṃ tām namāmi Gajānanaḥ |
Yasya nirvāṇāt vedaḥ yu vedābhyo'khilāḥ jagat |
Nirmāṇe tam abhāt vando Vidyāśāharyānāṃ varam ||
Avidyāśāharyānāṃ vando Vidyāśāharyānāṃ abhāt bhaje |
Yadāśāharyānāṃ vando Vidyāśāharyānāṃ peitkīrāṇam ||
Tatkaṭāśāharyānāṃ vando Vidyāśāharyānāṃ peitkīrāṇam ||
Aśāharyānāṃ vando Vidyāśāharyānāṃ peitkīrāṇam ||
Vidyāśāharyānāṃ vando Vidyāśāharyānāṃ peitkīrāṇam ||
Dharmāśāharyānāṃ vando Vidyāśāharyānāṃ peitkīrāṇam ||
Sādhayitva Mahīm sarvān erimān Haribhadrarāḥ |

Bharkṣe bahuvīdīnāṃ tēṅgāśāśākte Rāmānāt vando ||
Vijayā Haribhadrarāḥ samamāsaḥ sarvāśākhānāṃ upakṛāṇe |
Shodhāśāśāharyānāṃ vando Vidyāśāharyānāṃ peitkīrāṇam ||
Tannuśāharyānāṃ vando Vidyāśāharyānāṃ peitkīrāṇam ||
Adhāt Sāyanaśāharyānāṃ vando Vidyāśāharyānāṃ peitkīrāṇam ||
Yo parvotāśāharyānāṃ vando Vidyāśāharyānāṃ peitkīrāṇam ||
Kṛpāśāharyānāṃ vando Vidyāśāharyānāṃ peitkīrāṇam ||
Vidyāśāharyānāṃ vando Vidyāśāharyānāṃ peitkīrāṇam ||
Aśāharyānāṃ vando Vidyāśāharyānāṃ peitkīrāṇam ||

It will be observed that the reading of *tatkaṭāśāharyānāṃ vando* in line 7 gives a better sense than *gatkāśāharyānāṃ*, &c., as found in Prof. Max Müller's most valuable edition of the *Rīgveda-Commentary*.

the Śaunakīyās, the Ākshālās, the Jaladās, and the Brahmanādās is given, in accordance with the *Gopātha Brāhmaṇa*, in five *Kalpa Sūtras*, which he names as (1) the *Kauśika*, (2) the *Veitāna*, (3) the *Nakṣatrakalpa*, (4) the *Āgiraśkalpa*, and (5) the *Saṁtikalpa*.

Sāyana shows how the *Kauśika Sūtra* is the chief of the five *Kalpa Sūtras*, and promises that, though he will give the substance of the other *Sūtras* in explaining the *Vinīyoga* of the *Ātharva-Veda-Saṁhitā*, he will chiefly and largely quote from the *Kauśika*.

As for the object and the use of the *Ātharva-Veda-Saṁhitā*, according to the author of the *Kalpa-Sūtras*, Sāyana summarises the *Kauśika* as follows:—The performance of the fortnightly sacrifices; the creation of brain; obtaining success of the vow of celibacy; the acquisition of villages, towns, forts, and kingdoms; the acquisition of sons, cattle, wealth, corn, subjects, wives, elephants, horses, chariots, sedan-chairs, and other means of comfort; the acquisition of unity among the people; acquisition of good feeling; frightening away enemies and elephants; acquisition of victory in battles; the fencing away of shafts; the fencing away of swords and other weapons; the stupefying, routing, stopping, and destroying of hostile armies; the inspiring with bravery and the protection of one's own armies; finding out whether victory or defeat is to attend a given battle; the destruction of the commander of an army and similar high men; the throwing, in tracts travelled over by hostile armies, of charmed nets, swords, &c.; the mounting a chariot by a king desirous of victory; the beating of drums and all other instruments which have been charmed; the destruction of enemies; the restoration of a king dethroned by an enemy; the coronation of a king; the destruction of sin; about calamity; about fattening; the fattening of cows; the acquisition of prosperity; the tying of a talisman; the prosperity of cattle; the enriching of houses; the building of new halls; the letting-off of a bull; the application of medicinal remedies to curable diseases caused by sins committed in former existences; medicine for all diseases; medicines for fever, looseness, diabetes; stopping of blood flowing out from wounds made by weapons; the laying of devils, ghosts, demons, paroxysms, *Brahma vāhānāna*, and evil spirits haunting children; medicines for bile, cough, and wind; removal of heart-diseases and jaundice; the curing of intermittent, diurnal, and remittent fever, of consumption and dropsy; destruction of worms; curing of vegetable, snake's, scorpion's, and other poison derived from immovable or moveable things; medicines for diseases of the head, of the

eyes, of the nose, of the ear, of the tongue, of the throat, &c.; antidote against the curse of Brahmins and others; medicines for various diseases, such as carbuncles, easy parturition, consumption, and formation of the foetus; appeasing of the ire of kings and others; the knowledge of the means of obtaining what is desired; the warding off storms, lightning, and excessive rain; victory in meetings, in disputations, and reconciliations; making the rivers flow according to one's own desires; digging up of treasures; victory in gambling; reconciliation between the cow and the calf; obtaining peace to horses; obtaining profits in trade; liberating a woman from sin; entering a new house; purification of a house defiled by a dove, a crow, &c.; the warding off the effects of improper receipts of largesses; of improper sacrificing and officiating; warding off the effects of an evil dream; warding off the effects of a boy's birth under inauspicious stars; the repaying of debts; warding off the evil effects of bad auspices; warding off the effects of magic practised by others; performance of ceremonies connected with the birth, the naming, the saving, and the initiation of children; the performance of petty sacrifices; pacification on the occasion of many accidents, such as bleeding, the meeting with a demigod (*Yaksha*) and demon, an earthquake, the sight of a comet, lunar and solar eclipses, &c.

Then follow similar but shorter summaries of contents of the other four *Kalpa Sūtras*.

As might have been expected, the *Commentary* (which contains both the text and the explanation) comes to the help of the reader of the edition of the text published by Profs. Whitney and Roth by supplying more correct and intelligible readings. This is especially the case, so far as I have hitherto seen, in the last two *Kāṇḍas*. In many places the readings of the MSS. relied upon by the editors are confirmed, and in some places their emendations are shown to have been correctly made. Thus in *Kāṇḍa* xix. 1, 3, Sāyana reads and explains *gambhīracapasaḥ* instead of *gambhīracapasaḥ* of the printed edition. In xix. 4, 1, 8, Sāyana reads and explains *ud nṛtyoropagaḥ vāṣaḥ* instead of *ud nṛtyoropagaḥ vāṣaḥ*. In xix. 4, 2, 2, Sāyana reads and explains *dvishatāṣṭapayau* . . . *dvishatāṣṭapayau* instead of *dvishatāṣṭapayau* . . . *dvishatāṣṭapayau*, which appears to have been substituted as an emendation in the printed edition. In xix. 7, last verse but one, instead of *evadānānā* Sāyana correctly reads and explains *evadānānā*, which is obviously the proper reading.

From the *Commentary on the Rīgveda* we learn that Sāyana was the minister (*āharaṇḍhara*) of King B u k k a; here he calls himself the minister of King H a r i h a r a (*Śrīmadrājādhirājaparameś-*

varasrī-Harīharamahāśījasmāśjyadhurandhareṇa
Sāyanaśchāryeṇa vimochite mādhye Atharva-
vedasamhitābhāṣhye vedārthaprakāśe, &c., &c.).

The MS. is not very old, but may have been written within the present century. This justifies us in hoping that the missing portions of the Commentary may yet be found. But the portions in hand being on the most important parts of the Atharva collection, I propose editing the Commentary, incomplete as it is.

From Sāyana's introductory verses already quoted it also appears that he was different from Vidyāraṇya. Popularly Sāyana and Vidyāraṇya are believed to be one and the same individual, and Sāyana's Commentary on whatever work is called *Vidyāraṇya-bhāṣya*. Sāyana's respectful mention of Vidyāraṇya made in these verses now shows that the latter was a different individual from Sāyana, and different again from Sāyana's Guru or Teacher, whom Sāyana constantly mentions and refers to in language worthy of the Divine Being only, under the name of Vidyāśrītha-Mahādevana.

SHANKAR PANDURANG PANDIT.¹

With reference to the above, we have received the following communication from Mr. S. P. Pandit:—

Since I wrote to *The Academy*, I have been following various lines of search after the missing portions of Sāyana's Commentary on the Atharva-Veda *Saṁhitā*, but regret that I have not yet succeeded in obtaining any of the portions which are missing in the MSS. already in my possession, except that on Kāṇḍa xi. This was obtained from one of the sources which yielded the fragments described in the letter given above. Further search in the same places, though made with care and attention, has only made the hope of getting the needed portions of the Commentary less than ever likely to be immediately fulfilled. "It appears," says my esteemed friend Mr. Narasimayengar, of the Mysore Commission, to whom I owe the discovery of the Commentary, "heaps of Cadjan MSS. get spoiled and are thrown away into the Tungabhadra river periodically! It is possible the missing parts were lost in the same way." I am nevertheless hopeful that my enquiries in other quarters may yet succeed, and we may some day come into possession of the whole Commentary.

SHANKAR P. PANDIT.

Poona, 27th August 1880.

I have just read Prof. Shankar Pandurang Pandit's able and interesting letter on the discovery of a MS. of Sāyana's Commentary on the Atharva-Veda *saṁhitā*, and I feel tempted to say

again what I said the other day, when I had to announce the discovery of Sanskrit texts in Japan, "It never rains but it pours." After we had been looking for years for a single MS. of Sāyana's Commentary on the so-called Fourth Veda, the same week brings us tidings of the discovery of two MSS. That a Commentary by Sāyana or Mādhye on that Veda had once existed could hardly be doubted, but in reply to repeated enquiries addressed by me to my friends in India I always received the same answer, *Nou est inventum*. The reason why I did not give up my belief in the existence of such a Commentary was because, so far back as 1846, in some statistic accounts of Vedic literature sent to Mr. J. Muir, and published by him in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, not only the name of the author of the Commentary, *scil.* Mādhye, but the number of lines of his Commentary on the *Saṁhitā* and on the *Bṛhadmaṇya* was mentioned—viz., 80,000 for the former, 20,000 for the latter. That information seemed to me so important that I thought it right to call the attention of Sanskrit scholars to it afresh, particularly of those who were exploring India in search of MSS., and had it published therefore once more in my *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, 1873, p. 109. But though my friends Dr. Bühler, Kielhorn, Burnell, and others have kept a keen look-out for "Sāyana on the Atharva-Veda," and though rumours of its existence reached them from time to time, nothing tangible has ever come to light. So late as March 10, 1874, Dr. Burnell, that most indefatigable explorer of the ancient literature of India, wrote to me from Mangalore:—"For the same reason I doubt the report of the Benares Brahmins to Dr. Muir about an Atharva-Veda Commentary. I have so often had tales told me quite as precise which I have ascertained afterwards to be untrue that I am very little inclined to believe mere assertions." (See Preface to the sixth volume of my edition of *Rig-Veda*, p. xvii. note.) Now, at almost the same time that Mr. V. N. Narasimayengar discovered the MS. in Nandi Nāgari described by Prof. Shankar Pandurang Pandit, Dr. Bühler writes to me that he had an offer from a learned Brahman at Madras of a copy of Sāyana's long-sought-for Commentary on the Atharva-Veda, written in the Grantha alphabet. While the copy in Nandi Nāgari is incomplete, that in Grantha is said to be complete, so that Dr. Bühler hopes we may at last obtain, not only the missing Kuntāpa hymns, but also a more readable text of the nineteenth book of the Atharva-Veda than that hitherto accessible.

In the same letter (dated Ahmedabad, May 7, 1880) in which Dr. Bühler informs me of the dis-

¹ *The Academy*, 5th June 1880.

covery of the Grantha MS. of Sāyana, he sends me several other items of information which may be of interest to Sanskrit scholars, and which I feel at liberty to publish. "Among our new finds," he writes, "you will see a long list of Vedica. There is a *Pada-pāṭha* of the Mantras of the *Maitrāyaṇīya Saṁhitā* which is unique. It seems most opportune, as Dr. Schroeder intends publishing the book. I found that in Gujarat, north of the Narmadā, there are still many Maitrāyaṇīyas, among them three so-called Śakhas, who recite the whole *Saṁhitā* from day to day. The others know little of their sacred writings. The Northern Atharvavedins are really, as the *Chāṇakya vyākhyāṇa* asserts, all Paippalādins. But as they have lost their books they study the *Saṁhitā* of the *Saṁhitā* of any other Veda." "What I have bought this year of Vedica consists of nearly one hundred numbers. For the other Śūtras there is also some new material, even some historical texts, and such scarce works as the *Pañchasiṁhātīkī* of Varāhamihira. The *Sūtrata Kosha*, according to Aufrecht the oldest *Kosha*, has been found. A little time ago a portion of a very old MS. of Sāyana's *Commentary on the Rig-Veda-saṁhitā* was brought to me. It is written *initio sæcæ XV*! I collated some passages with your edition, and found that the MS. belonged to what you designate as the C. family. It is wonderful that that family should be so old. I shall go on collating some more of it."

The same letter contains some very important information about the discovery of new inscriptions and their bearing on the date of Buddha's death in 477 B.C.; but in regard to these matters I do not like to anticipate Dr. Bühler's own statements.

What is a matter of real congratulation in these discoveries is that they have been made on the very spot where they were expected to be made, and that hope deferred has at last been rewarded. We seldom find what we are looking for in exactly the place where we think it ought to be, and therefore the discovery of Sāyana's *Commentary on the Atharva-Veda*, after thirty-four years of search, in the South of India, i.e., in exactly the locality where it ought to have been, like the discovery of Sanskrit texts in Japan, is the best encouragement that could have happened in this field of research.

I cannot close this letter without stating that not only Japan, but China, too, is at last surrendering some of the literary treasures which, beginning with the first century of our era, and not

with the seventh, were poured into it from India. I have now the Sanskrit text of the *Vajracchedikā* and some other *Sūtras* published in China, and I hope soon to find leisure to report more fully on those new *trouvailles*.

F. MAX MÜLLER.

Oxford, June 5, 1880.¹

CINDERELLA—HEPHAESTUS—KUPERA.

Rev. S. Beal writing to the *Academy* (July 3, 1880, p. 11) thinks "we may find a probable explanation of the story of Cinderella in the far East. If we take the Russian variant *Chornushka*, which according to Ralston is derived from *chern*, 'black,' her connexion with the figure known in Japan as *Dai Gakk*—the 'Great black one' is at once suggested. *Dai Gakk* is worshipped there as the god of riches. He is represented as a little man with a large sack on his shoulders and a hammer in his hand. His proper place is in the kitchen, and he is always found placed near the hearth." Hwen Tsang mentions him as *Chinwang*, and he is described "as a little black figure seated on the hearth and called *Mahākāla* (the mighty black one)." "In every case he is represented as a little dwarf, two or three feet high." Now in Smith's *Dictionary of Biog. and Mythology*, art. 'Hephaestus,' we find that "the Greeks frequently placed small dwarf-like figures of this god near the hearth, and these dwarfish figures seem to have been the most ancient." Hence, adds Mr. Beal, "in Aristophanes, *Aves* 435, we have the expression *ἐλαφίον τοῦ ἐπιστάτου*, where *ἐπιστάτης* is thus described by the scholiast: 'simulacrum luteum Vulcani quod prope focum collocari solebat, idque sic dictum fuisse quod Vulcanus esset *ἐπιστάτης*, i.e. princeps et inspector ignis sive foci' (vide *Suidas* sub *ἐπιστάτης*, and Spanheim ad *Callimachum*, p. 172). And now, taking Max Müller's derivation of Hephaestus from *yeriakhā*, i.e. the youngest, we have some light let in upon the question why Cinderella, who answers to the Norse *Boots*, is described as the youngest child and always sitting in the hearth² among the ashes."

"But again, as to the connexion of Cinderella, or rather *Cendreuse* and the other variants, with the cow. This is at once explained by the myth that *Hera* was the mother of *Vulcan*. In the later form of the myth she was his *husbandless* mother, and under this form she is represented as disliking him on account of his deformity. This appears to be the origin of the idea of the step-

¹ From *The Academy*, June 12, 1880.

² See *Mem. sur les Cont. Occ.* tom. I. p. 43n; also pp. 30, and 319, tom. II. p. 224.—Ed.

³ See Mr. Lang's paper in *The Academy*, June 26, 1880, p. 474.

mother's dislike to the cinder wench. But Harn under the form of Io, and in other ways, is figured as a cow. The cow spinning the kilo of cotton* refers plainly enough to the moon threading her course through the stars at night, while her death is explained by her monthly disappearance. Instead of 'light' then, I would take Cinderella to denote 'fire,' or 'flame,' which dies out and becomes black in the form of cinders, but when revived is beauti-

ful in its golden dress; and as the deformed Vulcan becomes the husband of the lovely Aphrodité, so, by an easy change of sex, Cinderella is chosen by the beautiful prince to be his wife.

"The identity of the Indian *Vaiśvadeva* with the Greek Hephaestus, is proved by the derivation *vaiśvas* 'the renowned,' which is identical with the Homeric epithet, *τετρακλός*, always applied to Vulcan."

BOOK NOTICE.

LITERARY REMAINS OF DR. THEODOR GOLDSTÜCKER, 2 vols. 8vo. W. H. Allen & Co. London: 1879.

Goldstücker's premature death on the 6th March 1872, was a heavy blow to the progress of Sanskrit studies in England; his conscientiousness and energy impressed all those in communication with him, and his disinterestedness had much effect in raising the tone of Oriental studies in England, where selfish motives, not love of scientific truth, are too often the inducements to follow unattractive courses of study: the results of this offer a sad contrast to the work done in other countries.

The views Goldstücker adopted in respect of the value of the work of the native commentators, are already quite obsolete, and it would be difficult now to find a single scholar who follows him. He held the native commentaries far above the results attained by means of scientific philology, and said (e.g.): "when modern Sanskrit philology affords the spectacle of writers haughtily exaggerating these shortcomings, and combining with their would-be criticisms the pretence of establishing the true sense of the *Vedas* without the assistance of Mādhyama, a mere comparison of the commentary of the latter with what the European public is called upon to accept as its substitute, adds a new testimony to the vast superiority of the Hindu scholar over his European antagonists" (vol. I. pp. 101-2). The results already attained by European philologists are decisive on the question, and Goldstücker, if now alive, would, probably, materially modify the strong views he held. But his opposition did much good in its way, as the philologists had to look earnestly to the solidity of their work, and thus it happens that the dispute has been finally decided on really solid grounds. In this respect, Goldstücker's papers are rather valuable as materials for history of the past than as helps for the present.

In other respects, every Sanskritist will welcome these two volumes as valuable helps in present difficulties.

The first volume contains contributions to the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana* and Chambers' *Encyclopædia*, and consists of sixty-eight articles, some of considerable length, especially one on the *Vedas*. The Editor has carefully annotated these, and drawn attention, where necessary, to the results of more recent research; it thus constitutes a small Indian *Encyclopædia*.

The second volume contains six longer Essays, and a philological note. Among these are the famous Essay on Hindu Epic Poetry, originally published in the *Westminster Review*, and the remarkable pamphlet on the *Deficiencies in the Present Administration of Hindu Law*, which is just as true now as when it was written ten years ago. But if slow in coming, its result is certain.

It will thus be seen that a really excellent work has been done in bringing together papers of such value, and which were so inaccessible before, for the most part. But a little more might have been found; in Trübner's *Record* (e.g.) there are several summaries of papers which Goldstücker read before the Philological Society, but never published, and there is, also, his most remarkable review of Max Müller's *Pratiśākhya of the Rigveda*, printed in the *Academy* of July 9th 1870, which might well have been included. The biographical notice prefixed (16 pp.) is excellent; it is no secret that it is by the sympathetic and most competent pen of Dr. E. Roast.

An occasional error remains to be corrected here and there, e.g. the statement (I. p. 276) that the *Adbhuta-Bṛāhmaṇa* is probably recent, and that it is not mentioned by *Sāyaṇa*; it is part of the *Śaṅkaiśa* which *Sāyaṇa* does mention.

All Sanskritists will welcome these volumes as a worthy memorial of a true scholar, and it is to be hoped that Mr. J. F. Fleet will now see his way to bringing out Goldstücker's *Sanskrit Grammar*.

A. B.

* In the Mentone version given by Mr. Lang.

FOLKLORE IN THE PANJAB.

COLLECTED BY Mrs. F. A. STEEL, WITH NOTES BY Lieut. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C.,
F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.¹

No. 1.—Folk-Tale.

The Story of Bôpô Lúchi or Bopo the Trickster.**

ONCE upon a time, five or six marriageable girls went to the well to draw water, and began talking of their betrothals and weddings. Said one, "My uncle* is coming soon, and he will bring me the finest clothes imaginable." Said another: "My uncle-in-law* is coming soon, and will bring the nicest, most delicious food you can think of." Said a third, "Well, my uncle is coming, I know, and is sure to bring the rarest jewels in the world."

But Bôpô Lúchi, the prettiest of them all, was silent. She was an orphan, and had no one to make a marriage for her. But she was proud, so she said gaily, "And my uncle is coming too, and will bring me fine dresses, fine food, and fine jewels."

Now a wandering pedlar of the kind called Wanjara* who sell *Surma** and sweet-scented oils, wax and cosmetics, was sitting near the well, and heard what Bôpô Lúchi said. He was a *thag** in reality and was very rich. The very next day he disguised himself, and came to Bôpô Lúchi's house, bringing with him fine dresses, fine food and fine jewels. Everything was there

just as Bôpô Lúchi had said. He told her that he was her father's brother who had been away in another place for years, and now had come back to make her marriage with one of her cousins, his sons.

Bôpô Lúchi was ever so much pleased, packed up her belongings in a bundle, and set off with the *thag*. But when they were on the road a crow sat on a branch, and croaked—

Bôpô Lúchi!
Aqlah ghughh,
Thag nâl thagi gayi.

Bôpô Lúchi!
You have lost your wits,
You have been deceived by a *thag*.*

"Uncle," said Bôpô Lúchi, "that crow croaks funnily, what does it say?" "Oh," answered the *thag*, "all crows make that noise about here."

A little further they met a peacock. As soon as it saw pretty Bôpô Lúchi it began to scream—

Bôpô Lúchi!
Aqlah ghughh,
Thag nâl thagi gayi.

Bôpô Lúchi!
You have lost your wits,
You have been deceived by a *thag*.²⁰

* Notes, criticisms, or remarks will be gladly received by the compilers.

* This story is not very common or well known. It was told by an old peasant from the Kasur district near Lahore.

* *Bôpô Lúchi* لُچھی, fem. *لُچھی* lúchi Panjabi adjective signifying "wicked, worthless, unlucky."

* *bôbô* بوبو *bôbô* 'sister, mother,' Panj. term of endearment. *bôpô* بوبال common girl's name, Panj. In

Hindi बूबू बीबी बीबी *bôbô*, *bôbô* or *bôbô* is an elder sister, lady; *बीबी* *bôbô* also the breasts. According to the school girls, Firozpur, *bôpô* means a balder and with the addition of *lúchi* would mean a trickster.—R. C. T.

* *sidmô* سدمو, mother's brother.—R. C. T.

* *Patinara* or *Patinara* *Patinara* or *Patinara*, husband's or father-in-law's younger brother, Panj. *پتی* *patî* is husband, master, lord, Panj.—Sansk.—*पति* *pati*, husband, lord, etc., *पति* *patî*, to share, to rule.—R. C. T.

* *Wanjara* or *Wanjara* *Wanjara* or *Wanjara*, Panj. a wandering pedlar dealing in spices; also a seller of grain. *وانج* or *wanj* or *wanj* is a bargain, trade.—R. C. T.

* *surma* سرمہ, antimony used for blackening the eyelids.

* *thag* *thag* Hindi and Panj. a deceiver, whence that class of robbers who deceive and strangle travellers. The Hindi and Panjabi connected words are *ठग* *thagyâ* Hind.

and Panj. a thief, rogue, fem. *ٹھگی* *thagî*, *ٹھگی* *thagî* the practice of murdering by thags, deceit; *ٹھگنا* *thagnd*, to deceive, with causative *ٹھگنا* *thagnd* and *ٹھگنا* *thagnd*; *ٹھگنا* *thagnd* and *ٹھگنا* *thagnd* and *ٹھگنا* *thagnd* to be deceived; Sansk. *धृष्ट* *sthag* a rogue. In the Indian Penal Code a *thag* is defined as being a person habitually associated with others for the purpose of committing robbery or child-stealing by means of murder.—R. C. T.

* *بوبو لُچھی*

* *عقلوں ٹھگی*

* *ٹھگ نال ٹھگی گئی*

* *ghughh*, second person singular past tense, local Firozpur pronunciation; *ghughnd* Panj. to fail. *ٹھگنا* *thagnd* to be lost. Proper Panj. form is *ٹھگنا* *thagnd* to fail. *ٹھگنا* *thagnd* in Hindi is to thrust oneself in, to enter. *ٹھگی گئی* *thagî gayi* you have been deceived. See note 8. *ٹھگ نال* *thag nâl*, Panj.-Hindi, *thag* as with or by a thief. Dr. Fallon, *New Dict. Hindust.*, says *nâl* *नल* is of Hindi origin, but I cannot find the word in Kellogg's *Hindî Grammar*.—R. C. T.

²⁰ See Note 9.

"Uncle," asked Bôpô Lûchi, "that peacock screams funnily, what does it say?"

"Oh," answered the thag, "all peacocks make that noise about here."

A little further they met a jackal—no sooner did it see pretty Bôpô Lûchi than it began to howl—

Bôpô Lûchi!

Aglôâ gûthî,

Thag nâl thagâ gayî.

Bôpô Lûchi!

You have lost your wits,

You have been deceived by a thag.¹¹

"Uncle," said Bôpô Lûchi, "that jackal howls funnily, what does it say?"

"Oh," said the thag, "all the jackals make that noise about here."

Then they arrived at the Thag's house, and he told her who he was, and that he intended to marry her himself, and she wept and cried. Then the Thag went out and left her in charge of his old, ever so old, mother. Now, Bôpô Lûchi had such beautiful hair that it reached down to her ankles, but the old mother hadn't a single hair on the top of her bald old head.

"Daughter," she said, as she was patting the bridal dress on Bôpô Lûchi, "how did you get such beautiful hair?"

"Well," said Bôpô Lûchi, "my mother made it grow. She pounded my head in the mortar¹² for husking rice, and at every stroke she gave with the pestle my hair grew longer and longer. It is a plan that never fails."

"Perhaps it would make my hair grow," said the old lady.

"Perhaps it would," said Bôpô Lûchi.

So the old woman put her head in the mortar, and Bôpô Lûchi pounded it so hard that the old woman died.

Then Bôpô Lûchi dressed the dead body in her scarlet bridal dress, seated it on the low bridal chair, and put the spinning wheel in front of it. Then she drew the veil well over the dead woman's face, put on the dead woman's clothes, and taking her bundle of things stepped out of the house as quickly as possible.¹³

¹¹ See Note 8.

¹² *اوکھلی* *ukhli* Hind. a mortar, and *موسل* *mosal* a pestle. Hind.—R. C. T.

¹³ The word used for the bridal chair is *पीठ* *pîth*, this with its diminutive *पीठा* *pîthâ* is a low seat or stool with a back like a chair used by women. The word is universal in many forms in Hindi and Panj. as *pîthâ*, *pîth* and *pîthîyâ*.

On the road she met the Thag who was returning with a stolen mill-stone on his head. She was dreadfully frightened, so she slipped behind the hedge so as not to be seen. The thag did not know her in his mother's dress, but thought she was some strange woman from another village, so he slipped behind the other hedge so as not to be seen. And so it was that Bôpô Lûchi ran away home safe.

When the thag came to his house he saw the figure in bridal scarlet¹⁴ sitting on the bridal chair spinning, and thought it was Bôpô Lûchi. So he called to her to help him down with the mill-stone. But she didn't answer. So he called again, but still she didn't answer. Then he got angry, and threw the mill stone at her head. The figure toppled over, and lo! it was not Bôpô Lûchi but his own mother! Then the thag wept and beat his breast, for he thought he had killed her. But when he found out Bôpô Lûchi had run away, he determined to bring her back somehow.

Now Bôpô Lûchi felt sure the thag would try and carry her off, so every night she begged a night's lodging in a friend's house, and so her own little bed in her own little house stood empty. But at the end of a month she had slept in every friend's house for a night, and was ashamed to ask any of them again. So she determined to sleep at home whatever happened, but she took a bill-hook to bed with her. In the middle of the night four men came and lifted up her bed, and the thag was behind her head. Bôpô Lûchi pretended to be fast asleep till they came to a wild deserted spot, and then she whipped out the bill-hook, and in a twinkling cut off the heads of the two men at the foot of the bed. Then she turned round quickly, and cut off the head of one of the men at the head of the bed, but the Thag who was the fourth ran away, and scrambled up a tree like a wild cat before she could cut off his head.

"Come down," said Bôpô Lûchi, "and fight it out."

But he wouldn't come down. So Bôpô Lûchi gathered all the sticks she could find, piled them

The Sansk. form is *पीठ* *pîth* a seat. The diminutive *पीठा* *pîthâ* also means the pangs of childbirth, etc. but this is probably quite a different word connected with the Sansk. *पिठ* *pîth*, to be afflicted, suffer pain.—R. C. T.

¹⁴ The bridal scarlet, a universal custom among all Panjab tribes and classes. Every bride, however poor, wears a dress of scarlet and gold for six months, and if rich for two years.—R. C. T.

round the tree, and set fire to them. Then the tree caught fire, and there was so much smoke that the Thag was obliged to throw himself down and was killed. Then Bôpô Lûchî went to the Thag's house and carried off all the gold and silver jewels and clothes. And after that Bôpô Lûchî was so rich that she could marry any one she pleased.

No. 2:—FOLK-TALE.

The Sparrow and the Crow.

This is a very common tale among Hindûs and Muhammadans in the Pirôzpûr, Siâlkôt, and Lâhôr districts.

A sparrow and a crow once agreed to cook *Khijri*¹ for their dinner. The crow brought pulse² and the sparrow rice, and the sparrow cooked the *khijri*. When it was ready the crow came to claim his share. "No," said the sparrow, "you are dirty, go and wash your beak in the tank yonder, and after that sit down to dinner."

So the crow went to the tank, and said—

Tû Chhappar Dâs,
Main Kâng Dâs,
Deo paneriyâ,
Dhûwâ chucheriya,
Khâwâ khijriya,
Dêkh chîriyâ kâ chûchla,
Main kâng sapariyâ.*

¹ *khijri* properly *کھجری* *khijri*, a dish of rice and dāl (دال) the peas of various pulses prepared for cooking, etc.). *Khijri* is usually prepared from *مونگ* *mung* pulse (Panj. *منگی* *mung*), but some versions of this tale make it to be made from the *مانگ* *mang* (Panj. = Hind. *ma'dah*) pulse.—R. C. T.

* *مونگ کی دال* *mung or ma'dah ki dāl*, see note 1.—R. C. T.

تو چھپڑ داس
مین کانگ داس
دیو پنریا
دھوون چوچریا
کھاوین کھجریا
دیکھر چڑیا کا چوچلہ
مین کانگ سپریا

چھپڑ *chhappar* Panj. a tank. *کانگ* *kang* or *کان* *kān* Panj. a crow.—Hind. *کرا* *kara*. *پنریا* *paneriyâ* and the other words *چوچریا* *chucheriya* *کھجریا* *khijriya* are

You're Mr. Tank,
I am Mr. Crow,
Give me water
That I may wash my beak,
And eat my *khijri*.
See the bird's playfulness,
I am a clean crow.

But the tank said: "I will give you water if you will go to the deer, break off one of its horns, and dig a hole in the ground close by me, and then I'll let my water run in clean and fresh. So the crow went to the deer, and said—

Tû Hirax Dâs,
Main Kâng Dâs,
Tû deo singarwa,
Main khôdâ chalarwa,
Nikâlîa panarwa,
Dhûwâ chunjarwa,
Khâwâ khijriya,
Dêkh chîriyâ kâ chûchla,
Main kâng sapariya.*

You are Mr. Deer,
I am Mr. Crow,
You give me a horn,
And I will dig a hole,
And take out the water,
That I may wash my beak,
And eat my *khijri*.
See the bird's playfulness,
I am a clean crow.

merely made to assume this form for the song and represent respectively *پانی* *pāni*, water, *چوچلہ* *chûchla* (Panj. *چونچ* *chunj*), a bird's beak, and *کھجری* *khijri*, while the final word *سپریا* *sapariya* represents the Arab. *سيف* *sif*, clean.—R. C. T.

تو ہرن داس
مین کانگ داس
تو دیو سنگروا
مین کھودون چلروا
نکا لون پنروا
دھوون چنچروا
کھاوین کھجروا
دیکھر چڑیا کا چوچلہ
مین کانگ سپروا

In this song and those following it the rhyming fanciful termination is *اروا* *arwa*, the terminal words being *سنگ* *sing*, Panj. = Hind. *سینگ* *sing*, a horn, *چالو* *chalo* Panj. a hole, and the remainder as before.—R. C. T.

But the deer said—"I'll give you my horn if you will give me some buffalo's milk, for then I shall grow fat, and breaking my horn won't hurt me." So the crow went to a buffalo and said—

*Tā Bhāiās Dās,
Main Kāng Dās,
Tā dō dūtharwa,
Pāwā hīnarwa,
Tirā singarwa,
Khōlā chalarwa,
Nikālā panarwa,
Dhōwā chunjarwa,
Khāwā khijarwa,
Dēkh chīriyā kā chūchla.
Main kāng saparwa.**

You are Mrs. Buffalo,
I am Mr. Crow,
You give me milk,
That I may give it the deer to drink,
And break his horn,
And dig the hole,
And take out the water,
And wash my beak,
And eat my khijri.
See the bird's playfulness,
I am a clean crow.

But the buffalo said—"Bring me some grass first, and I'll give you milk."

So the crow went to some grass, and said—

*Tā Ghās Dās,
Main Kāng Dās,
Tā dō ghasarwa,
Pāwā bhāiāsarwa,
Chōwā dūtharwa,
Pāwā hīnarwa,
Tirā singarwa,
Khōlā chalarwa,
Nikālā panarwa,*

تو بهیئس داس
مین کانگ داس
تو دیو دودھروا
پاواں ہیرنروا
توڑین سنگروا

remainder as before. In this the new terminal words are
دودھ dōdh, milk, and ہیرن hīras, a deer.—R. C. T.

تو گھاس داس
مین کانگ داس
تو دیو گھسروا
پاواں بہیئسروا
چوڑین دودھروا

*Dhōwā chunjarwa,
Khāwā khijarwa,
Dēkh chīriyā kā chūchla
Main kāng saparwa.**

You are Mr. Grass,
I am Mr. Crow,
You give me some grass,
That I may give it the buffalo,
And take her milk,
And give it the deer to drink,
And break his horn,
And dig the hole,
And take out the water,
And wash my beak,
And eat my khijri,
See the bird's playfulness,
I am a clean crow.

But the grass said—"Get a spade first, and then you can dig me up."

So the crow went to a blacksmith, and said—

*Tā Lohār Dās,
Main Kāng Dās,
Tā dō pharwa,
Main khōlā ghasarwa,
Khōlā bhāiāsarwa,
Chōwā dūtharwa,
Pāwā hīnarwa,
Tirā singarwa,
Khōlā chalarwa,
Nikālā panarwa,
Dhōwā chunjarwa,
Khāwā khijarwa,
Dēkh chīriyā kā chūchla,
Main kāng saparwa.**

You are Mr. Blacksmith,
I am Mr. Crow,
You give me a spade,
And I will dig the grass,
That I may give it the buffalo to eat,

remainder as before. Terminal words are گھاس ghās, grass,
بہیئس bhāiās a buffalo. دودھ dōdh, milk. پاواں pāwā
hīnarwa—that the buffalo may obtain it. پاواں pāwā
to obtain. چوڑین chōwā Panj. (Hind. چوڑا chōṛā)
to milk, chōṛā Hind. is to ooze.—R. C. T.

تو لوہار داس
مین کانگ داس
تو دیو پھروا
مین کھوڑون گھسروا
کھوڑون بہیئسروا

remainder as before.—R. C. T.

And take her milk,
And give it the deer to drink,
And break his horn,
And dig the hole,
And take out the water,
And wash my beak,
And eat my khijri.
See the bird's playfulness,
I am a clean crow.

"With pleasure," said the blacksmith, "if you will light the fire and blow the bellows."

So the crow began to light the fire and blow the bellows, and in so doing fell into the middle of the fire and was burnt.

So that was the end of him, and the sparrow ate all the khijri.

NO. 3.—FOLK TALE.

*The Lord of Death.*¹

Told by a North-West² boy, who heard it from his grandmother:—

Once upon a time there was a road, and every one who travelled along it died. Some said they were killed by a snake, and others said they were killed by a scorpion.

Now a very old man was travelling along the road, and he sat down on a stone to rest, and on the stone beside him he saw a scorpion as big as a cock, and as he looked at it, it changed into a snake. He was wonderstruck, and determined to follow it to see what it really was. So he followed it at a little distance.

One day it went into an inn and killed several travellers; another day it crept into the king's house and killed him. Then it crept up the waterspout to the women's rooms, and killed the king's young daughter, and always when the sound of weeping and wailing arose, it went on its way. All this time the old man followed it, but never spoke, so it took no notice of him.

Then in the road came a broad deep river, and the snake changed to a handsome buffalo with brass necklace and bells. Now on the bank of the river sat some poor travellers who had no money to pay the ferry; when they saw the buffalo they said, "This beast is going to its home across the river; let us get on its back and hold on to its tail, and so get over the stream." So they got on its back, and

held on to its tail, and the buffalo swam bravely with them to the middle of the river. Then it began to kick till they had to let go; so they were all drowned, but when the old man who was following in a ferry boat got across there was no buffalo to be seen, only a beautiful ox. A peasant saw the ox wandering about, and being struck by covetousness, lured it to his house. It was very gentle, and suffered itself to be tied up with the other beasts; but in the middle of the night it changed into a snake and bit all the cattle till they died. Then it crept into the house, and killed all the sleeping folk. After that it escaped. The old man followed it, but never spoke, so it took no notice of him.

Presently they came to another river, and then the snake changed into the likeness of a beautiful young girl covered with jewels and fair to see. Now two brothers, soldiers, came that way, and as they approached the girl began to cry. "What is the matter," asked they, "that you so young and beautiful sit by the river alone?"

The girl answered—"My husband was even now taking me home, and there was no ferry boat, so he went down to the stream to look, and fell to washing his face, when he tumbled in, and was drowned. I have neither friends nor relations left." Said the eldest of the brothers, who was enamoured of her beauty, "Come with me, and I will marry you." "On one condition," said the girl, "you must never ask me to do any household work, and whatever I ask for, you must give me." "As a slave will I obey you," cried the elder brother. "Then go and fetch me a draught of water from the well," said the girl, "your brother shall stay with me."

The elder brother did as he was bid, and went to the well. Then the snake girl said to the younger, "Fly with me, I love you. I don't care for your brother. It was only a trick to get him away." "Nay," said the younger, "you have promised him, and are now as my mother."

Then the girl was angry, and began to weep and wail, and when the elder brother came back with the water, she cried "Oh! what a villain

¹ ملك الموت *Malik al-mawt*—the Lord of Death, a common object of belief.—R. C. T.

² پوربیا *Purbia*—properly Eastern, but applied in the Panjab to the inhabitants of the North-West Provinces.—R. C. T.

this is. He asked me to fly with him, and bid me leave you, my husband." Then there was great anger in the elder brother's heart, and he drew his sword and fought all the day long with his brother, till in the evening they both died.

Then the girl changed to a snake again, and afterwards to an old, old man with a white beard reaching to his waist. At last the old man who had followed the snake so long took courage, laid hold of him, and asked—"Tell me

who you are." The old, old man said: "Some people call me the Lord of Death, and I go about to bring death to the world." Then said the old man—"Give me death, for I am old and have followed you far." But the Lord of Death said: "Not so. I only give death to those whose years are full, and you have yet sixty years of life before you." Then the old, old man vanished, but whether he was the Lord of Death or a devil, who can tell?

THE YERAKALA LANGUAGE.

BY THE REV. J. CAIN.

Whilst staying a few days in Rājamahend-rivaram (Rajahmundry) in 1879, I was asked to help in drawing up a vocabulary of the Erakala language to be sent to the Director of Public Instruction, Madras. Two of the Assistant Masters of the Provincial College did most of the work, my part being chiefly that of suggesting the line of questioning the intelligent Yeraka brought to us. These two Masters afterwards drew up an interesting paper, which was sent to the Dir. Pub. Instr., Madras. Probably the information we gleaned on that occasion may be of use to some of the readers of the *Indian Antiquary*. For other notices of these people see vols. III. p. 151, V. p. 188, and VIII. pp. 106, 219. They must not be confounded with another class—the *Elakalavāṇḍu*, a people who eat rats, hence their name; *elaka* = a rat; although the *Erakalavāṇḍu* will not disdain the flesh of the mongoose and cat.

Amongst themselves they call each other 'Kuluvāru,' but the Telugu people call them *Erakavāru* or *Erakalavāru*, and this name has been derived from the Telugu word *eraka*, which means knowledge or acquaintance, as they are great fortune-tellers.

English.	Erakala.	Tamil.	Telugu.
Father	Tāpan	Tagappan	
Mother	Tāi	Tāi	
Father (familiar term)	Āva	Appan	
Mother (familiar term)	Amma	Ammai	Amma
Elder brother	Anna	Annan	Anna
Younger brother	Tembi	Tambi	Tammaḍu
Elder sister	Akka	Akkāl	Akka
Younger sister	Tevise	Tengachchi	
		Tangai	

English.	Erakala.	Tamil.	Telugu.
Wife	Ponḍu	Pendāṭi	Pendlamu
Husband	Monḍagam	Penḍu	Mogadu
Grandfather	Tātām	Tātan	Tata
Son	Moganu	Magan	Tatayya
Daughter	Mogula	Mugal	
Brother-in-law	Mechchunu	Machchinan	
Father-in-law	Mama	Māman	Mama
Son-in-law	Merumaganu	Marumagan	
Daughter-in-law	Merumagu	Marumaga	
Grandson	Pōtam	Pōran	
Grand-daughter	Pōi	Pōṭṭi	
Uncle	Sottam		
Sister-in-law	Nanga	Nangai	
Person	Keruvu	Pēr	
Boy	Guntam		
King	Karagada		
Ear	Kādānu	Kāḍu	
Eye	Kan	Kaṇ	Kannu
Mouth	Vāi	Vāi	Vai (Noru)
Nose	Mākana	Mākku	Mukku
Hand	Kei	Kai	Kai (Cheyyi)
Leg	Kāl	Kāl	Kalu
Tongue	Nāk	Nākk	Nālaka
Tooth	Pelu	Pal	Pallu
Head	Onḍu		
Finger	Élu		Velu
Neck	Kegan		
House	Ūḍu	Vīḍu	Vīḍu (a city)
Entrance	Vāsali	Vāsāl	Vakili
Ox	Māḍu	Māḍu	
Sheep	Āḍu	Āḍu	
Pig	Paṇḍri	Paṇḍri	Paṇḍi
Cat	Pōne	Pānai	
Fish	Mina	Mīn	Minnaru
Crane	Kokku	Kokku	Konga

English.	Yerakala.	Tamil.	Telugu.
Crocodile	Modala	Modalai	
Dog	Nai	Nai	
Mongoose	Kiri	Kari	
Squirrel	Ani	Ani	
Rat	Eni	Eli	Elika or Eluka
Bird	Kunzu	Kurruvi	
Snake	Tēn		
Hair	Mogaru	Mayir	
Stone	Kellu	Kallu	Kallu (Rai)
Tree	Maram	Maram	
Leaf	Ela	Ilai	
Branch	Kommu	Kombu	Kommu
Unripe fruit	Lētakapana-mu		Leta (young)
Fruit	Pagam	Paṇam	
Bark	Beraḍa		Beraḍa
Toddy	Oḍa		
Palmyra tree	Panjeḍi Panamaram	Pannimaram	
Grass	Gaḷḷi		Gaḷḷi
Rice	Erise	Ariṣi	
Rice(boiled)	Sēn	Sēn	
Cholam	Chōlam	Chōlam	
Ragi.	Kēvuru	Kevuruku	
Plough	Nagali		Nagali
Salt	Nonan		
Knife	Kolle		
Sun	Prodda	Poradu	Prodda
Sunshine	Oga		
Moon	Nela	Nillā	Nela
River	Ār	Āru	Ēru
Tank	Ēri	Ēri	
Well	Genḍra	Kinḍra	
Water	Tanni	Tannir	
Barthi	Teera	Tarai	
Footstep	Aḍuga	Aḍi	Aḍuga
Mountain	Konḍa	Kundra	Konḍa
Stream	Nāg		
Rain	Maga	Maṇai	
Mat	Tsāpa		Tsāpa
Sweetness	Tipu	Titippa	Tipu
Sour	Puli	Polḷi	Pali
Bitter	Kechēlu	Kuḷappa	
Whiteness	Vilapu	Velappa	Vali (Tella)
Black	Kar	Karu	Kar (Nalla)
Great	Beru	Peru	Poru (Podḍa)
Small	Chiru	Chinna	Chiru(chinna)
Yellow	Manza	Manzal	
Red	Erra		Erra
Male	Avula	Āḷ, ūḷ	

Nouns.

Plural number.

The plural terminations resemble the plural terminations of Tamil nouns far more than those of Telugu nouns. The principal plural

endings are *galu*, *g*, *lu*, *maru*, and *ru*. *Gal*, *g*, and *lu* seem to be pluralising particles of the neuter and *maru* and *ru* epicene pluralising particles.

Kagan, *adu*, *kapanam*, and *madu* all form their plural by the addition of *galu*. [Tamil *gal*].

Uḍu, *kunzu*, *modala*, *nal*, *pellu*, *ondu*, *elu*, and *kalu* by the addition of *g* only. [In common Tamil the *l* of *gal* is little heard.]

Kei vai, *pane*, *panḍi*, *ar*, *er*, *vāsili*, *kari*, *avi*, and *eni* by affixing *lu*, as in Telugu.

Tapas, *ara*, *tembi*, *annam*, *talam*, *appa*, *akka*, *teṇi*, *ponḍu*, *monagam*, *wagamu*, and *magalu*, by the epicene pluralising particle *maru*.

Gender.

There seems to be "no mark of gender inherent in, or inseparably annexed to the nominative of any noun." The prefix *avaḷ* is used to denote the masculine gender.

Case.

"All case-relations" seem to be "expressed by means of postpositions or postpositional suffixes." With the exceptions of *keḷi*, *keṇi* and *madu* most of these suffixes are the same as used in Telugu. This may perhaps be due to local influence, and farther south other forms may be used. One paradigm is given:—

Nominative.	Seḍi.
Accusative.	Seḍive.
Instrumental.	Seḍikeḷi.
Conjunctive.	Seḍitoti. [ōḷu. Tam.]
Dative.	Seḍiki. [ku. Tam.]
Ablative of motion.	Seḍinunchi. [ninda. Tam.]
Genitive.	Seḍimuḍu. [uḷaiya. Tam.]
Locative.	Seḍikoli. [uḷ Tam.]
Vocative.	Seḍi.

The neuter demonstrative gentives are *ad* and *ayyaḷu*. As will be seen below *ad* is *he*, and *ayyaḷu* *they*.

The Adjective.

The two Assistant Masters above mentioned thought that "adjectives generally appear to be formed by adding *a* and *i* either to the crude form or the crude form modified by doubling the final consonant, or by adding some inflexional increment as *thu*." But I think I should prefer seeing a larger vocabulary of adjectives before coming to a decided opinion.

The Numerals.

English.	Yemkala.	Tamil.	Telugu.	Canarese.
One	Onja	Onja	Oka Onja	Onja
Two	Renja	Irundja	Renja	Erudja
Three	Mudja	Māuru	Medja	Muru
Four	Naluga	Nālu	Naluga	Nalku
Five	Anja	{ Eridu } { Añju }	Eidu	Eidu
Six	Aru	Aru	Aru	Aru
Seven	Ogu	Eru	Eñu	Elu
Eight	Oñju	Eñu	Enimidi	Kñtu
Nine	Onbadu	Onbadu	Tomnidi	Ombhattu
Ten	Pottu	Pattu	Padi	Hattu
Twenty	Iruvadu	Iruvadu	Iruvai	
Thirty	Mappadu	Mūppadu	Muppai	
Forty	Naluvadu	Nārpadu	Nalabhai	

The Pronoun.

English.	Yemkala.	Tamil.	Telugu.
I	nenu	yān, nān	nenu
My	nanga	en	na
Me	nanu	enno	nanu
We (exclusive)	nangal	nām	menu
(inclusive)	nangal	nāngal	mananu
Our (exclusive)	nambar	nammadaiya	ma
(inclusive)	nambar	nān	manu
Us (exclusive)	nangalva	namme	manuvu
(inclusive)	nangalva	nāngal	
Thou	ninnu	nī	niru
Thy	ninga	unnaḍaya	nī
Thee	ninna	unnai	ninnu
You	ningal	nīngal	niru
Your	ningal	unḡaḡodaya	nī
You	ningalna	unḡal	mimmanu
He	ad	avan	vadu
His	aḡaḡa	avunḡayya	vai
Him	atta	avunai	vai
They	ayyala	avar, or avargal	varu
Their	aḡaḡa	avarunḡayya	vai
Them	asal, or asalgalan	avunai	varini

The Demonstrative Pronouns are *ad* and *id*, the Interrogative *ed*.

*The Verb.**To see.**Present Tense.*

English.	Yemkala.
I see	nenu patikkore
Thou seest	ninnu patikēḡikkira
He sees	ad patikēḡikkira
We see	nangal patikēḡikkira
You see	ningal patikēḡikkiranga
They see	ayyala patikēḡikkiram

Past Tense.

English.	Yemkala.
I saw	nenu pata
Thou sawest	ninnu pata
He saw	ad pata
We saw	nangal pata
You saw	ningal patanga
They saw	ayyala patchum

Future Tense.

English.	Yemkala.
I will see	nenu pakko
Thou wilt see	ninnu pakko
He will see	ad pakoku
We will see	nangal pakko
You will see	ningal pakkaḡa
He will see	ayyala pakakum

*To eat.**Present Tense.*

English.	Yemkala.
I eat	nenu undukēḡikkira
Thou eatest	ninnu undukēḡikkira
He eats	ad undukēḡikkira
We eat	nangal undukēḡikkira
You eat	ningal undukēḡikkiranga
They eat	ayyala undukēḡikkiram

Past Tense.

English.	Yemkala.
I ate	nenu unḡa
Thou atest	ninnu unḡa
He ate	ad unḡa
We ate	nangal unḡa
You ate	ningal unḡaḡa
They ate	ayyala unḡachum

Future Tense.

English.	Yemkala.
I will eat	nenu unko
Thou wilt eat	ninnu unko
He will eat	ad unḡa
We will eat	nangal unko
You will eat	ningal unḡaḡa
They will eat	ayyala unḡakum

The Infinitive seems to be formed by adding *a* to the root, and the verbal noun by adding *ḡa* or *ḡam* to the infinitive, as in Telugu.

Having seen = *pati*; seeing = *patikēḡi*.

The similarity of the termination *ikkir* to the Tamil cannot but strike the most careless listener. The addition of *k* to the root in forming the future is said to be not unknown in some old Tamil words. It is not—*alla*; there is not—*illa*. [In old Tamil, *ḡḡaḡa*—'I shall eat,' *ḡḡaḡaḡa*—'we shall eat'.]

The Adverb.

This is generally formed as in Telugu by adding *ḡa* to adjectives and nouns.

Probably vocabularies gathered from districts farther south might give slightly different results.

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(Continued from p. 95.)

II.

Having discarded the earlier part of the genealogy of the Mongol Imperial house as really belonging to the Turks, we will resume our story at the point where we showed there was an actual break in the legendary descent. As we have seen the Saga makes Dobo Mergen marry Alun Goa.

The *Yuan-sh'ao-pi-shi* goes on to say that once when Dobo was hunting on the hills Tokhochakh,¹ he met a man of the district Uriangka,² who was cooking a stag which he had killed. Dobo having asked him for some of it, he detached the offal for his own use, and presented his guest with all the rest. Dobo tied it on his horse, and wended homewards. On the way he met a poor beggar with his son. The former said he belonged to the tribe of Makhali Bayan. He asked him for the deer, offering his son in exchange for it. This was agreed to by Dobo, who accordingly took the boy home with him, and brought him up in his house as his attendant. Ssanang Setzen, who mentions this boy, calls him Makhali of the race or tribe Bayagod.³ The Bayagod are elsewhere named by him.⁴ They were doubtless the Bayaut of Rashidu'd-din, who says they were divided into two sections, the Jida Bayaut living on the river Jida, doubtless the tributary of the Selinga so called, and the Kehrun Bayaut living on the steppe or plain.⁵ Abulghazi has corrupted Kehrun into Mekrin.⁶ The Bayaut were very probably a Turkish tribe. According to the *Yuan-sh'ao-pi-shi*, after the death of Dobo Mergen, Alun Goa had three sons, named Bukhu Kataghi, Bukhatu Salji and Budantsar—the Bughu Khataki, Bughu Saljighe and Budantsar Mong Khan of Ssanang Setzen.⁷ This posthumous birth aroused the suspicions of Belgetei and Bagontei, her older

sons, who began to talk together, and to suggest that their guest, the boy Makhali, might know something of the paternity of the new arrivals; whereupon their mother, who was cooking some hard-frozen mutton, summoned them to her, and explained how during several nights a man of a blonde complexion had entered her yurt or tent through the hole in its summit, and that a ray of light which came from him penetrated her womb, after which he disappeared in the sunlight in the guise of a yellow dog. "It is quite plain," she added, "that the three boys are of divine origin, and you cannot compare them to ordinary people. When they become kings and princes you will recognise this." Then telling them all to cling together, and relating to them the world-famous parable of the bundle of faggots, which when tied together could not be broken, while each individual stick was exceedingly frail, she died. This is the story as told in the *Yuan-sh'ao-pi-shi*. The story, it will be seen, makes Budantsar, who is treated as the stem-father of the Mongol Imperial house, the son of Alun Goa, and a divine father, and clearly establishes the fact which we argued in the former paper that the Dobo Mergen and his ancestors are really strangers to the pedigree of the Mongol Emperors which begins *de novo* with Alun Goa. The story of the supernatural birth of her sons has its parallel in several other Eastern tales. The Siamese story of Sommanasodom, who was born of a maiden who had been fertilised by the sun, is a case in point. Elsewhere we have in the sagas of the origin of the royal dynasties among the northern frontagers of China several parallels. Tan-che-ho-wi, the leader of the Sianpi, was conceived by a widow, into whose open mouth a thunderbolt entered while she was gazing upwards. Apaokhi, the founder of the

¹ Probably some part of the Kentei chain.

² This name merely means 'woods'. The name Uriangkut or 'woodmen' was however specifically applied to certain tribes, one of those, to which the famous Mongol leader Subutai Behadur belonged, was the guardian of Chinghis Khan's tomb. According to Rashidu'd-din this tribe was descended from those who came out of Irgench Kun (Erdmann, *op. cit.* p. 106) by which, as we have seen, he means the Turks, and to this day the Turks of the Chulim are called Uriangkut by their neighbours, from living in woods, but the people referred to in the passage we are discussing were probably the southern Samoyedes

or Soyots, called Uriangkut-Fishch by Rashidu'd-din, and Uriangkut to this day by the Chinese. They live between the Sayanian mountains and the Khangai and Altai chains on the river Tes, which flows into lake Uba, and the Bakhys which falls into the Altan or Telczek lake.—*Asia Polyglotta*, pp. 195 and 224.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 59.

⁴ *Op. cit.* pp. 80, 183, and 251.

⁵ Kehrun means a plain; Erdmann, *Vollständige Uebersicht*, etc. p. 155.

⁶ *Op. cit.* Ed. Desmaisons, p. 68.

⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 50.

Khitan dynasty, was the outcome of a virgin who had been impregnated by a ray from the sun.⁹

Similar stories are told about Aishin Giyoro, the reputed founder of the present Manchu dynasty, but the legend which has the most analogy with the one we are discussing, and from which the latter was probably derived, is that referring to the early history of the Uighurs, the dominant Turkish race in Eastern Asia, in the earlier half of the ninth century, and who, as I have shown, were identical with the nation called Bede in the Mongol legends. Of this legend we have two rescensions, one of them is derived from an inscription discovered during the reign of Ogotai Khakan, the successor of Chinghiz Khân on the site of Karakorum as reported by Rashid-d-din. This inscription ran as follows: "At a place called Kumlanju situated at the junction of the rivers Tula and Selinga, which rise in the Karakorum mountains, there were two trees close together, one of them a fistuk tree, resembling a pine, evergreen like a cypress, and with cone-like fruit; the other, a wild pine. Between these two trees a hillock appeared, upon which a stream of light descended from heaven; whereupon the hillock began to grow, and marvellous things were seen about it. Just after the lapse of the period of a woman's pregnancy, the hillock opened, and five hillocks resembling tents were seen. In each tent was a little boy; and to these boys the people paid the greatest respect. The youngest of them, called Buku-tigin, was very intelligent, and subsequently the Uighurs made him their Khân."¹⁰

The other rescension of the Saga is preserved in the biography of the Uighur chief Barchu as given in the *Yuan-shi*. In this we read that there was in the country where the Uighurs originally lived a mountain called Ho lin,¹¹ from which the two rivers Tula and Selinga take their rise. It happened once in the night-time that a stream of light fell from heaven upon a tree standing between the two rivers, whereupon the tree began to swell like a pregnant woman, and in nine months and ten days gave birth to five sons.

The youngest received the name of Buko Khân; he was afterwards elected king, and subdued the neighbouring countries.¹² The mound or tree which became pregnant when struck with a sun-beam, and bore five sons, is assuredly the prototype of Alun Goa and her five sons, a conjecture which becomes almost a certainty when we find that two of these sons are given the name of Bukha or Baghu, which was the very name borne by the stem-father of the Uighur kings.

The two sons whom Alun Goa had by Dobo, I believe to be an importation into the legend. They were perhaps evolved by some mistake out of Belgetei and Bekter, brothers of Chinghiz Khân, to whom we shall refer presently.

The whole tale therefore crumbles into legend directly we apply criticism to it, and the only part of it of any value is the fact which it apparently attests that the Katakina, Saljiut, and Mongols were the three senior tribes of the Mongol confederacy, and that the Mongols claimed a divine origin for their race, whence the name of Niruṃs or Narana, i.e. children of light or of the sun, applied by Rashid-d-din to all the true Mongols who traced their mythical descent from Alun Goa. Rashid treats her as an historical person, and she also heads the genealogy of the Mongol Khâns given in the *Yuan-shi*. The former argues that from the history of Chingiz Khân preserved in the Imperial Treasury,¹³ and from the evidence of very old witnesses she lived four centuries before his time, and during the domination of the early Abbassides and Samanids.¹⁴ It is more interesting to turn to the Mongol reports as to her origin. Rashid-d-din states more than once that she belonged to the tribe of the Karulas, but he does not name her father or grandfather.¹⁵

The *Yuan-shi'ao-pi-shi* gives more details. It says that in former times the ruler of Kolbar-kuchin, Bargudai Merdan, had a daughter called Bagoljin Goa,¹⁶ whom he gave in marriage to Khorilartai Mergen of the horde Khorita Madun called Khoritai Mergen of the Khoray Tumud tribe by Saanang Setzen. Their daughter was Alun Goa. It having been forbidden to capture sables in the district of Khoritu,

⁹ Erdmann, *Zeitschrift der D.M.G.*, p. 537 note.

¹⁰ Beetschneider, *Notices of Mediaeval Geography*, &c. p. 126.

¹¹ i.e. the Chinese form of Karakorum.

¹² *Id.* pp. 120 and 121.

¹³ i.e. from the *Altan Döfter*.

¹⁴ D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, tom. I, p. 24 note.

¹⁵ Abulghazi, *ed. Desmoussins*, p. 64, note 8.

¹⁶ The Baraghjin Goa of the *Altan Topyai* and Saanang Setzen.

Madun Khorilartai had moved with his family to the neighbourhood of the Burkhan mountains, where he had heard they were plentiful, and where the ruler was called Shinchiboyan. Let us now try and analyse this statement. Kojbarkuchin or Gol Barkuchin, i. e. the river Barkuchin, was a famous feeder of lake Baikal, and is still known under the name of Barguzin or Barkujin, giving its name to the town of Barguzinsk, while from it the country south-east of lake Baikal is still known as Bargu or Barakhu.¹⁶ It is called the plain of Bargu by Marco Polo,¹⁷ and is called Bargujin Tugum by Rashidu'd-din.¹⁸ Georgi in describing the river Barguzin says it is so called by the Buriats and Tunguses, who are thinly scattered along its banks. It springs from a small lake in the mountains. These mountains also give birth to the Maslen, a feeder of the Angara and the China which falls into the river Witim. The river and its tributaries water a district, part of which is very fertile, and is called the steppe of Borguzin. The district, especially on the banks of the Chirkan and Koluktoi, two small feeders of the Barguzin, is covered with traces of ancient agriculture and with graves similar to those on the Argada and Karga. These graves are marked by stone mounds. In these are found weapons, stirrups, etc. The remains of fields shew the Barguts to have been agriculturists. Small ploughshares of cast iron are still found in them, and there is a tradition that they could make cloth out of birch trees. These primitive inhabitants who inhabited the district before the Tunguses are called Barguts in the local traditions.¹⁹ This agrees with the statement of Rashidu'd-din, who calls the inhabitants of this district Barguts, and devotes two paragraphs to them,²⁰ apparently making two distinct tribes out of them. I have little doubt that they were the ancestors of the Bargu Buriats, one section of whom, according to the Chinese geographical work translated by M. Hyacinthe Bituriski, and appended to Timokofski's Travels by Klaproth, lives on the right bank of the Amur (the Argan) in the country of the Solons,²¹ while another lives to the north of lake Baikal and on the Lena. This latter speaks a

rough dialect, and is still Shamanist, and ignorant of writing, according to Schmidt.²² The Bargu Buriats are in fact very pure and unsophisticated Mongols. Rashidu'd-din links with the Barguts in one passage the Kurluts, or as Von Hammer reads the name Kurolewants or Kolowrats,²³ while in Abulghazi the name appears as Kurlut or Kurlat.²⁴ This again is a name which has been duplicated by Rashidu'd-din, and no doubt connotes the same class as the Kurulus, a division of the Konguruts. In the notice first cited where he calls them Kurluts, he says they lived near the Konguruts, the Iljigins²⁵ and the Barguts. These tribes were allies, and had the same *tamgha* or seal.²⁶ This notice is very curious, and it seems to follow that the Turkish race of Konguruts was at this time divided into two sections, one living, as I shall shew afterwards, near the Khingan mountains, and the other in the country of Barguchin. The passage from the *Yuan-shi* therefore means that a chief of the Kurulus, having married a daughter of the chief of the Barguts, became the father of Alun Goa. She was therefore in the legend the daughter of a Turkish father and a Buriat mother. As I said, Alun Goa is made the ancestress of the Mongol Khans in the official history of the house contained in the *Yuan-shi*. We must now devote a few more lines to this work, laying Dr. Bretschneider under contribution for the purpose. According to the *Ming-shi* or official history of the Ming dynasty, the *Yuan-shi* was composed in the year 1369, the year after the Mongols were expelled from China, in which year the records of the thirteen Yuan emperors were brought together, and the composition of the history commenced under sixteen scholars superintended by Sung-lien and Wang Wei. The work was finally completed in the 6th month of 1370.²⁷ Dr. Bretschneider says the work was very carelessly composed. Several editions of the *Yuan-shi* appeared during the domination of the Ming dynasty, while three have appeared during the domination of the Manchus, one in 1659, another in the middle of the last century, and a third during the present century. The second of these was

¹⁶ Erdmann, *Transbaikien*, p. 189, note 4.

¹⁷ Marco Polo, *Yule's ed.*, vol. I., p. 261.

¹⁸ Erdmann, *Verh. u. d. Mongolen*, etc. p. 121; Abulghazi, p. 46, note 2.

¹⁹ Georgi, *Russien*, vol. I., pp. 123, 127-8.

²⁰ Erdmann, *op. cit.* p. 59 and 119.

²¹ Timokofski, *op. cit.*, vol. II., p. 212.

²² Biot, *Asie*, vol. II., p. 195.

²³ Erdmann, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

²⁴ A section of the Kurluts.

²⁵ Erdmann, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

²⁶ Bretschneider, *Notices of Medieval Geography*, p. 4, 5.

²⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 60.

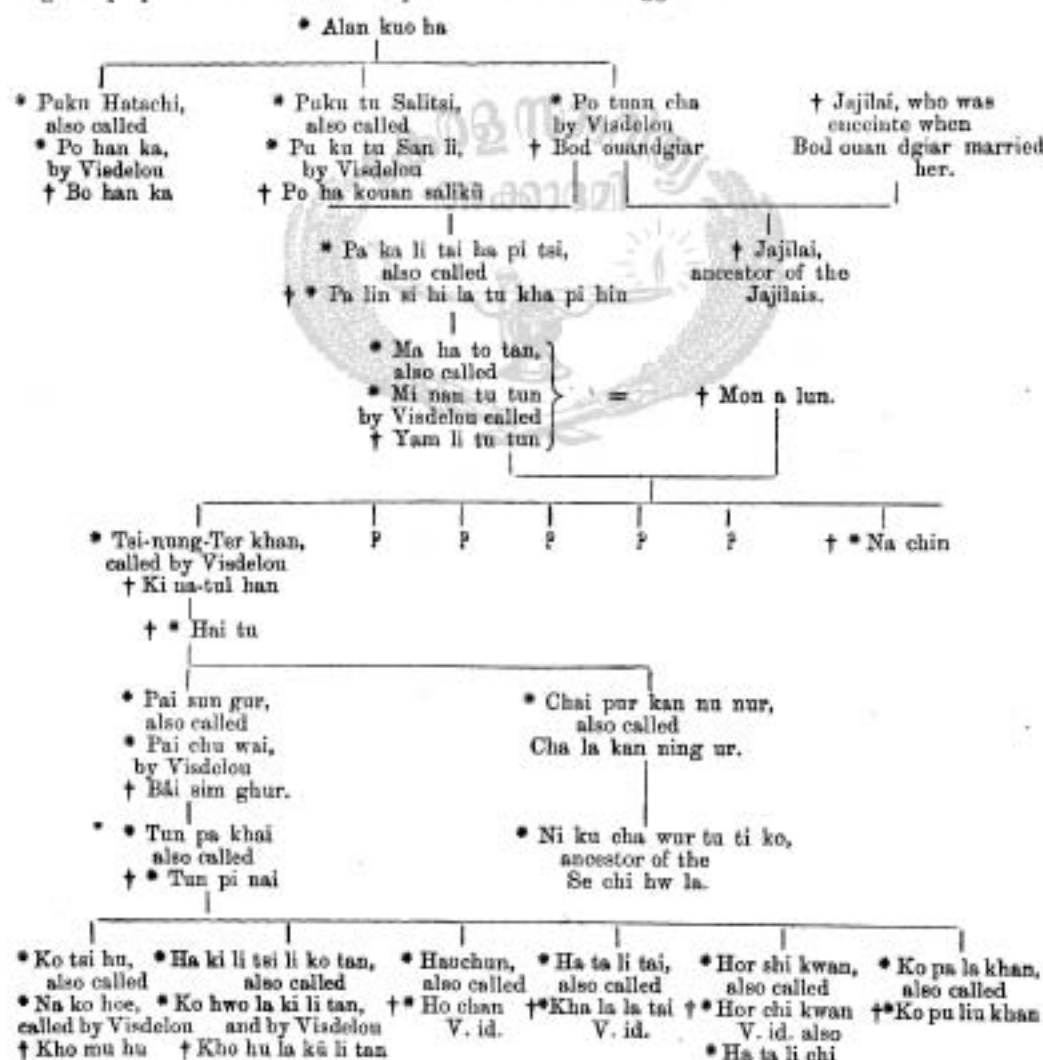
composed during the reign of K'ien-lung, and was in the nature of an eclectic text. Upon it Dr. Bretschneider makes the following remarks:—

"A learned committee consisting of Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Western Muhammadans, etc. was appointed by the emperor K'ien-lung to revise the *Yuan-shi*, and especially the foreign names of men, places, etc., occurring so frequently in that book. These savants, in their reformatory zeal, proceeded on the idea that all the proper names had been incorrectly rendered in the official documents of the Mongols, and had to be changed. They pronounced the same verdict with respect to the histories of the Liao and the Kin. Thus in the new editions of the histories of the Liao, Kin and Yüan, all the original proper names without exception dis-

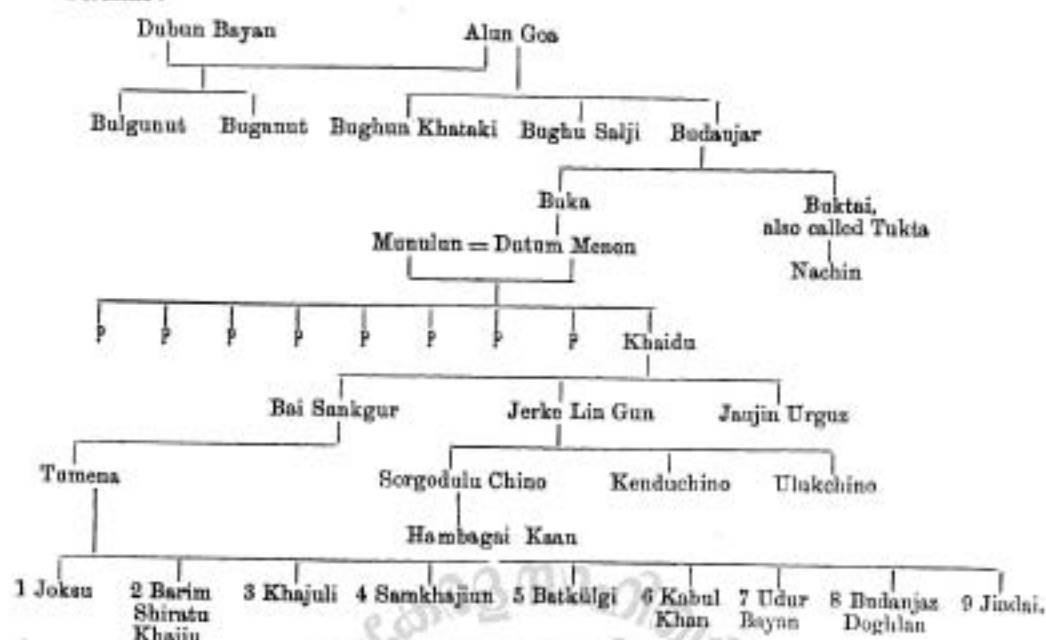
appeared, and were replaced by names of a new invention which generally have little resemblance to the original."

My friend Mr. Douglas has kindly extracted from the 107th chapter of the *Yuan-shi* a portion of the genealogical table there given. This contains the names in duplicate, one no doubt in its original form and the other as revised by K'ien-lung's commission. Visdelou apparently had access to this table, or to one similar to it, and he refers to it in his notes to D'Hérbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*.

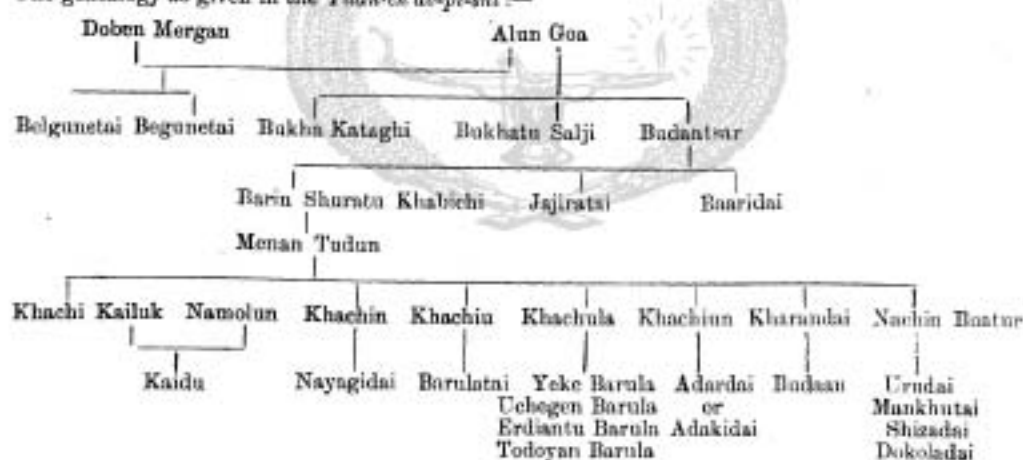
In the following table I have given the names as contained in the Museum copy of the *Yuan-shi*, which I have marked with an asterisk; the variants as given by Visdelou I have given with a dagger:—



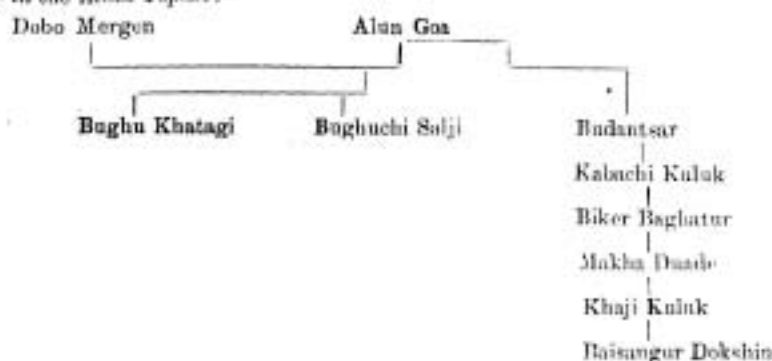
I will now give the table as reported by Rashidu'd-din, taking the names as read by M. Berezine:—



The genealogy as given in the *Yuen-ck'ao-pi-shi*—



Genealogy in the *Altai Topchi*—



Genealogy as given by Ssanang Setzen :—



The variations of these tables prove that the list is an artificial one, and when we criticise it closely, we shall find that it is a mere ethnographic table giving a conspectus of the various tribes deemed of pure Mongol blood, and has no further value. The oldest and most reasonable rescension of the story is contained in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, while that reported by Rashidn'd-din, which is generally followed, is full of inconsistencies. Let us now continue the story. On the death of Alan Gon her four elder sons, who looked upon Budantsar as a weak person, divided the heritage between themselves. He having philosophized on the old text of "*vanitas vanitatis*," mounted his tawny horse with a galled back and naked tail, which is called Godun Shagali in the *Altan Tshichi* and Urak Sussuk by Ssanang Setzen, bled along the river Onon, and eventually arrived at Baljuna.²⁰

There he saw a hawk which had seized a

quail; Ssanang Setzen says a *kara khurn*,²¹ the *Altan Tshichi* says a *Gon-marai* (i. e. a fair hind). Having made a noose with hairs from his horse's tail, he caught the hawk, which he trained to hunt for him. He also secured wild animals which had been driven near him by wolves, and appropriated the carcasses of such as the latter had killed. In the winter and spring he flew his hawk at the geese and ducks which abounded there, and killed a large quantity of them. He is said to have lived in a thatched hut. Beyond the mountain Dailyan was the river Tunggeli,²² there lived a tribe to whom Budantsar sometimes repaired to obtain mare's milk, meanwhile his brother Bugha Khataki set out to try and find him, and made inquiries from the people of the Tunggeli, who said they did not know where he lodged, but that when the north-west wind blew, it sent feathers of geese and ducks

²⁰ Pallas in his list, obtained from a Kalmuk MS., gives the descents in very corrupt form as follows:—

- Egenta Alan
- Komah
- Bonza Munkhas
- Sabagai
- Sabagor
- Makhatodon
- Gendigen
- Barshig Tordung Shing.

Sov. Hist. Nachrich. p. 7.

²¹ Baljuna the Pallan Alan of the Chinese, is a lake between the Onon and the Ingoda, from which the Turan, a feeder of the Ingoda, springs. Pallas describes it as being very extensive, and bordered by marshy places. It is situated on a wide grassy plain of considerable elevation, surrounded by mountains. Near the lake, and especially on its eastern side, are a great number of ancient tombs made with dressed stones, which Pallas in the evening mistook for the herds of the Barjats.—Pallas, *Voyages*, t. IV. p. 276. He mentions that similar tombs of a square shape, surrounded by dodos, abound on the Chikoi, the Jida, the Shilka near lake Baikal on the Selings, the Uda and the Ingoda. (Id. pp. 268, 269 note). They doubtless belonged to the early

Mongols, and may be compared with those mentioned above as found by Georgi on the Barguzin.

²² i. e. a steppe antelope.

²³ The former name is no doubt the Daligun Baldagha near the Onon of Ssanang Setzen where Chinghis Khan was born, written Tio-li-run-gan-ti by the Chinese. Hsincinthe, quoted by D'Ohsson, vol. I. p. 34, note 1. The place is still known by the same name, and is mentioned by a Russian trader called Yuritski, a native of Nertschinsk, who calls it Dilun Boldak, and says it is situated on the right bank of the Onon, seven versts higher than the island Yekoval (i. e. great island) and three versts from the Koshneshian guard house.—Erdmann, *Transsibien*, p. 572. D'Ohsson says that Balduk in Mongol means hill (op. cit. vol. I. p. 35 note), and Wolff explains the whole name as meaning a molehill.—Wolff, *Gesch. des Mongolen*, p. 33. The river Tunggeli here means probably the Ingoda, one of whose head streams is still called Tunga. (Pallas, op. cit. vol. IV. p. 226.) It is very curious that the Ingoda, which was the very focus of the Mongol country, and which is called Arjida by the Barjats, is never mentioned so far as I know in any of the Mongol histories, and I am disposed to identify the Tunggeli of those notices with the Ingoda. It is possible however that the Tunggeli may have been one of the head streams of the Kerulen.

like snow towards them, and they inferred he must live in that direction. Presently Budantsar himself appeared. As he and his brother were on their way home, he remarked that "it was a good thing when there was a head on a man's trunk, and a collar on his coat." On being asked what he meant, he replied that the people on the Tunggeli had no chief, and that it would be easy to subdue them. On reaching home his brothers put Budantsar at their head, and together they returned and conquered the people on the Tunggeli. We are still clearly in the land of mere legend. Budantsar, according to Munshi, the author of the *Turikhi Makh Khāni*, who calls him Buzenjir, means in Mongol a rhinoceros, and he argues that the prince was actually changed into that animal.²² Whatever the value of this etymology, it seems probable that the stories about his being fed in an abnormal manner during his exile were altered from the same Uighur saga, whence his miraculous birth was derived, where we read that "the reign of Buku Khān was very prosperous, and he was marvellously assisted by three ravens sent by Heaven. They knew all the languages of the world, and brought him news whencesoever it was required."—Bretschneider, p. 127. If the Buku Khān of the Uighur legend be the same as the Pi-kio-ko-han of the Tang Annals, he lived about the middle of the 8th century A.D.²³ That we are still in the land of legend is best proved by the discordant testimony of the authorities as to the children of Budantsar. Rashidu'd-din says he had two sons Buka and Buktai. The latter name is given as Tuka by Abulghazi;²⁴ the former is another repetition of the name of the stem-father of the Uighur chiefs. The genealogy in the *Yuan-shi* gives Budantsar but one son, whom it calls Pak-li-tai-hu-pi-tai, which Hyacinthe gives as Bagaritai Khabichi. DeMailla's authority gives the name as Capitai Culup Patara.²⁵

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* calls him Barin Shurn-tukhabichi. The *Altan Topchi* calls him Kabachi Kulak, and gives him a son Biker Baghatar, while Sannang Setzen calls him Bagharitai-khān Isaghochi, whom he makes the father of Khabichi Baghatar.

These two authors therefore introduce an extra generation into the pedigree not warranted by any

of the other authorities, and we shall be most safe in following the Imperial list as published in the *Yuan-shi*, and making Khabichi the successor of Budantsar and the father of Makha Todan.

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* gives Budantsar two illegitimate sons. It says that when he conquered the people of Tunggeli he seized a pregnant female, who said she belonged to the tribe of Jarjium Adankha²⁶ Uriangka.

Having made her his wife she bore a son Jajiratai, who was the ancestor of the tribe of Jadar. He was the father of Tugu-adai, the father of Bari Bulehiru, the father of Kara Kadaan, the father of Jamuka, who ruled the race Jadai. This illegitimate son of Budantsar, Wajirtai, seems to be the same one who is called a little later in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, Jauradai, and who, we are told, was legitimised by his father, and allowed to share in the family sacrifice to the shades of the ancestors. He is called Wajirtai by Sannang Setzen, who tells us he was the ancestor of the family Wajirtai. These various names are no doubt equivalent to the Jurat or Jajemat of Rashidu'd-din, who were the subjects of Jamuka as above mentioned, but he makes the race descend from a son of Tamench Khān, to whom we shall refer presently. The meaning of the genealogical puzzle probably is that the Jurats or Jajemats were treated by the Mongols as of doubtfully genuine Mongol blood, and we are in fact told that on their father's death Jaurat was driven out of his house as illegitimate by Budantsar's successor Khabichi.

By a second side-wife Budantsar, according to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, had another son called Baaridai, who was the ancestor of the tribe Barin. Baaridai's son was called Chedakulbok, who had many wives and children, from among whom was formed the tribe of Menian-barin. Rashidu'd-din, although he names the Barins among the Niruns or children of light, does not trace them to any eponyms like he does so many of the other Mongol clans, and it would seem from this entry in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* that they were not deemed of pure descent.

Buktai, the second son of Budantsar, according to Rashid, is not mentioned by the other authorities unless his name be a mere corruption of Bagharitai. The Persian author makes him

²² Senkots'i, *Suppl.* pp. 76 and 77.

²³ *Op. cit.* note 237.

²⁴ Abulghazi, p. 66 and note 4.

²⁵ *Op. cit.* ix. p. 5.

²⁶ Adankha is perhaps the mountain Adakhai north of Urga, whence the head streams of the Karagol flow.

marry a Mongol, and become the father of Tajin, whom he in one place makes the ancestor of the Tajut. Elsewhere he confuses this Tajin with Nachin, the uncle of Kaidu. He says however that in the *Altan Defter* the Tajut are made to descend from a son of Kaidu Khân,²⁷ which is in accordance with the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, and there can be small doubt that the former statement is founded on a mistake.

Let us now proceed. The genealogy in the *Yuan-shi* makes Bagharitai Khabichi be succeeded by Makha Todan, who is so called also by De Mailla, the author of the *Altan Topchi*, and Ssanang Setzen. In the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* he is called Menan Tudun. Hyacinthe gives the name as Minen Dudun, and Rashidu'd-din calls him Datum Menen.²⁸

According to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* and the Chinese authorities Menan Tudun had seven sons. Rashidu'd-din gives him nine, which is no doubt a mistake. Their names, according to the first of these authorities, were—1, Khachi Kuluk, the Kachi Kuluk of Ssanang Setzen, called Tsi-nung Terkhan in the genealogy in the *Yuan-shi*. 2, Khachin, who had a son named Nayagidai, so called because he liked to dress like a nobleman. He was the stem-father of the Nayakins. 3, Khachin, who was called Barulatai, because he was big as a child, and ate his food with avidity. He founded the tribe of the Barulas. 4, Khachula, whose sons had a similar failing, and were respectively called Erdiamtu Barula and Todoyan Barula, i.e. Great and Little Barula, the ancestors of tribes so named. 5, Khachin, who had a son called Adardai or Adarkadai, who loved trials and litigation, whence his name. He was the ancestor of the tribe Adarkin. 6, Kharandai, who used to seize upon the food belonging to others, whence his name of Budan, and that of his tribe Budant. 7, Nachin Baghatu, who had two sons named Urudai and Manghutai, the ancestors of the Urut and Manghut. He had two other sons named Shizadai and Dokoladai.²⁹

It is very curious that when we compare this list with those given by Rashidu'd-din and in the *Yuan-shi*, we should find such a marked discrepancy. The latter authorities mention the names of these worthies, but they make them

the great-great-grandsons of Menen Tudun, and not his sons. There is also a considerable variation in the details. They omit the eldest son Khachi-kuluk. Rashid calls Hachin—Jaksu, the *Yuan-shi*—Kotsihu. The former author makes him the stem-father of the Nyakins, of the Uruts and Mangkuts. Hachin, Rashidu'd-din calls Barim Shiratu Kainju, mixing up his name apparently with that of his ancestor Barim Shiratu Khabichi as given in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. To him he assigns no descendants. He is not named in the *Yuan-shi*. Khachula, is called Ha-ki-li-tai in the *Yuan-shi*. Rashid makes him the ancestor of the Barulas. Sam Khajun, Khachin of the above list, is called Hachun in the *Yuan-shi*. Rashid makes him the ancestor of the Hederkins, i.e. of the Adardai or Adarkidai of the same list. The Kharandai of the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* is called Ha-la-la-tai in the *Yuan-shi*; Rashid calls him Bat Kulgi, and also makes him the leader of the Budats. He does not name Nachin at all. The *Yuan-shi* calls the 5th son of Tumena Kor-shi-kwan. Rashid calls the 6th brother Kaba Khân, the Kópala Khân of the *Yuan-shi*, the ancestor of the Kaints, the 7th Udar Bayan the ancestor of the Jajoruts or Juriats.³⁰ The 8th Budanjar Dughlan, the chief of the Dughlats; and the 9th Jistai, the leader of the Yissuts, or, as it is read by Edmann, Baisuts. These three last sons are not named in the *Yuan-shi*. Again, while the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* makes Kaidu Khân the son of Khachi Kuluk, and therefore the grandson of Menen Tudun, a relationship confirmed by the *Yuan-shi*, Rashidu'd-din makes him his son,—in which variations I have no doubt the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* preserves the earlier and more trustworthy legend. There is another variation involved in this adjustment, which is interesting. The mother of Kaidu seems to have been a somewhat truculent person. She is called Monalan in the *Yuan-shi*, in the Kangmu, and by Rashidu'd-din, while in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* she is called No-ma-lun. The former is probably the correct form of the name, and may be compared with Altalan and Tumalan, the daughter and sister of Chinghiz Khân.

Monalan was the heroine of a story which is related both by the Chinese authors and by Rashidu'd-din, but not in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*.

²⁷ *Vide infra*.

²⁸ D'Olsson, vol. I. p. 26, note 2.

²⁹ Nachin is the Mongol name for a bird of prey (D'Olsson, vol. I. p. 28 note). ³⁰ *Vide ante*.

Rashid tells us that on the death of her husband, Monalun, who was very rich in horses and cattle, lived in a place whose name is doubtfully read as Nush Argi, also known as the Black Mountain, which was very fertile and thickly strewn with cattle. At this time the Jelairs, who lived along the Kerulon, and consisted of 70 gurnas or 70,000 families, were often at war with the Khitans, who then dominated over Northern China. The Khitans having sent a powerful army against them, the Jelairs, who were separated from the invaders by the river, and thought themselves safe, took off their caps, spread out their coats, and threw ironical jibes at the Khitans, bidding them go over and carry off their horses and families. The latter thereupon collected faggots and twigs, and made rafts on which they crossed over, surprised the Jelairs, and punished them severely, not even excepting the children. The survivors fled and sought refuge in the district where Monalun lived. There driven by hunger they proceeded to dig for the roots of a plant called *sudunum* for food. This M. Berzin identifies with the Mongolian *Seda* the *seaguis-arba carnea*, whose roots are used as a substitute for tea.* In digging for these roots the fugitives disturbed the ground where the sons of Monalun were in the habit of exercising their horses. Monalun, who according to the *Yuen-shi* was of a truculent and irritable disposition, reproached them bitterly. She drove her horses furiously over the trespassers, and killed several of them, and injured others. The Jelairs accordingly made a raid on the horses of her sons, and harried them. Thereupon they went in pursuit without waiting to put on their armour. When Monalun heard of this, she told her daughters-in-law to put the armour in carts, and to follow after their husbands, but it was too late. They had already fallen victims to

their temerity and been killed. The Jelairs followed up their victory, and killed Monalun and each of her family as they could lay their hands upon. There only escaped—Kaidu, the infant son of her eldest son, who was hidden away, according to Rashid's *din* in a skin for making *kumis* in, and according to the *Yuen-shi* in a bundle of faggots,—and Nachin, Monalun's youngest son, who was then living among the Bargut, where he was married. When the latter heard of what had happened, he returned to his mother's *yurt*, where he found Kaidu and a few women. Determined to revenge himself, he caught a horse which had been carried off by the Jelairs, and had twice escaped, and mounting it went in pursuit of them disguised as a herdsman. On his way he met two men—father and son, who were hawking and some distance apart. Seeing his brother's hawk on the fist of the younger Jelair, he asked him if he had seen a herd of horses led by a big boy pass that way, he replied he had not, and inquired in turn if Nachin had met with any wild ducks or geese. Nachin replied that he had, and offered to conduct him to them. When they had rounded the bend of a river, and were out of view of the elder hunter, Nachin fell upon the younger one, and killed him. Then tethering his horse and hawk to a tree, he went to meet the father, whom he also slew. Going on again, he came across a herd of horses in charge of some Jelair boys, who were amusing themselves by throwing stones at a mark. Having drawn near them he killed them also, and carried off the horses, with which and the hawks he once more went home. He now took the young Kaidu and the women to his own *yurt* in the country of Bargutin, being the country of the Bargut already mentioned.

(To be continued.)

CHAMPANIR AND PAWAGADH.

BY EDWARD B. EASTWICK, C.B.

The reason why these two most interesting places are so seldom visited by Europeans, is probably the excessive badness of the road from Baroda to them, and the impossibility of getting supplies along it. The direct distance to Champanir from Baroda is 31 miles, but by the road it is about 38 miles. The stages are,

first, Ayahgāra, which is 10 miles; then second, Jerōl, which is called 8 miles, but is more nearly 10 miles; third, Kengari, which is 10 miles, and Champanir, which is as nearly as possible another 10 miles. The road at first passes nearly due east, by the European soldiers' quarters at Baroda, and then by the sepoy's lines,

* See Erdmann, *Textbook*, &c. p. 544, note 1.

After this the road turns to the north, and becomes a mere village path full of deep ruts and holes, very narrow and passing between thorn-bushes. The first village passed is called Samra, and then the Māhi river is crossed by a bridge. Cultivation is abundant up to the third stage, when jungle commences and grows gradually thicker up to the ruins. About a mile from Champaur the road passes under an archway, on either side of which is a wall of the fort, which has been carried up the hills, but is now broken down in many places. Several ruined mandirs and other buildings, one or two of them Maṅgharāhs of pīrs, are passed before reaching the archway. After passing it the road has been paved, but is now in such a ruinous state that a traveller by *gāri* is shaken to death. On the left hand side of the road beyond the archway is seen an inner wall of the fort at from 50 to 100 yards, strongly built, about 25 feet high, and with bastions, but broken down in many places. After a mile from the archway, turn to the left through a double gateway, the first arch of which is 18 feet high. The walls are adorned with the lotus, carved in the stone, and there is an Arabic inscription. Beyond this gateway, turning to the left is the camping ground at Champaur, with some fine trees, and a dharamśāla not fit for Europeans, to the south. The miserable village which still exists at Champaur is to the north of the camping ground, as is also, what is called, the Jūma Masjid. This is the principal thing to be seen, and it is indeed well worthy of examination. It is about 250 yards from the camping ground, and is clearly a Hindū temple which has been converted by the Muslims into a mosque. A very handsome dharamśāla was included in the wall which surrounds the mosque, but this wall is now broken down in parts.

The dharamśāla is to the east of the mosque, and has a large dome, and four smaller ones, one at each corner like those so common in Upper India. The building is 18 feet high to the base, whence the dome springs. The base is 5 feet high, and the dome itself is conjecturally 15 feet more, so that the total height would be 33 feet. The court of the mosque is separated from the dharamśāla by a wall. This wall has 8 arches, a large one 8 feet broad and a small one 5' 5" broad alternately. The court of

the mosque measures 187 feet from north to south, and 122 feet from east to west. The principal entrance to the mosque is in the eastern face, and has two minārs of stone, one on either side the door. Each minār has seven storeys, if the cone at the top be reckoned as one. The lowest storey is handsomely carved, with the flower pattern. The second and third storeys have projecting eaves at top, as has the fourth, but it is much wider. The fifth and sixth storeys have eaves supported by the plantain bracket, so common at Bijanagar, only that it has a twist. To the top of the fifth storey is 76½ feet, and above that to the top of the cone is 19 feet, making 95½ feet for the total height. The carved base of the minārs projects from the wall of the mosque with a semi-circle of 21 feet. The entrance arch is 14' 10" wide. The hall of the mosque has 88 pillars of Hindū architecture on either side, and the roof is surmounted by seven large cupolas, besides several smaller ones. There can hardly be a doubt that it is one of those halls in Hindu temples, called "halls of a thousand pillars," though in no one case is that exact number to be found. The hall measures 169 feet from north to south, and 79' 10" from east to west. In the western face are seven alcoves or niches, handsomely carved. The central one is of white marble, the others of masonry. There is no *miṣbār* or pulpit, and the lotus ornament is carved in relief in the niches. Innumerable bats roost in the cupolas, and the floor below is covered with their deposits. The hall very much resembles that of the temple of Kālcānd at Kalbarga, but is smaller. There is no inscription. In the court is the tomb of a so-called pīr, Jahān Shāh. It should be added that the central cupola of the hall has three storeys from which galleries extend along the roof.

The ascent of the mountain of Pawagadh is the next thing to be done, and it must be made on the north-east side. The height is 2,800 feet, and the summit will hardly be reached under three hours. After leaving the gate close to the encampment, the road from the archway is crossed, and a dense jungle is at once entered upon, which is said to contain many tigers and panthers and a few bears. After crossing a succession of ridges, by a path resembling the bed of a mountain torrent, and paved with jagged pieces of rock, the first gateway is reached

in from 20 to 30 minutes according to the ability of the climber and the mode he chooses to ascend. A clever pony has ascended and cows have been driven up but with great difficulty. In about 20 minutes after passing the first gateway, a natural scarp 20 feet high is reached, which is surmounted by a wall 12 feet high, crenellated in the usual style. Trees, long grass and creepers grow from this wall in a most picturesque manner. In one place a silvery grass hangs down 8 feet at least from the wall in a thick mass. The scarp is crossed and ascended by gate No. 2, called *bichiga*. On the left of this gateway is a small pool of good water which drops from the wall on the left. Above to the left are seen two semicircular bastions, about 70 feet in diameter, but only 12 feet high. At this place there are 99 steps cut in the rock in tolerable repair, while many others have been broken. At the end of these steps is a third gateway, above which, at a distance of about 80 yards, is gateway No. 4, and here the jungle ends for a short space and then begins again, but with larger and handsomer trees. The path now leads between two walls, that on the left being 30 feet high. After a hundred yards the fifth gateway is reached, and at the same distance the sixth gateway. No. 7 is a quarter of a mile beyond this. On the left is a ruined house of Simlha's time in which three policemen and their families live. They say they never see or hear wild beasts. After this the path becomes much more steep, and the usual mode of ascent is in a *wāchhi*, which is simply a cushion supported by two long bamboos, with a bit of dirty cloth on which to rest one's feet. There is no support for the back, consequently, the traveller must cling to the bamboos, or risk falling out backwards. The path rapidly becomes more difficult, but the Bhil bearers, small, thin, wiry men, spring from rock to rock with incredible agility. In some places the sides of the mountain are very precipitous, but the jungle veils the chasm. Above gateway No. 7 are three granaries, called *wathai kothars*. They are domed, and measure 30 feet square. Their walls are 5 feet thick, and they are used as offices by the English officials who go up to reside on the mountain. Below them are reservoirs for water, and you cross the roofs of these to enter the *kothars*. A long way above

them to the right of the road are nine smaller *kothars*, called *nan lātkas*. They are the same as the lower ones in all respects except being smaller. They are used by Europeans as residences, but the wind blows with such force as to render them very uncomfortable. To the right of the *kothars* is the Champāvati palace, consisting of a series of apartments on different terraces descending a long way and commanding fine views. As the first syllable in the name of this palace is pronounced decidedly short, there seems good reason for thinking that it ought to be pronounced short in the word "Champānir" also. It is true that in the *Rās Mālā* and other works it is written as if long, and a story is told of the name being taken from a minister named "Chāmpā" or "Jhāmpā." But considering how often such stories are invented by the Hindus, and how unusual the name is for a man, it may fairly be supposed that this story also is a fiction. "Chāmpā" is a common name for a place, and unless the word should be found written with the long *a* in very old writings, the fair supposition is that the city was called from the jasmine plant which was common in the locality. No. 8 gateway is called the Makāi Kothār gate, and beyond it is a wooden bridge which leads to gateway No. 9, called the Pattanpur gate, at which two-thirds of the ascent are finished. According to the bearers the whole ascent extends two *kos*, and from the Pattanpur gate to the summit is one *kos*. After about 50 minutes more the tenth gateway is reached, and this opens upon the great platform, above which is the scarped rock which contains the temple of Mahākālī. There is here a small tank about 100 feet by 80 feet, on the edge of which are some temples in ruins. One however is roofed, and has lately been repaired or rebuilt by Hindu merchants. So far, according to the Brahmans, tigers are known to come, but they do not ascend the steps which lead to the top of the rock on which is Mahākālī's shrine.

The ascent to this crowning plateau is by stone steps, very steep, and consisting of the following flights:— $113 + 8 + 6 + 12 + 10 + 10 + 3 + 4 + 3 + 3 + 3 + 4 + 11 + 11 + 3 + 7 = 220$. The first great flight has a siding $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad of stone. The last flight leads to gate No. 11, after passing which the temple of Mahākālī is seen on the left. This temple is $64\frac{1}{2}$ feet

from east to west, 18' 4' from north to south, and 17' 2' high. Over the *vimāna* is a sort of chamber 7 feet high, which is said to be the shrine of a Muhammadan pīr. This holy man was called "Sajjan," and also "Mānā Salam," and is said to have been a converted Rajput. There is a female Muslim who attends on the shrine. In the Mahākālī temple there are generally two Brahmans present who break up the coconuts offered, and receive money from the pilgrims. These Brahmans live in small cottages to the east of the shrine. The shrine itself consists of a room with eight pillars, and

paved with marble, where votaries assemble. To the left is a small recess where there is no image but a painting of the goddess. To the west of the temple there is a precipice of about one thousand feet, and on the brink of this is a pillar for lamps, the light of which must be seen at a very great distance. At this point there is a magnificent view. The scarped platform on which stands the temple of Mahākālī looks as if it were formed by nature to have a citadel built upon it. The scarp is quite 200 feet high, and in the old time when the fortifications were entire, and well garrisoned, the place ought to have been impregnable.

STORY OF THE MERCHANT WHO STRUCK HIS MOTHER.

BY THE REV. S. BEAL.

"I remember in years gone by, there were 500 merchants in Jambhūdwīpa, of whom a certain one was the chief, his name was Māitri (*Sac-clé*). On one occasion, these merchants all assembled together, and began to consult how they might best embark on some expedition for the purpose of getting gain. Having agreed upon a voyage in a certain direction, and settled all preliminaries as to freight and provisioning the ship, they separated for a time, returning to their homes, to take leave of their wives and families.

"Now at this time, Māitri went to see his mother, to get her permission and blessing ere he set out on the expedition contemplated. At this time his mother was living in retirement in the upper portion of the house, exercising herself in religious discipline [laws of purity and self-restraint].

"Māitri approaching her, addressed his mother thus: 'Honoured mother! [or, honoured 'parent'] I am about to undertake a voyage by sea for the purpose of getting much profit. I hope to return home with gold, silver, jewels of every kind, and so be able to minister in every way to your comfort, and also to that of the members of my family [give me then your permission and blessing].'

"Then his mother began to expostulate with him, and to say, 'Dear son! why venture your life at sea? Surely you have wealth enough at home, and every comfort and necessary without stint. You can easily afford to give what is necessary in religious charity; there is no impediment in the way of your happiness (*merit*). Darling son! dear son! the sea is full of perils,

boisterous winds, hungry and cruel monsters (*fishes*), evil spirits, Rākshasis, and ghouls; dear son! darling Māitri! all these dangers infest the ocean; and now I am getting old, and if you leave me now, although as you say you want to return a rich man to minister to my necessities, still the day of my death is so near, that all your pious intentions may be of little use to me; stay, then, dear son! stay, to be the comfort of my old age! [And so she entreated him three times.]

"Then Māitri answered: 'Yes, dear mother, but still I must go! think of the wealth I shall bring back, the gold and silver and jewels! think how I shall be able to nourish and cherish you in your old age, and what gifts I can bestow in religious charity.'

"Then his mother arose from her seat, and threw her arms round his neck, and embraced him as she cried: 'Darling son! dear Māitri! I cannot let you go; I cannot give you leave to risk your life on the ocean just to seek for gain! We have money enough, we have all we need at home! I cannot let you go!'

"Then Māitri thought thus:—'My mother is cross with me, and does not want me to prosper, and so she forbids me go this voyage,' and then he got angry, and pulling his mother to the ground, he slapped (*kicked*) her head, and rushed out of the house.

"Then the merchants having assembled on the coast, and offered their worship to the Sea-God, selected five men to superintend the various departments (as before), and set sail. But sad to say! their ship was soon overtaken by a storm, and broke to pieces, and all the merchants ex-

cept Māitri were lost. But he, having clung to a plank, after tossing about on the waves for a long time, was at length thrown on the shore of an islet called Vaisvādīpa [North island or islet]. So Māitri, having refreshed himself with some wild seeds and medicinal herbs growing on the shore, at length recovered his strength, and began to explore the neighbourhood of the spot where he had been cast ashore. At length, as he went on, he came to a southern division (*fork*) of the island, and there he saw a path leading right before him. Following the track, after a short distance he saw, from a slight eminence, a city immediately in front of him, shining like silver, extremely beautiful and glorious! it was full of towers and palaces, surrounded by a lofty wall, and in every respect perfectly adorned [with lakes, woods, censers, flags, etc., etc.] and calculated for the unbridled indulgence of love and pleasure. In the centre of the city was a charming palace (called 'Merry-joy,') built of the seven precious substances, and most exquisite to behold!

"And now, from the inside of the city there came forth four beautiful women, adorned with jewels, and every ornament calculated to please. Approaching the spot where Māitri was, they addressed him as follows:—'Welcome, O Māitri! let us conduct you within yonder city, there is no one there to interfere with us, and there is an abundance of every necessary for food and enjoyment. See yonder beautiful palace, called 'Joy and Pleasure,' constructed of the seven precious substances! It is there we four live, we rise up and lie down as we like, with no one to molest us! come then, oh Māitri! enter there with us and enjoy our company without interference, we will nourish you and cherish you with fondest care.' So entering into that pleasant hall, Māitri enjoyed the society of these women, with no one (*man*) to dispute possession with him. Thus passed many, many years; nothing to interrupt the current of his happiness. At length, after a long lapse of time, these four women addressed Māitri, and said, 'Dear Māitri; remain here with us, and go not to any other city.' Then Māitri began to doubt about the matter, and he thought 'What do those women mean when they talk about other cities? I will wait till they are asleep, and then go and explore in every direction, and see whether there is good or bad luck in store for me.' So

when they had dropped off to slumber, Māitri arose, and leaving the precious tower, and passing through the eastern gate, he entered the garden which surrounded the city, and then leaving this by the southern gate, he struck into a road, along which he pursued his way. At length he saw before him at some distance a city of gold, most beautiful to look at, and in the middle of it a lovely palace called 'Ever Drunk,' made of the seven precious substances and beautifully adorned. Now whilst he gazed, lo! eight beautiful women came forth from the city to the place where he stood, and addressed Māitri as follows:—'Dear Māitri! come near and enter this city in our company, there is a beautiful palace which we occupy, with no one to molest us, there is no lack of any comfort or necessary within its walls; come, then, and enjoy our society, whilst we nourish and cherish you without intermission.' So he went with them, and enjoyed their company for many years, till at last, when they began to talk to him about going to any other city, his suspicions were aroused as before, and he resolved when they were asleep to explore further, and find out what other cities there were. [And so he discovered two other cities, one built of crystal, the other of lapis lazuli, the first with sixteen, the other with thirty-two maidens, who invited him to use their company as before.] On receiving similar hints from these, in succession, he went on farther discoveries, till at length he saw an iron city, that appeared to him quite desolate, only he heard a voice constantly crying out 'Who is hungry? who is thirsty? who is naked? who is weary? who is a stranger? who wishes to be carried?' On hearing this voice, Māitri began to consider with himself: 'At the other cities I found agreeable companions, but here I see no one, but only hear this doleful voice. I must search into this.' Accordingly he entered the city to see whence the voice proceeded. No sooner had he passed through the gate, than it shut behind him, and he felt that he was alone within the walls and all escape cut off. On this he was filled with fear, his limbs trembled, and the hairs of his body stood upright. He began to run to and fro in every direction, exclaiming, 'Woe is me! I am undone! I am ruined.' At length, as he ran here and there, lo! he saw confronting him a man, on whose head there was placed an iron wheel,

—this wheel red with heat, and glowing as from a furnace, terrible to behold. Seeing this terrible sight, Māitri exclaimed: 'Who are you? why do you carry that terrible wheel on your head?' On this, that wretched man replied: 'Dear sir! is it possible you know me not? I am a merchant chief called Govinda.' Then Māitri asked him, and said, 'Pray then tell me, what dreadful crime have you committed in former days that you are constrained to wear that fiery wheel on your head?' Then Govinda answered, 'In former days I was angry with and struck my mother on the head as she lay upon the ground, and for this reason I am condemned to wear this fiery iron wheel around my head.' At this time, Māitri, self-accused, began to cry out and lament; he was filled with remorse in recollection of his own conduct, and exclaimed in his agony, 'Now am I caught like a deer in the snare.'

"Then a certain Yaksha, who kept guard over that city, whose name was Viruka, suddenly came to the spot, and removing the fiery wheel from off the head of Govinda, he placed it on the head of Māitri. Then the wretched man cried out in his agony, and said, 'Oh, what have I done to merit this torment?' [The *Gāthas* are to this effect.] To which the Yaksha replied, 'You, wretched man, dared to strike (*kick*) your mother on the head as she lay on the ground; now, therefore, on your head you must wear this fiery wheel, through 60,000 years your punishment shall last; be assured of this, through all these years you shall wear this wheel.'

"Now, Bhikshus! I was that wicked Māitri, and for 60,000 years I wore that wheel for disobedience to my mother; so be ye assured that disobedience to your religious superiors will be punished in the same way."

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

PROF. WEBER AND BABU RAJENDRALĀLA MITRA.

1. Letter published in the *Academy*, Nov. 15, 1879.

"To Babu Rajendra Lala Mitra, Calcutta.

"Ritterstrasse, 56, Berlin, S.W.: Oct. 27, 1879.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have just received your beautiful work on *Buddha Gayā*, and my attention has naturally been drawn first to your polemic against my ideas on the influence of Greek, &c., art on India. I shall not attempt to defend them here, as our points of issue are so very different; but I venture to call your attention to a gross mistake which you have committed on p. 178 note, when you say: 'Pr. W. erroneously calls the mother Devaki, who never had an opportunity to perform the maternal duty of nursing her child. According to the *Harivamśa* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the child as soon as born was taken away from her prison abode and left with Yaśodā, who reared it up. . . . *Hindus in this country would never so grossly falsify the story as to make Devaki nurse her son.*' Now, my dear Sir, you certainly cannot have read at all my paper on the *Krishṇajñānaśānti* as it stands translated in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III. (1874) pp. 21 ff., vol. VI. (1877) pp. 281 ff. For there you will find

"(1) the distinct statement that at the festival of *Krishṇa's* birthday he is to be represented as

'drinking at his mother's breast': *Devakītanayādhaya*, (*śrīkṛṣṇapratīd*) *Devakītanayā dhavagant* (better *dhayinānt*): see vol. VI. 285 ff.; and

"(2) at p. 285, vol. VI.² you will read the following statement:—'Here, again, is something very surprising about this representation. For while the legend throughout informs us that at *Krishṇa's* birth there was danger in delay, that his father, Vasudeva, had to carry the newly-born child immediately away to escape the dangers that threatened him, the above representation, which shows us the mother and child (the former, too, "joyfully moved") slumbering beside each other on a couch, presents a picture of undisturbed repose, and stands, therefore, in such direct contrast to the legend that it is difficult to suppose that both representations have grown up on the same ground. The representation in this place appears as foreign as the difference discussed above (p. 283) in reference to the locality of *Krishṇa's* birth.' The passage quoted here runs thus:—'It is highly surprising, first of all, that, according to these statements, the *śrīkṛṣṇa* (house for a woman in childbirth) is to be set up like a *gokulā*. For the legend itself is quite consistent throughout in stating that *Devakī* gave birth to *Krishṇa* in prison. Evidently a transference has here taken place to *Devakī* of those circumstances in which

marked this, and speaks quite earnestly of his having failed to find in vol. VII. anything about the nativity of Christ.—A. W.

¹ From the *Oriental*, Oct. 26th, 1875, also reprinted in *The Romantic Legend of Śhākyā Buddha*.

² In the *Academy* this was misprinted 'VII'; the Babu, in his reply (*Academy*, Feb. 28), appears not to have re-

Yasodā, who received the newly-born child immediately after his birth, on her part gave birth to her own child, that magical girl who is exchanged with him. The reason of this, indeed, can only be that, from the beginning, the celebration of the *Jamadhāni* festival stood in close relation to the representation of Kṛṣṇa's growing up among cowherds, and consequently this conception entirely preponderated over the other, according to which he was a prince born in prison."

"(3) These differences between the ritual of Kṛṣṇa's birthday and between the legends of his birth are the very keystone of my theory of the foreign origin of the festival. Thus you read in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III. (1874), p. 21:—'The most difficult point in connection with the festival of the birthday of Kṛṣṇa, as we now have described it, lies clearly in the description, and particularly in the pictorial representation, of him as a suckling at his mother's breast, and in the homage paid to the mother, represented as lying on a couch in a cow-house, who has borne him, the lord of the world, in her womb. Such a representation of the god is a strange contrast to the other representations of him—to that of the epos, for example, in which he appears as a warrior hero—and is, moreover, the only thing of its kind in India [mark the note]. Again, the pictorial representation of the festival differs in various details from the usual legends about Kṛṣṇa's birth in a way which it is difficult to explain. The enquirer is therefore not surprised if external grounds present themselves in explanation of this unique phenomenon, which give probability to the supposition that we have in this festival something transferred from outside, and retained, in spite of the incongruities it has given rise to, in the form in which it was received. And such grounds are, as a matter of fact, sufficiently numerous. . . ."

"PROFESSOR ALMR. WERER."

2. To the Editor of the *Indian Antiquary*.

Not having seen *The Academy* of 28th February till a few days ago, I was not aware that Babu Rājendralāla Mitra had replied to my letter of 27th October last. This may account for the delay of this; but I think it my duty not to let his statements pass without necessary correction. And as the *Ind. Antiquary* brought out the English version of my original paper, I hope you will not refuse to produce in its columns this complement to it.

The Babu is fully entitled to call the mother in the picture in question (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 350, from Moor's *Hindoo Pantheon*) by the name of Yasodā, for, in the legend, she is the nurse of Kṛṣṇa, (see also my remarks on "Yasodā

lactans" in my paper on the *Saptasatka* of Hāla, p. 208); but he has no right whatever to say that I have "erroneously" called her Devakī, or as he now puts it that I have "deliberately substituted Devakī for Yasodā," for in the ritual Devakī too is described as Kṛṣṇa's nurse. With reference to the picture, therefore, both names are *a priori* equally justifiable—the one not more than the other. Nor do I lay any special stress on the title attached to it in Moor's work,—not by me,—as may be seen from my remarks (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. pp. 350, 351): "no direct reference to the special accounts of the manner in which the infant Kṛṣṇa is represented at the festival of the Kṛṣṇajāyāntī is found in it; he is neither represented as 'asleep drinking at the breast,' nor 'pressing,' &c." And when I continue "of the identity of the persona, however, there can be no reasonable doubt," I refer to those doubts only which I discuss in the sequel, viz. of Niclas Müller, Crenzer, Guignaut—who on their part conceive the mother to be Bhayāni or Māyā. If therefore the Babu prefers to call the mother represented in that picture Yasodā rather than Devakī, he is quite welcome to do so. Whether she be the one or the other matters nothing in the end, and does not in the least affect the results arrived at in my paper, which are quite independent of the question about this picture.

My reclamation against him, the "gross mistake" with which I charge him, refers to the arguments by which he tries to support his own view of it. For when he states: 2, that "Devakī had no opportunity to perform the maternal duty of nursing her child," as, 3, "According to the Purāṇas Kṛṣṇa was, as soon as born, taken away from his mother," I beg on the contrary to maintain, or rather to repeat, that this is a mere begging of the question. I never questioned at all that such were the legends of the Purāṇas, but I showed that the ritual prescriptions for the festival of Kṛṣṇa's birthday had a different aspect in view; and it is just this very difference of the two representations which serves as the basis of my theory of the foreign origin of the latter. Now Dr. Rājendralāla may be quite correct in saying that "to the Vaiṣṇava there is no scriptural authority higher than the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*," as undoubtedly he is, when he says that "it entirely contradicts" my position; but he fails to take into account two things—1, that I am fully aware of this incongruity, and have repeatedly noticed and commented upon the fact that the *Bhāgavata* does not mention this sort of festival (see e. g. pp. 170, 171, 179), and 2, that we European scholars are not bound to swear by the authority of his scriptures and

go our way without being fettered by so curious a specimen of human credulity as the *Bhāgavata* appears to us to be.

It utterly astonishes me how he can still maintain, and that too as requiring no commentary, the truth of his fourth statement;—"That Hindus in India would not so grossly falsify the story as to make Devakī nurse her son." From this daring assertion of his, I concluded that he "certainly could not have read at all my paper" on the festival in question in the *Indian Antiquary*, vols. III. and VI.* He now maintains that he had read it, but even at present I venture to say he has not done so. Surely he can only have cast a cursory glance over its contents, but he has entirely failed to understand it or apprehend its purport. Otherwise, how could he, after alluding to the fanciful decoration of the lying-in chamber, and to the scenes which are to be presented there, proceed to add—"had you referred to those, you would have given a correct account of the ceremony"? Now the very things which he demands here, any one who looks into the paper at the pages referred to by himself (vol. VI. pp. 285 ff.) will there find; for it was the very object I had in view in the paper, to collect so many of the ritual texts on the festival as to give a most detailed and minute description of the different stages of it. And so far as I know, I have fairly succeeded in doing so, for till this I have not found much further to add. But, to return to Dr. Rājendralāla's fourth statement as given above: it is in distinct contradiction to it, that these ritual texts collected by me prescribe that Krishna is to be represented at this festival as an infant child lying on the same couch with his mother Devakī and drinking at her breast: thus 1, *O. C. Śa. K.—paryāṅke śtanu pūyama*, 2, *B. māturvatsaṅge śtanu pūyinaḥ*; 3, *Ud. Śpī Krishnapratidā D evakī śtanu ābhāyartina (bhavanti ?)*. Are the authors of these works—the *Bhaviṣya* (i. e. *Bhaviṣyottara*) *Parvā*, the *Nirṇaya Sindhu*, the *Vaṇīkṛta*, the *Dharmasādhana*, the *Jānuśāstrakṛtya*, not "Hindus in India"? And when the Babu opposes to them his personal family traditions as a Vaiṣṇava, and reports that neither he nor his caroligionists believe in Krishna's having been nursed by Devakī, I beg to ask him how he intends to account for these ritual prescriptions? I have to add, moreover, that they are fully corroborated by that excellent standard work on the Vaiṣṇava faith—the *Haribhaktivilāsa* of Gopālabhāṭṭa, a copy of the Calcutta edition of which (Śaka 1787, A. D. 1845, pp. 716, 460) I

received a few years ago (1875) through the kindness of my learned friend Dr. R. Rost, with whom I had seen it during my last stay in London (1874). There we not only find on p. 532 the first of the above quotations with the remarkable various reading moreover in the scholium of *prasaṅga*, explained by *kāṣhīṭāṇṇa*, but at p. 538 we read still more distinctly of Devakī as lying on her couch with cooing breasts (*śmṛtāpāyādhāra*) and of Krishna as "sucking at them" (*śukṣmāṅge śtanu ābhāyartina*); and lastly at p. 536 we have Devakī again giving the breast to her son, who while drinking presses the nipple with his hand,—*dakṣiṇāṅge tu pātrāya śtanu | pūyamaṇi* (read *śukṣmāṅge śtanu so 'tra kṣhāṅge pūyamaṇi*).

I do not doubt in the least the accuracy of the Babu's testimony that at present "the pictorial representation is not deemed an essential part of the ceremony, nor is it anywhere produced in Bengal on the occasion of the fast," but, testimony against testimony, there was a time when this was otherwise, and even that time cannot be very remote, for the ritual texts contain abundant testimony to the contrary. Local and provincial habits can never silence the voice of literary documents.

Moreover, the first of the passages quoted above appears to be known to the Babu also from some source independent of my paper; for after quoting it he proceeds: "had you not stopped short in your quotation, you would have added that the child should be four-handed, holding a mace, a discus, &c." and then he adds: "the words of the text: *Śaṁkhachakravāṇḍa*. . . ." Now I would remark that the sources from which I drew the passage do not contain this verse, as he might have easily perceived himself by comparing p. 286, where the text of my sources breaks off at the first hemistich of v. 33 with p. 289, where it continues with the second hemistich of the same verse: there is no room left for his verse between these two halves. He must therefore have taken it from some other source not used by me.[†] And this being so, he ought certainly to have expressed himself in other terms, for those used by him imply an accusation of my having left out something that might have been opposed to my purpose. This is a very serious insinuation, as in his opinion "the correct account of the ceremony" as contained in this verse and in the other details which he desiderates in my paper, whereas they are described in it with all possible minuteness, "would have seriously interfered with the analogy between the nativity of Krishna and that of Christ," which I

* § 1 in vol. VI., pp. 161—189; § 2 in ib. pp. 281—301; § 3, in vol. III., pp. 21—25 and 47—52; and § 4 in vol. VI., pp. 319—354.

[†] By the bye the *Haribhaktivilāsa* has his verse at p. 532, but with a various reading: *śukṣmāṅge*, for his *śukṣmāṅge*.

"undertook to establish." With regard to this latter point, and particularly to this very 'interference,' our views on the subject are really so entirely at variance that it is better I should stop short here.

Berlin, 25th April 1880.

A. WEBER.

THE REMNANT OF THE ORIGINAL ARYAN RACE.

It is said that Major Biddulph, stationed on the Kashmir boundary, has prepared a report upon the customs, the languages, and the folklore of the singular communities among whom he has been residing for a long time. From Major Biddulph's peculiar advantages and opportunities may be expected, says the *Pioneer*, a complete account of people who are a survival of the old Aryans from whom all civilized mankind of the present day is probably descended. Surgeon-Major Beller, meanwhile, has been examining a few men from the cantons on the south-west of Dardistan, peopled by a similar race, who in our respect are still more interesting, for their country has never yet been visited by a civilized traveller. But in appearance and language they closely resemble the Dards, and, unlike them, have not embraced the creed of their Muhammadan neighbours. The tongues spoken in all these hills are, for the most part, Aryan; not descended from Sanskrit, and, indeed, of earlier origin than that classical language. On the northern slopes of the mountains Parsi words prevail; in the southern cantons some of the words resemble Greek, some Latin, some those of modern Europe. They make (and freely consume) grape wine, something like a crude Burgundy. Those who are not Musulmans believe in one God, but employ the intercession of minor powers, represented by images. They also occasionally canonize great men whom they have lost by death. They are usually monogamous, opposed to divorce, and strict defenders of the chastity of their unmarried girls. These latter have blue, grey, or hazel eyes; black hair is the exception amongst them; and when young, they are of such remarkable comeliness as to be in great demand in the slave markets of adjacent countries. Authentic information concerning these interesting races cannot but be anxiously awaited by all who realize the nature of the questions involved.—*Globe*, April 17.

ANCIENT ARABIAN POETRY.—Mr. W. A. Clouston, of Glasgow, intends issuing by private subscription a limited edition of *A Treasury of Ancient Arabian Poetry*. It will include specimens from Amrûkâis, Tha'ifi, Zuhair, Labid, Antara,

Amru, and Hureth, besides a selection from the well-known Bedawin Romance of *Astar*, by Asma'î, who was one of the stars of the Court of Harun-al-Raschid. The most striking passages of the *Muallakat* which have been rendered into English verse by various translators will be given in the appendix. Professor G. F. Nicholl, M.A., of Oxford University, and King's College, London will furnish some critical notes on obscure passages of Sir William Jones' English text of the *Muallakat*, and Mr. J. W. Redhouse, the eminent Orientalist, will contribute an original translation of the celebrated Poem of the Mantle, by Ka'b, son of Zuhayr, son of Abû Sulmâ, with critical notes.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

2. PROPER NAMES.—With reference to Mr. George A. Grierson's letter in the *Indian Antiquary*, ante p. 141, I beg to state that in the Mysore Province the custom of boring the right side of the nostrils of the children whose elder brothers or sisters died soon after their birth prevails. Such children are called

<i>Gunda</i> —rock.	<i>Jacka</i> —madman.
<i>Kalla</i> —stone.	<i>Tijja</i> —dunghill.

The last name is given after some rubbish from a dunghill has been brought in a sieve, and the child placed in it.

I learn that this custom prevails in the Madras Presidency also, and that the names given there are *Gunda*, *Kalla*, *Kuppa* (*Kuppa* being the Tamil word for dunghill), and *Vembu* or the Margosa tree. It does not appear that the mother herself changes her name as in Bengal.

As the district in which I now live is close to the Southern Marâṭha Country, it is probable that the custom prevails there also.

NIRIYAN AIYASOIR.

Shimoga, 23rd May 1880.

With reference to Mr. Grierson's request at p. 141 of the current volume of the *Indian Antiquary*, I may mention that the custom of calling a newborn child (after the parent has lost a first-born or more in succession) by an opprobrious name, is common amongst many castes in Southern India—including even Muhammadans.

Any one well acquainted with the customs of the natives could add much to Mr. Grierson's information on the subject.

Kupparai (= Sir Dungheap) is one of the commonest names for such children, and they have the distinguishing mark of a pierced nostril and ear (on the right side) with a knob of gold in it. Other names are *Chathapellai* and *Gharaniyâ*.¹

Madras.

B. R. B.

¹ *Conf. Ind. Ant.* vol. IV, p. 238; vol. VI, p. 148.

3. **BRÁHMANÍ DUCK.**—What is the origin of the term "Bráhmání Duck"? It is applied to the bird usually known to natives as Chakwí and Chakwí, scientific name *Anas casarca* or *Casarca rufila*. The term Bráhmání as used to qualify this bird is quite unknown to the natives of the Panjáb, who can make no conjecture why it should have come to be used by the English. On what grounds is the bird held sacred?

Perozpora.

R. C. TEMPLE.

4. **INDIAN ARMS.**—No country in the world can vie with Hindustan either for splendor or variety in the production of implements of war, as any one will see by paying a visit to the collection of Arms exhibited at the India Museum. The Hon. W. Egerton, M.A., M.P., has compiled a "Handbook" of this collection; it is illustrated by coloured engravings of the choicest arms in the collection, and has an introductory sketch of the Military History of India. The thanks of antiquaries are due to Mr. Egerton for compiling this catalogue, and thus bringing together in one volume, matter that forms an important Indian Historical Monograph.

5. **NÍGA FIGURES.**—Friar Jordanus, (cir. 1325) in the 4th chapter of his *Marvels*, in speaking of Western India, says—"There be also venomous animals, such as many serpents, big beyond bounds, and of divers colours, black, red, white, and green, and parti-coloured; two-headed also, three-headed, and five-headed. Admireable marvels!"

Col. Yule remarks on this,—that "two-headed and even three-headed serpents might be suggested by the appearance of a cobra with dilated hood and spectacles, especially if the spectator were (as probably would be the case) in a great fright. But for *five* heads I can make no apology."

The Nāga stones to be seen in every village in the Kōshka represent principally three and five-headed snakes. May they not have given rise to Jordanus's polycephalous marvels? But if so, what gave rise to the Nāga figures having so many heads? There is one at Banarāsi with five heads and a Pāli inscription in the 12th year of King Satakanni Haritiputa.

THE ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

The *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XII, part I. (Jan. 1880) commences with an article by Mr. Redhouse on "The Most Comely Names"—that is, on the various epithets applied by orthodox Muhammadan writers to their god. The author gives a list of 552 such epithets compiled from various previous lists, explaining each epithet, with references, where necessary, to the *Kurān*. It is abundantly evident, therefore, that

the number of "the most comely names" has by no means been confined to any sacred number, such as 77, 99, 101, or 1,000, in spite of the frequent references to the "ninety-nine names of God." In Mr. Redhouse's notes to each so-called name will be found several interesting points of Muslim superstition. The next article is by Sir Henry Rawlinson. It is—"Notes on a newly-discovered Clay Cylinder of Cyrus the Great." In it he gives a transliteration and translation of a highly interesting inscription, together with a useful historical introduction. The cylinder records in effect an edict issued by Cyrus after his conquest of Babylon and of the reigning king, Nabu-nahid (the Nabonidus of the Greeks). The record gives the genealogy of Cyrus in the order stated by Herodotus, viz., 1, Akhæmenes; 2, Teispes (Sispis); 3, Cyrus (Kurus); 4, Cambyses (Kambujiya); 5, Cyrus (Kurus) the Great.

Mr. R. Sewell, M.C.S., follows with a note on Hwen Thsang's account of Dhanakacheka, and Mr. Fergusson gives expression to the doubt with which he—very rightly, as it seems to us—regards Mr. Sewell's proposed explanation. M. Saurville completes, from a newly discovered MS. at Gotha, his translation of the interesting treatise on Weights and Measures by Mār Eliyā, Archbishop of Nesibē.¹ The number closes with a lengthy discussion as to the age of the Ajanta Caves, consisting of a paper by Rājendralāla Mitra, Rai Bahadur, followed by a note by Mr. Fergusson. Dr. Rājendralāla argues that certain inscriptions in the caves are in an alphabet that assimilates to that of "the Gujarāt dated plates, which belong to the 2nd century A.D.," and therefore these inscriptions fall between the 3rd century B.C. and the 2nd A.D. But no scholar now holds that any of the dates on plates from Gujarāt are earlier than the 5th century, and they come down at least to the 7th. Arguing exclusively from the age he thus assigns to inscriptions in certain caves, he concludes that the paintings in others are from 1800 to 2000 years old. Mr. Fergusson trusting rather to architectural style and details in determining the age of the monuments, where the evidence of the inscriptions is so unsatisfactory, concludes that the paintings in Cave No. 1 may be of as late a date as the first half of the seventh century A.D.

Part II. (April) opens with Max Müller's paper on Sanskrit texts discovered in Japan, which has also been printed separately.² The next consists of Extracts from an Official Report to the Government of India on the islands and antiquities of Bahrein, by Captain Durand. To this are added valuable and suggestive notes by Sir H. Rawlinson, con-

¹ *The Academy*, April 24, 1880, p. 310.

² See Book Notice, p. 233.

taining much new and interesting matter relating to the Persian Gulf accumulated since Vincent and Heeren conducted their investigations.

This is followed by "Notes on the Locality and Population of the Tribes dwelling between the Brahmaputra and Ningthi Rivers," by the late G. H. Damant, M.A. The paper is accompanied by tables of comparative vocabularies.

"On the Śaka, Sahravāt, and Gupta Eras"—a supplement to his paper "On Indian Chronology," (N. S. vol. IV. pp. 81—137), by J. Fergusson, D.C.L., &c. takes up, first the dates of the Indo-Scythian inscriptions of Kanishka, Huvishka, Vasudewa, &c. which the author regards as dating from the Śaka era established, he believes, "by King Kanishka, who himself was a Śaka king." This is supported by the fact of Gondophares, in the first century, being anterior to Kanishka, and coins of the time of Domitian, Trajan, and Hadrian, being found with those of Kadhises, Kanishka, and Oerke in a tope in Afghanistan. Secondly, the Kshatrapa coins, he contends, do not date from the Vikrama Sahravāt, but from the Śaka era, and overlap the earlier Guptas, and that the Vikrama Sahravāt was not in use till about the year 1000, when it was introduced and dated from 600 years, or ten cycles before the battle of Karur, assumed to have been fought in A.D. 544, in the time of Harsha Vikramāditya; and at the same time the Harsha era, dating 1000 years before the same event, or 456 B.C., was proposed and partially established. The Guptas he regards as dated from A.D. 318-19, and that the "foreign invaders" who overthrew them were the White Huns whom Kosmas Indikopleustes mentions as a powerful nation in the north of India, early in the sixth century.

"The Megha Sātra" by C. Bondall, follows and gives the text and a translation of this late *Sātra*² of the Mahāyāna school, from the Nepalese MSS. at Cambridge.

The next article is "Historical and Archaeological Notes on a Journey in South-Western Persia, 1877-78," by A. Houtem-Schindler; and the last in this number is on the "Identification of the 'Felix Dura' of the Muslims with the Zodiacal Light of Europeans," by J. W. Redhouse. This is a continuation of a paper on the same subject in vol. X.

The third part, for July 1880, contains a second paper by Mr. E. L. Brandreth on the Gaurian compared with the Romance languages, in continuation of the first in vol. XI. In this interesting paper the author carefully develops many striking analogies existing between the forms in which Sanskrit has broken up into the various modern

Prākṛits, and the way in which Latin broke up into the various Romance languages of modern Europe. These analogies are not only very marked and extend to many details as between one Prākṛit and one Romance language, but what is more strikingly curious even, we find one Prākṛit following the precise analogy in its derivations from Sanskrit that Italian does in its derivations from Latin, whilst another is in as close analogy to French. Take as examples Sansk. *nar-as* 'man'; Sindhi, *nar-a*; Hindi, *nar*; and compare Lat. *anus*, Ital. *anu-o*, Fr. *an*; or Sans. *jān-a*, Sind. *jān-a*, H. *jān*, with Lat. *ros-a*, It. *ros-a*, Fr. *rose*; or, again, San. *bātt-is*, Sind. *bātt-i*, Hind. *bātt*, and Lat. *turr-is*, It. *torre*, Fr. *tour*; &c. The next paper is by Arminius Vambéry, "On the Uzbek Epos," a poem in 74 cantos containing upwards of 4,300 distichs in the metre of the *Mejmau-e Leila* of Jāmi. It is from a MS. in the Imperial Library of Vienna, and bears date upon the last page of 916 A. H. (1510 A. D.), and must have been written shortly after the death of its author, Prince Mahammed Salih, the son of Mir Said, formerly ruler of Kharezm. The poem celebrates the glories of his master the great Uzbek Chieftain, Sheibani Khān, and from its length, the historical events related are brought before us in such detail, and with such episodes, as neither Babernor Mirkond, nor the *Turikh-i Raskidi* used by Erskine, and still less the little *Sheibani Nāmeh* edited by the Russian Orientalist K. Beresin, in 1840, can supply us. The narrative commences with Sheibani's first march upon Samarkand, then governed by Baki Terkhān; then follow his engagements with the Mirzas (as the Timurides are called) in Transoxiana, in which Baber plays a prominent part, particularly in the account of the siege of Samarkand, and of the troubles which the founder of the Mogul dynasty in India had to suffer at the hands of his triumphant rival. After the expulsion of Baber and the downfall of the Mirzas, which led to the defeat of the Mongol auxiliaries of Baber, Sheibani crosses the Oxus (called *Öküz* or *Üghüz* by the author), and enters upon the long war with the children of Mirza Hussein Baikura, and with Khosru Shāh, the lord of Rahistān—comprising in those days Badakhshan, Khatlan, Dervaz, Boshan, and Shignan. After the defeat and death of this Turkish prince, Sheibani concludes the war against Kharezm, where Chin Sofi, the chief of the great Ada-Turkoman tribe, made a vigorous resistance, and inflicted heavy losses on the Uzbeks, who had to besiege the capital of the said country for eleven months, and only reduced it through the indomitable perseverance of Sheibani. Here the poem

² See Beal's *Celestia*, p. 416 ff.; *Asiat. Res.* vol. XX., p. 329.

comes to close about 1505 A.D. before the capture of Herat in 1507, and only five years after Sheikhan's first appearance before Samarkand in 1500.

The next paper is a translation by Dr. Kern of the two separate edicts of Asoka at Dhauli and Jaugada, to which we shall have occasion to refer elsewhere.

This is followed by a "Grammatical Sketch of the Kakhien Language" by the Rev. J. N. Cushing, of the American Baptist Mission, Rangoon. Kakhien is the Burman name for the Singpho or Chingpa people occupying the mountainous tract stretching from Upper Assam across Northern Burma into the Chinese province of Yu-nan.

The last paper is "Notes on the Libyan Languages" by Prof. F. W. Newman.

In the *Journal Asiatique* for February, March, April 1880, M. Clermont-Ganneau continues his notes on "La Coupe Phénicienne de Palestine et l'une des sources de l'art et de la Mythologie Helléniques."—M. Maspero gives the first part of a study of certain pictures and Egyptian texts relating to Puntland.—M. C. de Harlez gives his fifth paper on the "Origines du Zoroastrisme,"

treating of the *Fravashis*; the inferior evil genii—*Ydus*, *Paikhas*, *Kagadhas*, *Kagavdhas*, *Jahis*, and *Ashem-ophas*; Mazdean eschatology; and Zoroaster and the legends.—M. Sauvage publishes the first part of his *Materials for the History of Muslim Numismatics and Metrology*.—M. le Marquis de Vogüé has an interesting note on the form of the tomb of Eshmunazar, king of Sidon, whose inscribed sarcophagus is one of the most valuable remains preserved in the Louvre, with an attempt to translate the Phœnician legend engraved on it. This is followed by the first part of a masterly study by M. Sarras on the inscriptions of Piyadasi, to which we shall refer at length at a later page. The number closes with the Proceedings and Book Notices. In the number for May-June, M. Maspero concludes his study on Egyptian funerary paintings; M. Sauvage continues his 'Materials'; and M. Sarras his inscriptions of Piyadasi; while M. St. Guyard gives his fifth series of Notes on Assyrian Lexicography. The Proceedings are followed by translations of the Van inscriptions by M. Guyard and several Babylonian records by M. Oppert.

BOOK NOTICES.

A COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR OF THE GAUDIAN LANGUAGES, with special reference to the Eastern Hindi. By A. F. R. Hoernle. (Trübner & Co.: 1880.)

In vols. XLI. to XLIII. (1872-4) of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* Dr. Hoernle brought out a series of essays on the Gaudian (i. e., Sanskrit) languages of N. India, which attracted a great deal of attention among oriental philologists. These essays were subsequently expanded and completed by the author, who by a continued and more matured study of the subject was enabled to introduce a number of modifications, corrections, and additions. The book at the head of this notice is thus the outcome of many years' labour in this particular field of enquiry, and not only contains within a comparatively small compass a vast amount of information, but also shows the trained philologist by the scientific method and the spirit of incisive research by which it is pervaded. Dr. Hoernle rightly lays great stress on the dialectal varieties of the spoken languages and on the forms of speech exhibited by them, and claims a full share of importance for the fact that "in most cases adjoining languages and dialects pass into each other so imperceptibly that the determination of the limits of each will always remain more or less a matter of doubt and dispute." As the work was originally intended to be a grammar of Eastern Hindi, this language has been allowed to remain the centre of the author's researches round

which the other languages have been grouped under each subject in separate paragraphs headed "affinities" and "derivation," an arrangement which does not in the least detract from the merits of the book as a Comparative Grammar of all the Gaudian languages. As regards the important linguistic results of Dr. Hoernle's investigations, we must forbear following him through the laborious processes and ingenious combinations by which he has been enabled to formulate them. The historical development of the languages is briefly summed up as follows:—"Four periods may be distinguished in the linguistic history of India. First, when the *Māgadhī* tongue in some form was the only Aryan vernacular in North India. Secondly, when the *Sauraseni* tongue existed there beside the *Māgadhī*, the one occupying the north-western, the other the south-eastern half. Thirdly, when these were broken up, each into two speeches, the W. and N. Gaudian, and the E. and S. Gaudian. Fourthly, when these four speeches were subdivided into the several Gaudian languages. The last period is that now prevailing." Concerning their philological classification, Dr. Hoernle has arrived at the following conclusions:—"Since Bangālī and Oriyā are accounted separate languages from Eastern Hindi, and Panjābī, Gujarātī and Sindhī from Western Hindi, *a fortiori* Eastern Hindi and Western Hindi must be considered as distinct languages, and not merely as

dialects of one and the same." And further, "the languages divide themselves into two large groups or two great forms of speech; the one extending over the Eastern half of North-India and comprising Eastern Hindi, Bangālī and Oriyā; the other covering its Western half and including Western Hindi, Panjābī, Gujarātī, Sindhi." To the former group must also be added Marāṭhī as representative of the Southern Gaudian speech, and to the latter Nepālī as representative of the Northern Gaudian. By endeavouring to trace the growth of these languages through its successive stages, be it of development or decay, back to the earlier Prākṛits, the author has had to grapple with a most difficult problem. While, however, some of his views may perhaps appear hazardous and open to controversy, no one will for a moment question that his work is of sterling value as a solid contribution to Prākṛit philology in its widest sense, trustworthy alike for the linguistic materials it communicates, and for the sound principles it applies in analysing them.

R. R.

THE VINAYAPITAKAM. Edited by Dr. H. Oldenberg. Vol. I. The Mahāvagga. 1879. Vol. II. The Cullavagga. 1880. (London: Williams and Norgate.)

Dr. Oldenberg did well in selecting the *Vinayapitaka* for publication in preference to any other portion of the sacred canon of the Southern Buddhists. No part of it had ever been published, and but few fragments were known from Gogerly's and Coles' translations. The *Vinayapitaka* besides, is important not only as containing the ecclesiastical code of the Buddhists, but also as furnishing an excellent insight into the state of Hindu society and civilization in the early centuries of Buddhism upwards of 2500 years ago; and for the history of that period it supplies more complete and more valuable data than may be found anywhere in the wide range of Buddhist literature. The Editor defines, in the Introduction to the first volume, the peculiar character of the *Vinayapitaka* as distinct from the *Suttapitaka*, or ethical code, and discusses the leading questions as to the origin and historical position of the work. The result at which he arrives as to the date of its final revision is that that must have taken place some time before the council of Vesālī, or about 400 B.C. His remarks on the school to which the existing Vinaya text belongs, and on the original seat of the Pālī language, are certainly full of interest, and if his reasoning does not in every case carry conviction with it, it certainly leads on towards an eventual settlement of the various important questions under discussion. The work is to be completed in five volumes, two of which, comprising the *Mahāvagga* and the *Cullavagga*,

have appeared. The various Indices, added to the second volume, are most valuable: and the care with which the text has been edited reflects the greatest credit on the promising scholar who is making these authentic records of an ancient priestly organization available to his fellow-students.

R. R.

"ON SANSKRIT TEXTS DISCOVERED IN JAPAN." By Prof. F. Max Müller, 1880, pp. 36 and one plate (facsimile).

This new pamphlet by Prof. Max Müller is a separate impression (from vol. XII, N. S., of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*) of a lecture lately delivered before the Society, and of which more or less incorrect notices appeared in the papers at the time.

It had long been known that Chinese pilgrims had, in the earlier centuries A. D., taken Sanskrit books to China and the furthest East, but all enquiries seemed fruitless, and the discovery now announced is entirely due to Prof. Max Müller's unwearied exertions: a Japanese pupil at last got him the text now published. All must hope that this is merely the first, and that many others will follow.

The text is of a *Mahāvagga-sūtra* termed '*Sakkāvatīyagāthā*,' and belongs to that later stage of Indian Buddhism when the early simple and grand ideas of that religion had been modified after the usual Indian pattern. It is a mixture of frigid exaggeration with an Indian pretence at exactness, and contains a childish account of a heaven called *Sukhāvati*, which the Buddhist is supposed to reach by persistent and heartless formalities, and to live there for ever. This twaddle is, then, of no value, and every one will agree with Prof. Max Müller in hoping that the Japanese Buddhists will now begin to "purify and reform their religion, that is to bring it back to its original form, . . . a work that must be done before anything else can be attempted."

Thus, the interest attaching to this tract depends on secondary inferences which may be safely drawn from it: these are important in their way.

The first is: that these Buddhist treatises, even the latest, existed in recensions of very different lengths, as is the case with a large number of Hindu books even now. But this particular recension, recovered from Japan, seems not to exist now in Nepāl.

Secondly, it may be inferred that in all probability it will be possible to find older MSS. in China and Japan than in India. It may safely be said that no MS. written one thousand years ago is now existent in India, and that it is almost impossible to find one written five hundred years ago, for

most MSS. which claim to be of that date are merely copies of old MSS. the dates of which are repeated by the copyists. The *Sukhavati-vyākha* is written in a northern form of Nāgarī which belongs to a comparatively recent period, but many of the letters have not been copied exactly, and it is impossible to fix the date satisfactorily.

Any one who will take the trouble to compare the facsimile plate with the corresponding text on p. 30 will not fail to admire the admirable way in which Prof. Max Müller has restored this almost illegible and very corrupt text.

In the notes (pp. 24, etc.) the Professor has discussed and cleared up the meaning of a number of difficult words which perpetually occur in Buddhist texts, and many of which are of great interest to Sanskrit students.

On p. 7 the Professor identifies Koṅkaṇapūra with the western coast of the Dekhan, but the presence of a forest of the *Borassus* palm there is decisive against this, as it only grows in large numbers in dry places; Koṅkaṇapūra is surely Koṅkaṇahalli, a former chief town in the Mysore territory.

A. B.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS RELATING TO INDIAN SUBJECTS, by Brian Houghton Hodgson, Esq., F.R.S., late B.C.S., &c. 2 vols. London: Trübner & Co. 1880.

These two volumes of Messrs. Trübner & Co.'s 'Oriental Series' contain a number of papers contributed principally to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* between the years 1847 and 1853, and relating chiefly to the languages and ethnology of the aboriginal tribes of India, with some other essays of a more general character. The first Essay on the Kochh, Bôô and Dhimal tribes appeared separately at Calcutta in 1847, the tenth and eleventh on the Route of the Nepalese Mission to Peking, and on the Route from Kāthmāndu to Darjiling, with the twelfth, on the Systems of Law and Police in Nepāl, were published in the *Selections from the Records of Bengal*. The short paper on the Native Method of making the paper called 'Nepālese,' is from the *Transactions of the Agricultural Society*; and the Letters on Vernaculars, with which the second volume concludes, are reprinted from the *Friend of India*, 1848.

"Almost all the papers," says the editor, Dr. R. Roast, "more especially the longer Linguistical Essays, have been reprinted from copies revised and annotated by the author himself, who has earned a fresh and lasting title to the gratitude of all students of Indian glossology and ethnology by allowing the rare and valuable Papers comprised in these volumes to be made generally available."

And whilst the great field of Mr. Hodgson's labours lay in Nepāl and along the northern frontier of India, it must not be forgotten that these essays are by no means restricted to that zone: the fifth and sixth sections of these volumes is on the Aborigines of the Eastern frontier, and the Indo-Chinese Borderers in Burma, Arakan, and Tenasserim, while the ninth is on the Aborigines of Central India, the Eastern Ghāṭs, the Nilagiris, and Ceylon. Thus to students of ethnology and glossology in all parts of the Indian empire these essays will be of interest.

The few lithographs that illustrated the original papers have not been reproduced (except a Map) with these reprints, but a greater defect is the want of an Index of some sort to make the work more convenient for reference.

We have already (vol. IV. p. 89) noticed the reprint of Mr. Hodgson's *Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepāl and Thibet*; we could only wish that they were re-edited with the same care as these volumes, and issued as a third one.

1. *VIE OU LÉGENDE DE GAUDAMA le Bouddha des Birmanes, et Notices sur les Phoungies ou Moines Birmanes.* Par Monseigneur P. Bigandet, Evêque de Ramath, vicaire apostolique d'Avat Pagan. Traduit en Français par Victor Gauvain, Lieut. de vaisseau. Paris: E. Leroux, 1875. (8vo. pp. viii and 549.)

2. *THE LIFE OR LEGEND OF GAUDAMA, the Buddha of the Burmese, with annotations; the ways of Sciblan, and notice of the Phoungies or Burmese Monks.* By the Right Rev. P. Bigandet, Bishop of Ramath, &c. in 2 vols. London: Trübner, 1880.

Bishop Bigandet's invaluable work on Buddha and Burmese Buddhism first appeared in a single volume (324 pp.) printed at Rangoon in 1858, and was favourably noticed in the *Calcutta Review* in June 1859. A second edition revised and much enlarged (538 pp.) appeared at the same place in 1866. Both these editions were out of print when Lieutenant Victor Gauvain prepared his very excellent French translation of the second edition, which brought the work again within the reach of European scholars in a convenient form and clear type.

Messrs. Trübner & Co. now reproduce the same work in a faithful reprint of the second English edition¹ in two handy volumes, which will be welcome to English students. Buddhism in Burma, as in Ceylon, differs markedly from the religion which passes under the same name in Nepāl, Tibet, and China: it knows nothing of the Bodhisattvas, Jñāna Buddhas, Śaktis, Devīs, and the multitudinous pantheon of the Mahāyāna sects, and on this account alone deserves a special study. And no work founded—rather translated—from original sources presents to the Western student

¹ Only too faithful: for it reproduces even the misprints,—e.g. 'Illahabas' in the note vol. II. p. 205. Gauvain (p. 480) has not overlooked such errors.

a more faithful picture than that of Bishop Bigandet.

To the ordinary reader unacquainted with the Burmese representations of Indian names they will at first be somewhat confusing: 'Thoodandau' for Śuddhodana, 'Pounhs' for Brāhmaṇa, 'Radzagio' for Rājagṛīha, 'Kathaba' for Kāśyapa, 'Dzewaka' for Jivaka, 'Wethalle' for Vaissali, 'Dzetawon' for Jetavana, 'Adzatatha' for Ajātasatru, 'Manh' for Māra, 'Manta' for Munḍa, 'Nagata-saka' for Nāgādāsaka, 'Tsandagutta' for Chandragupta, &c. are examples of these Burmese forms. Might it not have been worth while either noting the Sanskrit equivalents in footnotes, or giving a table of them? The want of an Index is a great defect of these otherwise valuable volumes.

1. SELECTIONS FROM THE KUR-ĀN. By Edward William Lane, Hon. Dr. Lit. Leyden, Cor. Inst. Fr., &c. A new edition, revised and enlarged with an Introduction. By Stanley Lane Poole. (London: Trübner & Co. 1879.)

2. EXTRACTS FROM THE KORAN in the original, with English rendering. Compiled by Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., LL.D. (London: Trübner & Co. 1880.)

These two works are similar, though of very different pretensions. Sir W. Muir's very modest little volume of 64 pages contains thirty-five short extracts in Arabic with English versions. They are arranged according to the existing order of the *Korān*, and are of that class which exhibit "arguments drawn from Nature and Providence, with a view to prove the existence of God as the Supreme Ruler, and enforce His sovereign claim on the obedience and gratitude of mankind. The retribution of good and evil in the world to come, the obligation to follow virtue and eschew vice, the duty and happiness of the creature in worshipping and serving the Creator, and such like topics, are set forth in language of beauty and vigour, abounding often with real poetry." "Passages like these," the author considers, "can hardly be obnoxious to the professors of any faith; and there is much in them that should be welcome to all." The collection intentionally avoids the special tenets of Islām, and may thus be useful "as affording a certain basis of agreement and common thought, for those who come into contact with the Muslim world." They might be useful in schools in India, and for the student of Arabic the selection may be found very serviceable. The Arabic type is that of Stephen Austin of Hertford, and is very clear and legible.

Mr. Lane's volume is of a very different character: partly a reprint of his *Selections* published in 1843, the book has almost been recast by his nephew. The extracts, which occupy the second half of the volume, are given only in English, and are arranged under distinctive heads,—the first part (consisting of about a fourth of the whole) sets forth the doctrines of Islām; the second presents Muhammad's versions of the history of the patriarchs and other personages of the Jewish and Christian writings. To the first Mr. Poole has added considerably, while he has also largely freed it from the commentary with which, in the first edition, it was interwoven.

The original introduction, however, which had been abridged from Sale's Preliminary Discourse, has been discarded, and for it Mr. Poole has substituted an essay of 100 pages giving a sketch of the beginnings of Islām in four chapters—(1) The Arabs before Muhammad, (2) Muhammad, (3) Islām, and (4) The Kur-ān—well written and instructive. The volume is completed by two excellent indexes.

METRICAL TRANSLATIONS FROM SANSKRIT WRITERS, with an introduction, prose versions and parallel passages from classical authors. By J. Muir, C.I.E., D.C.L., LL.D., Ph.D. (London: Trübner & Co. 1879.)

This volume of Trübner's 'Oriental Series' is the work of a well-known and conscientious scholar whose services to the cause of Oriental learning will not soon be forgotten. These 248 *Metrical Translations*, which fill the first 196 pages of this volume, have partly appeared in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*,¹ partly also in *Religious and Moral Sentiments from Sanskrit Writers*,² and in three collections of versified translations printed for private circulation. They include also a reprint of the metrical pieces from the author's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vols. II. and V.

Besides occasional footnotes the author adds to his metrical renderings an Appendix of 142 pages, containing faithful prose translations of all the passages versified, so that the freedom of the metrical version can be at once judged of; and these latter are interspersed with references to interesting parallel passages in the Greek and Roman Classics, especially the Greek Dramatists. In addition to this, a further supplement of 30 pages more of farther references is added, including a new version of the splendid hymn of Kleantes, of which Cudworth remarks that "it breathes throughout a spirit of true piety and just knowledge of divine things."³ Though not

¹ *I. A.* vol. III., pp. 170, 241, 335ff.; vol. IV., pp. 190ff. 200ff.; vol. V., pp. 152ff. 311ff. 340ff.; vol. VII., pp. 137ff. 200ff. 232, 292, 308; vol. VIII., pp. 86ff. 152, 204ff. 321, 338ff.; vol. IX., pp. 29, 52, 87, 131. A notice of the first small collection of these versions was given in vol. IV., pp. 118ff.

² Published by Messrs. Williams and Norgate, 1875, and noticed *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV., p. 118.

³ Cudworth, *Intellectual System*, p. 432; conf. Sir A. Grant's *Aristotle*, 3rd ed. vol. I. p. 327f.

so literal as Dr. Muir's, Newman's translation of this hymn is so spirited, but so little known that we give it here:—

"Almighty alway! many-named! Most glorious of the deathless!

Jove, primal spring of nature, who with Law directest all things!

Hail! for to how salute to Thee, to every man is holy.

For we from Thee an offspring are, to whom alone of mortals,

That live and move along the earth, the Mimic Voice is granted;

Therefore to Thee I hymns will sing, and always chant thy greatness.

Subject to Thee is yonder sky, which round the earth, for ever

Majestic rolls at Thy command, and gladly feels Thy guidance—

So mighty is the weapon, clenched within Thy hands unconquered,

The double-edged and fiery bolt of ever-living lightning.

For Nature through her every part beneath its impulse shudders,

Whereby the universal scheme Thou guidest, which, through all things

Proceeding, intermingles deep with greater lights and smaller.

When Thou so vast in essence art, a king supreme for ever.

Nor upon earth is any work done without Thee, O spirit!

Nor at the ether's utmost height divine, nor in the ocean,

Save whatsoever the infatuate work out from hearts of evil.

But Thou by wisdom knowest well to render odd things even;

Thou orderest disorder, and the unlovely lovely makest;

For so hast Thou in one combined the noble with the baser,

That of the whole, a single scheme arises, everlasting,

Which men neglect and overlook, as many as are evil;

Unhappy, who good things to get are evermore desiring,

While to the common law of God nor eyes nor ears they open,—

Obedient to which, they might good life enjoy with wisdom.

But they, in guise unseemly, rush this way and that, at random;

One part, in glory's chase engaged with ill-contenting passion,

Some, searching every path of gain, of comeliness forgetful,

Others, on self-indulgence bent and on the body's pleasure,

While things right contrary to these their proper action hasten.

But, Jove all bounteous! who, in clouds enwrap, the lightning wieldest,

Mayest Thou from baneful ignorance the race of men deliver!

This, Father, scatter from the soul, and grant that we the wisdom

May reach, in confidence of which Thou justly guidest all things,

That we, by Thee in honour set, with honour may repay thee,

Raising to all Thy works a hymn perpetual, as becometh

A mortal soul; since neither man nor God has higher glory,

Than rightfully to celebrate Eternal Law all-ruling."

As an introduction to this volume, Dr. Muir has given a very careful résumé of the opinions of European scholars, especially Lassen, Weber, Windisch, Bühtlingk, M. Barth, and Monier Williams, on the question whether the ideas and doctrines of the *Bhagavad Gītā* are derived from, or have been influenced by, the Christian Scriptures,—a question suggested* by the publication in this Journal (vol. II., pp. 283—296) of a translation of the Appendix to Dr. Lorinser's *Bhagavad-Gītā*.

We heartily welcome the issue of these Translations, &c. in a collected form. They are the moral gems picked out of the vast and often impure stores of Sanskrit literature,² and indicate that, though the moral darkness of ancient India was dense, there were occasional glimpses of a light given to individuals, which may have helped some to struggle against the natural progress of corruption, and handed them on to times of purer light. They were foundations, as it were, in thought and in language for a better ethical superstructure; soil for better seed; a *προπαιδεία* for the reception of the highest truth.³

* Part of this introduction appeared also in this Journal, vol. IV., pp. 77 ff.

² Dr. Muir characterises the Hindu moral and religious ideas represented in their literature in the words of the Greek poet,—πολλὰ μὲν ἰσθλὰ μνηστέρων,

πολλὰ δὲ ἄγχα. "Many good (things) and many bad mingled."

³ Clements Alexandrinus gives much prominence to the importance of such moral ideas in the old religions: See *Strom.* i. 5, and 17; and 20; vi. 8, 15, and 17; vii. 3; &c.

VALABHĪ GRANTS.

EDITED BY DR. G. BÜHLER, C.I.E.

(Continued from vol. VII, p. 86.)

No. XV.—A GRANT OF ŚĪLĀDITYA I., DATED
SAMVAT 290.

THE plates on which the subjoined grant is written were found some years ago at Dhānk, in Kathiawād, and are now preserved in the Rajkote Museum. Through the kindness of Colonel L. Barton and Major Ch. Wodehouse, they were lent to me for a few days, and then sent to the Government Photozincographic Office, Poona, where the accompanying facsimile was prepared.

The preservation of the plates is excellent, and the seal which shows the usual emblem and inscription is still attached to them. The letters, which exactly resemble those of the plates published in the *Jour. R. A. Society*, vol. XI, p. 360 seq., are deeply and well cut. The number of clerical mistakes which occur is not greater than on other plates of the same dynasty. One, *laddha* (Pl. I, l. 2) for *lāḍḍha*, appears to be owing to the substitution of a Prakrit form for its Sanskrit original.

The wording of the first or genealogical part of the grant is almost identical with that of Śīlāditya's earlier Śāsana of Samvat 286, and contains, therefore, no new information. The kings of Valabhi who are mentioned, are 1, Bhaṭārka; 2, Guhasena, 3, Dharasena II.; and 4, the donor Śīlāditya I., *alias* Dharmāditya. It is only to be noted that Śīlāditya is the first ruler, who omits Bhaṭārka's four sons. The reason probably is that the plates used by his ministers were too small to admit the full list of kings, together with the obligatory eulogy of each. In other respects the grant offers various interesting points.

Firstly, it is dated (Pl. I, l. 1) *vijayastambhāvārād Valabhiṣṭrādīrekhambhāṣatāt*, "from the camp of victory pitched in or on the *komba* situated in the open space before the gates of Valabhi." Here it is the curious term *komba*, which looks like a Deśī word, that offers some difficulty. I have not met with it in any other grant, and I have not been able to learn anything about its precise signification by inquiries at Valā. From the context it appears, however, that it must have been either a cantonment or a garden in which the king had pitched his tents.

Secondly, the donee *Balavarmanaka-Vaṭapad-rasatalavivishṭa-Harisdhakarita* — *Mahādeva-pādāḥ* (Pl. II, ll. 2-3), "Worshipful Mahādeva, dedicated by Harinātha, and dwelling within the precincts of Balavarmānaka-Vaṭapad-ra," is very interesting. For, though we possess a full score of decipherable and deciphered inscriptions of the Valabhi kings, who with two exceptions call themselves *paramamāheśvara*, or 'ardent devotees of Māheśvara,' this is the first grant in which the family deity is mentioned as the recipient of a royal bounty. All the others record donations to Brahmans or to Bauddha Saṃghas. Our grant affords proof that the devotion of the Valabhiāns to Śiva went beyond mere words. The place where the Linga, dedicated by Harinātha, apparently a Brahman, stood, I am unable to ascertain. *Vaṭapadra* corresponds with a modern Varodrā or Baroda. The map of Kāthiawād unfortunately contains more than a dozen places bearing this name, and none of them is surrounded by villages called *Uhadraṇaka*, *Pushmilanaka*, *Bramilanaka*, and *Dinnānaka*, which appear in our grant (Pl. II, l. 6-9). It seems that in ancient times too the name *Vaṭapadra* was a common one. For the word *Balavarmanaka* prefixed to *Vaṭapadra* in our grant, which I explain to mean either 'belonging to or founded by Balavarman' (apparently a Kshatriya), can only serve to distinguish this particular village from other homonymous ones.

The passage specifying the objects granted runs as follows, (Pl. II, l. 4—10):—*Vaṭapadrasatala evottarasūni sūnija-Ghosha-(saka)-[saka]vāpyā aparataḥ tathā Balabhata-saka-vāpyā dakṣiṇātāḥ tathā Chandrabhata-sakavāpyā[h]pāreataḥ Vaṭapadradevottaratāḥ pauchasūnatpādāḥcartaparisarā Yamalarāpi; tathāpara-sūni Bhadrāsaka-grāmapathāśleṣak-śikṣatāḥ Vīṭakhaṭṭāyā[h]attāyā a] parataḥ Dinnānaka-grāmapatha[h]ā dattaratāḥ Baramukamaryāpā[h]āpāreataḥ [pāḍācartasūni sūnlakṣaḥ tathā dakṣiṇasūni dāṭṭyadevāpāḍāyā vāpyā[h]pāreataḥ Kūṭinikāmbi?]—mānaka [mānaka?] sakakṣatāḥdattaratāḥ[to] Bramilanahograsapathadakṣiṇātāḥ Pushmīlanaka-*

grāmasūni [ay] *aparatā* [ta] *evametatsaka*
va [ra] *pyā* *pādā* *varatata* *adva* *ya* *pā* *chakavatyā*
[tya] *dhikak*.

"The Yamalavāpi, covering twenty-five square feet and situated just within the precincts of Vāṭapādra, on the northern boundary, west of the well of Vāṇia Ghoshā, and south of the well belonging to Bala-bhāṭa and east of the well belonging to Chandrabhāṭa; moreover (a field) one hundred and fifty square feet (in size) on the western boundary, south of the road to the village of Bhadrāṇaka, west of Vitakhaṭṭā, north of the road to the village of Dinnānāka, east of the boundary of Barāṭaka; farther (a field one hundred and twenty-five square feet in extent),¹ on the southern boundary, east of the well belonging to the worshipful deity Āditya, north of the field of the shoemaker (?) Kākinni (Kākinbi?), south of the road to the village of Bramilānaka, west of the boundary of the village of Puṣhmīlānaka; thus, including the well, these two hundred and ninety-five square feet (of land)
[have been given].

The purpose for which the grant is made is the usual one, viz., to provide for the temple-worship and for the repairs of the building.

More interesting than these details are the

name of the *Dātaka*, probably the executive officer of the district in which Vāṭapādralay, and the date of the grant. The *Dātaka* is called Kharagraha, and we know from the later plates that Kharagraha I. was the younger brother and successor of Śīlāditya I., who during the latter's lifetime carried on the government. I have no hesitation in identifying the *Dātaka* with the king, and to assume that his employment in this responsible position eventually led to his obtaining the real power in the State, and to "his carrying, solely intent on fulfilling his (brother's) commands, like a well-broken bullock (carries the yoke), royal fortune on his shoulders, though (that fortune) might have been desired by his most respected elder brother, who resembled (Indra) the elder brother of Upendra (Viṣṇu)."

The date of our inscription is Śaṁvat 290, while all the other known inscriptions of Śīlāditya I. are Śaṁvat 286. The new date reduces the gap between Śīlāditya's and the second Dhruvasena's grant of Śaṁvat 310 to twenty years, for which we have two more kings, Kharagraha I. and Dharaṣena III. It is therefore very probable that our grant was issued towards the end of Śīlāditya's reign, and that he was shortly afterwards dethroned.

TRANSCRIPT.

Plate I.

- [¹] ओ स्वस्ति विजयस्कन्धारादलभीप्रहारहोम्बवसकाप्रसभप्रणता मित्राणामैत्रकाणामनुलबल²
[²] संपन्नमण्डलभोगससकप्रहारशतलदप्रतापाप्रतापोपानतदानमानार्जभोपाजितानुरा
[³] गादनुरक्तमौलभृतश्रेणीबलावापरावप्रियः परममहेश्वरश्रीभटार्कादव्यवच्छिन्नराजवंशान्माता
[⁴] विकृचरणारविन्दप्रणतिविधौताशेषाकस्मवः शैशवप्रभृतिखड्गद्वितीयबाहुरेव समदपरगज
[⁵] घटस्फोटनप्रकाशितसत्त्वनिकषस्तप्रभावप्रणतारतिचूडारत्नप्रभाससाकपादनखरदिमसंहतिस्तक
[⁶] लस्त्रिप्रणीतमार्गसम्यक्परिपालनप्रजाहृदयरन्जनान्वर्त्यराजशब्दः रूपकान्तिस्थैर्यैर्यैर्यगाम्भीर्य
[⁷] बुद्धिसम्पद्भिः स्मरशशाङ्कादिराजोदधिभिदशगुरुधनेशानतिशयानशरणागताभयप्रदानपरतया
[⁸] तृणवदपास्ताशेषस्वकार्यफल प्रार्थनधिकार्थप्रदानानन्दितविदुःसुहृदप्रणयिहृदयः पादचरीव सकल-
[⁹] भुवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः परममहेश्वरः श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूखसन्तानविस्त

¹ The measurement of the second field has not been mentioned, probably in consequence of a slip of the engraver. It may, however, be ascertained by deducting the other two figures from the total given below.

² L. 1, read ई; पास; प्रणतामित्राणां. L. 2, read स-

सक; लम्ब; पोपनत. L. 4, read पितृ; पविर्धताशेषः शैशवप्रभृति. L. 5, read संसक. L. 6, read स्मृति; र-अना; शब्दो. L. 8, read फल; प्रार्थनधिक; चार(क.

[illegible]

- [¹⁰] जाद्वीजलौघप्रक्षालिताशेषकल्मषः प्रणयिज्ञतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसम्पद्रूपलोभादिबाधृतस्³
 [¹¹] रभसमाभिगामिकैर्गुणैस्तद्वजशक्तिशिक्षाविशेषविस्मापितखिलबलधनुर्दरः प्रथमनरपातिसम
 [¹²] तिस्रष्टानामनुपालयित धर्मदायानामपाकर्ता प्रजोपघातकारिणामुपप्रवानां दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्व
 [¹³] त्येरैकधिवसस्य संहतरातिपक्षलक्ष्मीपारिभोगदक्षविक्रमोपसंप्राप्तविमलपार्थिवश्रीः पर
 [¹⁴] ममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुदघातस्सकालाजगदनन्दनात्यद्भुतगुणसमुदयस्यगीतिसम
 [¹⁵] यद्विगण्डलस्तमरसतविजयशोभासंनयमण्डलाग्रश्रुतिभामुरतरान्तपीठोद्दृग्गुरुमनोरथमहा
 [¹⁶] भरस्पर्वविद्यापरावरविभागाधिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्वतस्सुभाषितलेनापि सुखोपपादनीयप
 [¹⁷] रितोपः समग्रलोकगाधगाम्भीर्यहृदयोपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरमकल्याणसभावः खिलीभूत
 [¹⁸] कृतयुगनृपतिपथविशोधनाधिगतोदयकीर्तिर्द्वर्म्मनुपरोधजलवरीकृतार्थसुखसम्पदुपसेवा
 [¹⁹] निरुदधर्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममहेश्वरः श्रीशीलादिद्यः कुशली सर्वानेव युक्तकविनियुक्तकद्रा

Plate II.

- [¹] त्रिकशौलिकचौरोद्धरणिकघाटभटकुमरामायादीनन्पांश्च यथासम्बद्धमानकान्समाज्ञाप⁴
 [²] यस्तु वस्तुविदितं यथा मया मतापिबोः पुण्याप्यायनाय बलवर्मानकघाटपट्टस्तलनिविष्टहरिनाथ
 [³] कारितमहादेवपादानं पूजास्तपनगन्धधूपपुष्पमान्यदीपसैलाशव्यवच्छिन्त्ये चाशगीतनृयाद्यु
 [⁴] पयोगाय देवकुलस्य च खण्डस्फुटितप्रतिसंस्कारय पादमूलप्रजीवननिमित्तय वटपट्टस्तल एवोत्त
 [⁵] रत्नाग्नि गणिजकघोषसत्कवाप्या अपरतः तथा बलभटसत्कवाप्या दक्षिणतः तथा चन्द्रभटसत्कवाप्या
 [⁶] पूर्वतः वटपट्टादेवोत्तरतः पंचविंशत्पादावर्त्तपरितरा यमलवापी तथापरसीप्ति भद्राणक
 [⁷] ग्रामपथादक्षिणतः शीतखट्वापापरतः दिन्नानाकग्रामपथदुत्तरतः वरटकमर्प्यादपूर्वतः
 [⁸] पादावर्त्तशतं सार्द्धं तथा दक्षिणसीप्ति आदित्यदेवपादीयवाप्या पूर्वतः काकिभिर्भूवकसत्कक्षेत्राद्
 [⁹] उत्तरतः त्रिमिलनकग्रामपथदक्षिणतः पुष्पिलानकग्रामसीप्ति अपरतः एवमेतत्सह वप्या पादा
 [¹⁰] दावर्त्तशतद्वयं पञ्चनवशाधिकं सौदृगं सौपरिकरं सवातभूतप्रययं सधान्यहिरण्पादेयं सद
 [¹¹] शापरार्धं सौत्यशमानविष्टिकं सर्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयं पूर्ववत्तत्रप्रदेयवर्जितं
 [¹²] भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्काण्यवक्षितितरिः पूर्वतः समकालीनं धर्मदेयतया प्रतिपादित यतोपरिलि
 [¹³] खितस्थित्या भुज्यमानं न कैश्चिद्वासेषे वर्त्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरप्यस्मदंशजैरन्यैर्वा निव्यान्ये
 [¹⁴] श्रव्याप्यस्थिरं मानुष्यं सामन्यं च भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्विरयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपा
 [¹⁵] लयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यसिन ॥ बहुभिर्जैस्तुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः य
 [¹⁶] स्य यस्य यदा भूमि तस्य तस्य तदा फलं—यानीह दारिद्र्यभयान्नेर्दैनानि धर्मायतनीकृतानि
 [¹⁷] निभुक्तमन्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत=वर्षि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति भू
 [¹⁸] मिदः आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति ॥ दूतकश्चात्र श्रीस्वरग्रहः=लिखितं सन्धि-
 [¹⁹] ग्रहाधिकृतदिविरपतिचन्द्रमहिना ॥ सं. [२९०] भद्रपद व ८ स्वहस्तोमम

³ L. 10, read 'कल्मषः'; 'पाथित' L. 11, read 'कैर्गुणैः'; 'तापिलः', delete बल 'मरयति'. L. 12, read 'पालयिता'. L. 13, read 'रैकाधिवसस्य'; 'संहतरातिः'; 'परिभोग'. L. 14, read 'सकलजगदान'. L. 15, read 'संनयः'; 'रंस'; 'गुरुम'. L. 16, read 'भारस्पर्व'; 'परावर'. L. 17, read 'सौपः'. L. 18, read 'द्वर्म्मनुपरोधोऽजलवरी'. L. 19, read 'निवायुक्त'.

⁴ L. 1, read 'कुमर'; L. 2, read 'माता'. L. 3, read 'पादाभिः'; 'वाप्याग्नि'. L. 4, read 'संस्काराय', 'जिभिन्नाय'. L. 5, read 'घोष' 'सत्क' 'चन्द्रम' 'टसत्कवाप्या'. L. 7, read 'प' 'पादुत्तरतः'; 'दापूर्वतः'. L. 8, read 'पाप्याः'; perhaps 'का' 'किम्बन्धुचक्र'. L. 9, read 'पथादक्षि'; 'वाप्या'. L. 10, delete 'श' in 'दापयः'; 'व्यधिक'; 'भन्याय'. L. 12, read 'पादितः'; 'यत्' 'वदति'. ⁵ L. 16, read 'भूमिदत्त'. L. 17, read 'निर्भुक्तमास्थ'. L. 19, read 'नादपद'.

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(Continued from p. 221.)

III.

Abulghazi tells us that it was the fashion among the Turks, the Tajiks,¹ and other races to ascend no higher than the 7th generation, and that in giving any one's pedigree the Turks were wont to say—"we have been smiths as far back as my seventh ancestor," or "seven of my ancestors have lived in this country," etc.² The 7th ancestor of Chinghiz Khān Menen-tudun was probably the first of his line of whom we can safely affirm that he was a real personage, and was not borrowed from the traditions and history of other races. The 7th ancestor was called Dutakun by the Mongols according to Rashid and Abulghazi. This is perhaps a corruption of *dolukhan*, which in Mongol means seven.

The Persian writers make Kaidu Khān the son and successor of Menen-tudun, and not his grandson as the Chinese do, and they tell us that as the 6th ancestor he was called Murti.³ The word is also read *yurti*, *bariki*, *murti* and *murti*.⁴

Kaidu is a well-known Mongol name, and was borne by a grandson of Ogotai Khān, who became a rival of Khubilai Khān. The Sagas apparently assign to Kaidu the son of Menen-tudun, the foundation of an independent community. I have mentioned how his uncle Nachin carried him off to the country of Barguchin Tugun, where he became famous for his prowess and skill.

When he grew up his uncle made him the chief both of the Bargut and of the Choges or Tsakers,⁵ by which name the people living on the Chikoi, a tributary of the Selenga, are probably meant. He then determined to revenge himself on the Jelairs. When he marched against them the latter tribe, afraid of his vengeance, agreed to surrender those who had been guilty, and it was found they were 500 in number, who were given up to Kaidu Khān with their wives and children to do what he liked with them. He then summoned a family council to decide what should be done. At this it was urged that to exact a blood penalty from them would not be

judicious, since they were of such inferior rank to those whom they had killed, and it was determined that Kaidu should make slaves of them, and that they should remain in perpetual servitude to his family. They increased largely in numbers, and as was customary took the name of their patrons, i.e. Kint Mongol. They remained in this condition of servitude till the days of Chinghiz Khān's great-grandson, and each prince of the Imperial stock had 20 or 30 Jelair families in his service.⁶

This condition of servitude is what Rashid calls *Utgubughul*.⁷ It applied only to one section of the Jelairs, the ancestors probably of the present tribe Jelaid. The greater part of the race remained free, and eventually moved westward into the Kazak steppes. Rashid tells us that Kaidu founded in the country of Barguchin a ferry for the convenience of travellers, which from him was called Kaidu Chunlum.⁸

The *Yuan-shi* which refers to this fact calls it a bridge, and tells us it was built over the "little Black river" in the country of Bargu.⁹ Black river is Kara-gol in Mongol, and it is probable that the Kara-gol, a well-known tributary of the Orkhon, is here meant. It is curious that one so prominent in the Mongol genealogy as Kaidu should be altogether ignored both by Shanang Setzen and in the *Altan Topshi*. In the list given by Pallas from the *Bhodhimer*, he is replaced by Genedugen, answering no doubt to Genigesy, the grandson of Kaidu as given in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*.

Let us now proceed again. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us that Kaidu had three sons, Boshinkhor Dokshin, Karakhailinkhu and Janjin Ortagni. Rashid d-din calls them Baisangkur, Jerki Lin Gun and Janjin Urdoki.¹⁰ In the *Yuan-shi* which says Kaidu left but two sons, the first of them is named Pai-sung-khur and the other Cha-la-ka-ning-ar. The latter of whom is there said to have married his brother's widow, and by her to have had Ne-ku-cha-wur-tu-te-ko, who was the ancestor of the Se-chi-

¹ i.e. the Persians.² Abulghazi, 74.³ Id.⁴ Erdmann, *Feuerschiff*, p. 544, note 3.⁵ *Yuan-shi*, Douglas, p. 8; *Hyalantho*, p. 7.⁶ Abulghazi, 62 and 63.⁷ Erdmann, 543.⁸ Id.⁹ *Hyalantho*, op. cit., p. 7.¹⁰ Erdmann, op. cit., p. 544.

hwa, i.e. the Sijiat. The *Altan Topchi* and *Ssanang Setzen* only name the first son, the former calls him Baisangkur Dokshin and the latter Shingkhör Dokshin. As I have said, both of them omit the name of Kaidu, and make Baisangkur the son of Khachi Külük. We will revert to Baisangkur presently.

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us that Karakailinku, i.e. Jerki Lin Gun had a son Sankunbilge who had a son Anbakhai, who had a son Khadan Taishi. Having married the widow of his elder brother, he also had by her a son Besutai, who was the ancestor of the Besut or Baisut. According to Rashidu'd-din they were the descendants of Jiadai, whom he makes the 9th son of Tumbaghai or Tumench Khân.¹¹ Janji Ortagai according to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* had six sons:—1, Oronar; 2, Khuankhotan; 3, Arulat; 4, Sunit; 5, Khabturkhakhu or Khaturkhasi; 6, Genigesi. These are merely eponymous names, the father the eponymos of the Urgans, and according to Rashidu'd-din of the Sijiat; Oronar, the stem father of the Urant; Khuankhotan of the Kungkiat; Arulat of the Arulat; Sunit of the Sunid; Khabturkhakhu of the Kabterans, and Genigesi of the Chinos.

Let us now contrast this story with that told by Rashid. He calls Kaidu's second son Jerki Lin Gun, and tells us Lin Gun, which was corrupted by the Mongols into Liku, was a Chinese title meaning Great prince. On his brother Bai Sangkur's death he married his widow, by whom he had two sons, Kendu-chino and Uluk-chino, i.e. the male wolf and the female wolf. Their descendants, we are further told, were called Chinos and also Nokuz, and he distinguishes them from the Nokuz who came out of Irgeneh-kun.¹² By another wife Rashid tells us Jerki Lin Gun had other sons, the eldest of whom was Surghodul-chino who was the father of Ambaghai Khân, of whom we shall have more to say presently. Kaidu's third son according to him was called Janjin Urguz, and he was the ancestor of the Sanjiut and Arikans or Ertigans.¹³ We will now revert to Bai Sangkur, the eldest son of Kaidu Khân, who in his capacity as fifth ancestor was entitled to the style of Budakur.¹⁴ Apparently no facts are recorded about him.

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us he had a son,

Tunbenai Setzen. The *Yuan-shi* calls him Tunpa-khai, the *Altan Topchi* Tonbenai, *Ssanang Setzen* Tumbaghai Setzen, and Rashidu'd-din Tumench Khân. As fourth ancestor he was styled Budatu. Tunbenai Khân according to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* had two sons Kabul Khakan and Sinshili. The *Yuan-shi* gives him six sons, namely Ko-tsai-ku, Hai-ke-le-tai-ko-tan, Ho-chun, Ha-ta-le-tai, Hos-shi-kwan, and Ho-po-lu Han, the last of whom is of course Kabul Khân. Rashidu'd-din gives him nine sons, whom he calls respectively—Jak-su, Barin Shir-batu, Khajju, Kajuli, Sam Khajian Batkulgi, Kabul Khan, Udar Bayan, Budantsar Doglan and Jiadai. That is in the main the same eponymous ancestors of various tribes who in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* are made sons of Menen Tudun. This variation in the genealogy as given by the three principal witnesses shows we are still in the region of artificial names introduced to explain ethnographic relations, and it is probable that the only names of actual persons in the list are those constituting the main line of descent of the Khanate. Let us now turn to Kabul or Khubilai Khân, who as third ancestor was entitled Elenjik. We are indebted to Rashidu'd-din for preserving us a curious saga about him. He tells us that his prowess and that of his sons having reached the ears of the Altan Khan, i.e. of the Kin ruler of China, he sent envoys to summon him to his presence. He accordingly set out, and was received with due honours, and was given a grand feast, but afraid of treachery to which the Chinese were much addicted, and that the meat and drink might be poisoned, he withdrew for a while on the plea that he wanted repose, and then returned. Presently when the air was cooler, he again withdrew to refresh himself, and went to bathe in a neighbouring stream. He now returned again, and being satisfied of the good faith of the Chinese, began to eat and drink voraciously, and without showing any signs of suspicion. His immense appetite astonished his hosts, who declared that God had chosen him for a great ruler, since meat and drink seemed not to satisfy or make him drunk. Presently, however, the drink began to affect him. He approached the Altan Khan, and laid hold of his beard, and gave him a box on the ear. The Altan Khan's minister,

¹¹ Vide infra.

¹² Erdmann, *op. cit.* p. 217-219, 545; Abulghazi, 68.

¹³ Erdmann, *u. s. p.* 544; Abulghazi, 68.

¹⁴ Abulghazi, 74.

who was witness of this, was greatly angered, and was for punishing him then and there, but having become somewhat sober, Kabul apparently apologized, saying that it was his hand which was to blame, and not himself, for his will had not followed his hand.¹⁸ According to D'Ohsson's reading he demanded to be punished.¹⁹ The Altan Khân who thought that if he exacted punishment he would bring the revenge of his people upon himself, discerned his anger, and having selected from his treasury a silken garment embroidered with gold threads, a crown, a gold decked girdle and other presents, presented them to him on his departure. His minister argued, however, that he had not done well in letting him thus go. He thereupon sent a messenger to recall him, and as he refused to go, a second messenger with a *posse* of troops was sent to compel him. When they arrived at his camp he was not at home, but one of his wives promised that on his return he, with his sons and daughters, would comply with the emperor's wish. As the messenger was returning home he encountered a man attended by some slaves whom he recognized as Kabul, and thereupon seized him and carried him off. *En route* they put up at the house of a Saljiut, who was a friend of Kabul Khân's. He supplied the latter with a horse which he said was as swift as the lightning or the wind. On this he mounted and fled, and was pursued by the messenger of the Altan Khân, who did not overtake him however till he reached home. There Kabul treated his pursuer with marked hospitality, gave him a beautiful new tent to live in, where he was waited upon by his young wife Meti. Meanwhile, however, he summoned his dependents, his sons being away, and told them that he had become weary of life since he had been pursued by the Chinese messenger. He called upon them to kill him, saying that if they did not do so he would commit suicide. Thereupon they fell on the Kin messenger and slew him. Kabul Khân soon after fell ill and died.²⁰ Nothing of this appears in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. On turning to the Chinese annals dealing with the Kin dynasty we find certain obscure notices which apparently refer to these events. In the *Ta-hin-kwochi* we

are told that during the reign of the Emperor Tai-tsung, whose Tungusic name was Ukunai, and whose reign was in the interval 1123—1137, a great number of the Mongku became subject to him, but in the next reign, i.e. 1138—1140, they became rebellious.²¹ De Mailla, who translated the *Kang-nu*, states that about 1135 the Mongols began to be very powerful and a menace to the Empire. We are told they could see by night as well as by day, and that they wore cuirasses made from the hides of fish which were proof against arrows. Towards the end of that year the Kin Emperor sent his General Hushaku against them.²² Hushaku was not successful but had to retire. His retreat was the signal for the advance of the Mongols who captured many of his people, and followed him as far as the district of Hailing, where, having ventured on an engagement, his army was cut in pieces. Another and more formidable army was sent against them. This was apparently in 1139.²³ These extracts probably refer to the reign of Kabul Khân and to the feud he had with the Kin Empire. According to Rashîd-d-dîn, Kabul Khân married Goa Khuaku, meaning the Fair Khuaku, who belonged to the Turkish tribe of the Kongurut, of which we shall have much to say presently. By her he says he had six sons, who were called Kiat. Abulghazi says the Mongols call a torrent which comes down from a mountain *kian*, which word originally meant rapid or impetuous. The plural of *kian* is *kiat*,²⁴ and we are told the sons of Kabul Khân were so called because of their impetuosity. The name Kian or Kaiian, however, was doubtless of much older date, and designated in the old legends one of the two primitive stocks of the Turks. One of the two brothers who ruled them in their primitive home in Irgenehkun was called Kian, and his descendants Kiat. Kiat was the special name of the family of Chinghiz Khân.

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us that Kabul had seven sons, in which it is followed by the *Yuan-shi* and *Sanning Setzen*. These agree generally with the names recorded by Rashîd, and are as follows:—Ukin Darkhakh, Bartañ Bâghadar, Khatukhu Mungur, Khatula Khakan,

¹⁸ Erdmann, *op. cit.*, p. 551.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*

²⁰ Erdmann, pp. 551—553.

²¹ Schott, *Asiatische Nachrichten von Mongolen und Tataren*, 17.

²² De Mailla, vol. VIII, p. 518.

²³ *Id.* p. 529.

²⁴ Abulghazi, 71.

Khulan, Khulan²⁰ and Todayan Uchigen.²¹ In the *Yuan-shi* the names are given as 1, Ughin-pa-la-gha-gha; 2, Par-tan; 3, Hwa-ta-lu-mi-niar; 4, Hwa-lu-lu-kham; 5, Ho-tan Patar; 6, To-tuan-wo-chi-kin; 7, Hwa-lan-pa-tur. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us that although Kabul Khân had so many sons, he did not leave his Empire to any of them, but left it to An-ba-khai, the chief of the Tajuts. This doubtless refers to the "Imperatorship," to coin a phrase; the Mongols proper no doubt remained subject to their own royal stock.

It was about this time that the long feud commenced between the Mongols and Tartars which had such serious consequences later on.

The Tartars here mentioned, to whom the name Tartar properly belonged, were, it would seem, formerly the suzerains of the Mongols, who were in consequence sometimes referred to as Black Tartars, i. e. subject Tartars. They consisted according to Rashid-d-din of about 70,000 families, who lived in the neighbourhood of lake Bayur in North Eastern Mongolia. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* also places them on the river Orshin which connects the lakes of Bayur and Kulun and on the Olkui farther south, and they seem in fact to have held the northern part of the Kingkhan range. I have discussed the orthography of the name Tartar in a long note to the first volume of my work already cited.²² They are first mentioned by the Chinese historian Gheon-yang-sieon who lived 1007—1072, and who tells us they were descended from the Mo-ho of whom they were a section, and that their country was situated to the north-east of that of the Hui and Khitans. We are told further that the Mo-ho having been attacked by the Khitans were dispersed; one portion submitted to the Khitans, another sought refuge with the Polai to the east, while the third took refuge in the In-shan mountains, and adopted the name of Tachê, which was the original form of the name Tartar in the Chinese Annals.²³ The Mo-ho were the Tungusic tribes of Manchuria, from whom the Kin Tartars and the modern Manchus sprang. Hence it follows that the Tartars were in fact very near relatives of the modern Manchus, but we may get even

nearer than this to their real affinity. Their name as I have argued is equivalent to nomade, and is probably derived from their dwelling in movable yurts or tents. Such a yurt is called *Tutara-ba* in Manchu, and is derived from the Tungusic word *tata* or *tatar*, meaning to drag or pull, and a tent or house shelter is still called *tata* or *tata*.²⁴ Now the Daurians, who, so far as we know, sprang from the very country of the old Tartars, and thence overspread the district east of lake Baikal called Dauria, have their name formed out of the same element. They are called *Da-urs* or *Tu-gori*. *Da-ur*, we are expressly told, means the square hut which prevails with the tribe, and I have small doubt that the Daurians are in fact the descendants of the Tartars proper of early Mongol history. Rashid-d-din tells us they were divided into six divisions, but if this statement is reliable two of the six were probably of subordinate rank, for, as we shall show farther on, the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* several times refers to the four *hordes* of the Tartars.

We will now turn to the feud which arose between the Mongols and the Tartars. Gon Khukha Kabul's wife had a brother named Sain Tegin, i. e. the Good prince. The latter having fallen ill, a Tartar Shaman or Kam named Jerkil Baduya was summoned to treat him. The patient died notwithstanding the *locus pocus* of the Shaman. The latter was sent home, but not long after was put to death by the relatives of Sain Tegin. A struggle ensued at a place called Beran Segdan. (?) In this fight Kedan Baghdadar distinguished himself in single combat with the Tartar leader, Motor Behadur, in which the latter was badly wounded, and remained *hors de combat* for a whole year. On his recovery the struggle was again renewed at two places named Ula Ilak (?) and Ker Ilak (?) in which the Mongols had the best of it.²⁵ These struggles were renewed several times by the sons of Kabul Khân.²⁶ Meanwhile difficulties arose in another direction. As we read in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* the Khakau An-ba-khai, who was the special chief of the Tajuts, had given his daughter in marriage to a chief of the Tartars, who lived on the river

²⁰ The Kedan Behadur of Rashid.

²¹ The Todayan Uchigen of Rashid.

²² *Early History of the Mongols*, vol. I, p. 700.

²³ Visselien, *Supplément à D'Herbelot's Bibliothèque*, p. 328.

²⁴ *History of the Mongols*, pp. 702 and 703.

²⁵ Erdmann calls these two places *Ilak* Atangent and *Gera* Belgenat. I have adopted the orthography of *Berezice*.

²⁶ Erdmann, pp. 527 and 553-4.

Orshin. As he was escorting her himself he was seized by the Tartars, who doubtless deemed it a good opportunity for revenge, and by them was handed over to the authorities of the Kin empire, who also had a grievance against the Mongols. Rashidud-din in reporting this event makes out that An-ba-khai had gone to the Tartar country to fetch home his own bride.²⁰ The former authority says that as he was being carried off he had a man named Barakhashi of the tribe Baisut, who was returning home, go and tell Kutlugh Khán and his own son Khadan Taishi to revenge him, and drawing his illustrations from the use of the bow, he told him to entreat them that even if they had to wear out all the nails on their ten fingers in the work to do so. Rashid reports this part of the story differently. He says that An-ba-khai, as he was being carried off, sent one of his slaves named Bulghachi to tell the Kin Emperor that it was a base thing to put him to death when he had been treacherously captured and surrendered by others, and that if he did so he would draw upon himself the revenge of all the Mongol tribes. The Altan Khan ruthlessly bade the messenger take post horses, and go and tell his people that An-ba-khai was going to be executed by being nailed down to a wooden ass. He accordingly set out, but when he came to the land of the Durbans,²¹ they refused to give him the necessary horses, and paid no heed to his reproaches, so that presently his Chinese horses having broken down, he had to go on foot. When he reached home he reported what had happened.²² The process of nailing people down to a so-called wooden ass, flaying them, and then hewing them limb from limb, was a well-known punishment of State criminals in China (see Stanislas Julien *L'Orpèlén de la Chine*, pp. 127 and 128).²³

Beside An-ba-khai, Ukin Barkhakh, the eldest son of Kabul Khán, was also put to death in this fashion, and it was the execution of these two chiefs which was made his chief ground for attacking the Kin empire by Chinghiz Khán. Sanang Setzen has a curious statement that in a struggle which ensued between the sons of Kabul Khán and of An-ba-khai they were all

killed save a son of each. I cannot find a confirmation of this story elsewhere, but it is singular that Kutlugh Khán, the son of Kabul, and Khadan, the son of An-ba-khai, are the only two of the many sons of the two chiefs who occur in the succeeding story, and it would seem that their brothers were in fact dead, while it is very certain that there was a rivalry for supremacy between the two families. Resuming our story, we are told in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* that when An-ba-khai was carried off and put to death, the Taijut tribe met together on the banks of the river Khorkhon, and elected Kutlugh as their leader, i. e. as Khakan or Emperor. Palladius by this locality understands the low ground on the river Onon, but this is doubtful, for the Onon is very frequently mentioned by its proper name in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*: but we shall hear again of this name. Kutlugh Khán is so called by Rashidud-din. D'Ohsson mistakenly calls him Kubilai.²⁴ It would seem that his elder brothers were now dead, especially Bardan Baghdad, and consequently according to the Mongol law of succession by which brother succeeds brother he became the heir to the throne. He was directly the ruler of the Mongols, and apparently "imperator" of the forces of other tribes, including the Taijut. Kutlugh was a famous hero of Mongol romance. His voice, we are told, could be heard behind seven hills, and was compared to the thunder in the mountains. His grip was like that of a bear, and when he chose he could break a man with his brawny arms like breaking an arrow. He would haul whole trunks to make up his fire on winter nights, and would lie asleep beside it more or less unconscious with drinking, heedless of the cinders and sparks which fell on his naked body, mistaking the burns for the bites of insects, and turn over to sleep again. At his meals he could demolish a whole sheep and a huge skin of *kumis* or fermented mare's milk, and still was not satisfied.²⁵ He was in fact the heroic colossus and Hercules of Mongol legend. He headed the army which marched against China to avenge the deaths of his relatives. On this occasion he was accompanied by his nephew Yessukei, the son of Bar-

²⁰ Erdmann, p. 555.

²¹ By the Durbans I believe with Palladius the Tartars are meant. Durban means fear, and the word doubtless here refers to the four tribes of the Tartars; the Durbans have been made a separate tribe by Rashid by mistake.

²² Erdmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 555-6.

²³ Erdmann, *op. cit.*, p. 527 note.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, vol. I., pp. 32-35.

²⁵ Erdmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 554-5.

dan Baghdadur by Khadan Taishi, the son of Anbakhai, and by Khadan's son Tuda. Rashid-u'd-din tells us that in this struggle the Mongols won a complete victory, and returned with a great booty. As he was retiring Kutlugh with some of his warriors engaged in hunting, and got separated from his companions. When the Durbans³⁵ heard of this they went against him, killed his companions, and compelled him and his horse, which had the speed of lightning, to take shelter in a marshy place. In this bog he sank, but springing from his horse's back, and gaining solid ground, his pursuers, it is said, disdained to touch him, remarking "What can a Mongol do without his horse,"³⁶ and thereupon withdrew. He succeeded however in recovering his horse, which he dragged out of the quagmire by its mane, and went on his way homewards. His people there had made up their minds that he was lost, and Rashid-u'd-din reports how his nephew Yesukei prepared the funeral meats, and took them to Khadan Taishi and his son Tuda and to Kutlugh's wife. The two former began to wail terribly, but the brave wife on hearing what the cause of their grief was, bade them not distress themselves that he whose voice was like the thunder, and who could hug men like a bear, was not likely to be undone by the Durbans, and he did in fact shortly appear riding on a stallion which he had carried off from the Durbans, and driving a number of their fillies before him. His great boots he had filled with eggs of the wild geese which he found in the steppe, and rode barefoot. The funeral feast was now converted into another kind of festival, and Kutlugh's wife triumphed greatly in boasting that she knew her good man would not be killed by these poltroons.³⁷

On turning to the Chinese notices for confirmation of these doings, we find it stated in the *Kangnau*, under the year 1147, that the war between the Kin Empire and the Mongols still continued. The son of Talan who was a Kin general named Chinghoa-tu-lang, and whose country bordered on that of China, incensed at his father's death, deserted the side of the Kin, and joined the Mongols,

and increased their power so much that the general Uchu, who on his return from Pien leang was sent against them, was compelled to make peace with them, to cede 27 forts north of the river Si-ping to them, and to undertake to pay them annually a certain number of cattle and sheep and also grain. He wished to give their chief the title of Mong-fu-kue-wang, but he refused it, and himself adopted the style of Emperor of the great Empire of the Mongols, and he was styled Tsn-yuan-wang-ti.³⁸ The *Tu-kin-tao-chi* says nothing about these events, but merely reports that the Mongku, having obtained many Chinese and Khitan boys and girls either in war or otherwise, who had coalesced with them, had gradually become accustomed to the use of cooked meats, and become a great nation under the name of Ta-Mongku-kuo, i. e. the Kingdom of the great Mongols.³⁹ These extracts seem to me to clearly refer to the reign of Kutlugh Khan. The Si-ping of this notice was the Kerulon which now became the frontier between the Kin Tartars and the Mongols. It would seem from the Chinese notice translated by Vasilief that the Kin ruler gave up to the Mongols the fortresses he had north of the Kerulon. He says he also agreed to pay tribute. According to Vasilief the title which the emperor wished to confer on Kutlugh was Ao lo Bochielle, which he deems a corruption of Du-Bo-chiellie, meaning the great minister.⁴⁰

According to the above passage it would seem further that it was about the year 1147 that the chief of the Mongols first adopted the style of 'Mongol Khan.' What then is the meaning of this name 'Mongol?' Schmidt explained it as derived from Mong, meaning 'brave, daring, bold.'⁴¹ This etymology is acquiesced in by Dr. Schott,⁴² and I adopted it in the first volume of my work on the Mongols.⁴³ But I am not now by any means certain of this view. In a recent number of the *China Review* there is a note by M. Deveria, which is singularly interesting. He quotes a passage from the Chinese work *Liang-pau-tseus-yu-ngas* in the terms following:—"The expression Mang-kuarh is used in the markets to signify silver (cash).

³⁵ i. e. the Tartars.

³⁶ Assuredly a sentence with a singular local force when applied to this race of Centaurs.

³⁷ *Id.*, pp. 556-561.

³⁸ De Maille, vol. VIII., p. 545.

³⁹ Schott, *op. cit.* 17.

⁴⁰ Beresino, *Rashid-u'd-din*, vol. II., p. 155, note 38.

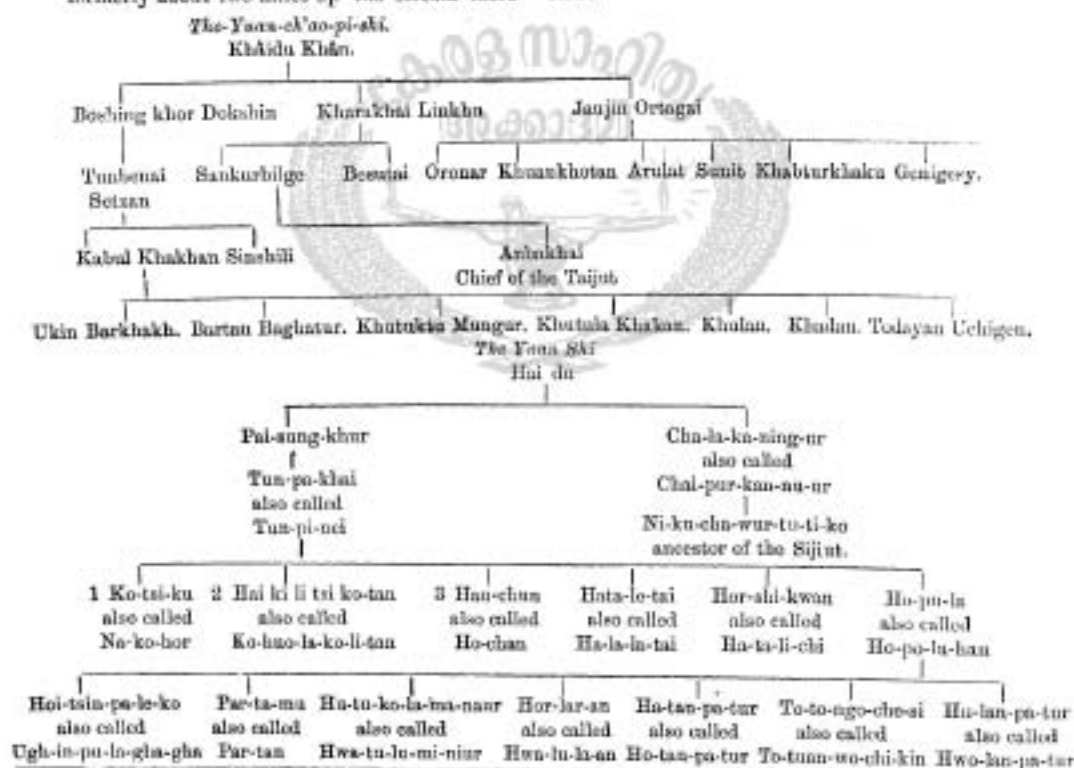
⁴¹ Saunang Setzen, p. 389; *Journ. Asiat.* 1st ser., tom III., p. 109.

⁴² *Op. cit.* p. 5 note.

⁴³ *Ibid.* *op. cit.* page 27.

In the national language *Mungku* means silver. It is by contrast with the Gold Empire that this title "Silver" was adopted."⁴⁴ This is very interesting. There can be no doubt that in Mongol the name for silver is *Mungku* or *Mongku*. Now it is singularly curious that the two dynasties which succeeded one another immediately before the Yuan or Mongol dynasty, namely, those founded respectively by the Khitans and the Jinchi or Jurchi gave themselves names derived from two metals. The former styled their dynasty *Liao*, i.e. steel, and the latter *Kim*, i.e. gold, and it would be consistent if the Mongols were similarly to designate their dynasty from the metal silver. There would be even a greater reasonableness in their doing so, for their country was very rich in silver. As Isbrand Ides long ago stated, "the river Zerobinski, which falls into the Argun about eight miles from Argunskoi is called by the Mongols *Munga-gol*, i.e. the silver river, because formerly about two miles up the stream there

were silver mines out of which the Niu-chuems, i.e. the Kim Tartars and the Mongols, dug great quantities of that metal, and great numbers of pits in which the metal was melted are at present to be seen."⁴⁵ The old traveller tells us the mines having been long disused had fallen in, but he took a piece of the ore back with him to Moscow. If he had known of this river it would have strengthened the contention of Haiserof, which I do not by any means adopt, that the word Mongol was derived from *mongol*, a river, and, as he contended Saljiut was from a Salja-goland Olkhonut from Olkhogol.⁴⁶ The silver mines and graves in the old Mongol country are described in some detail by other travellers.⁴⁷ These facts make it not improbable that the name Mongol is in fact derived from *monggu*, 'silver,' and that it was applied about the year 1147 as stated in the *Kusganu*. We will now tabulate the genealogies we have discussed as given by the principal authorities.

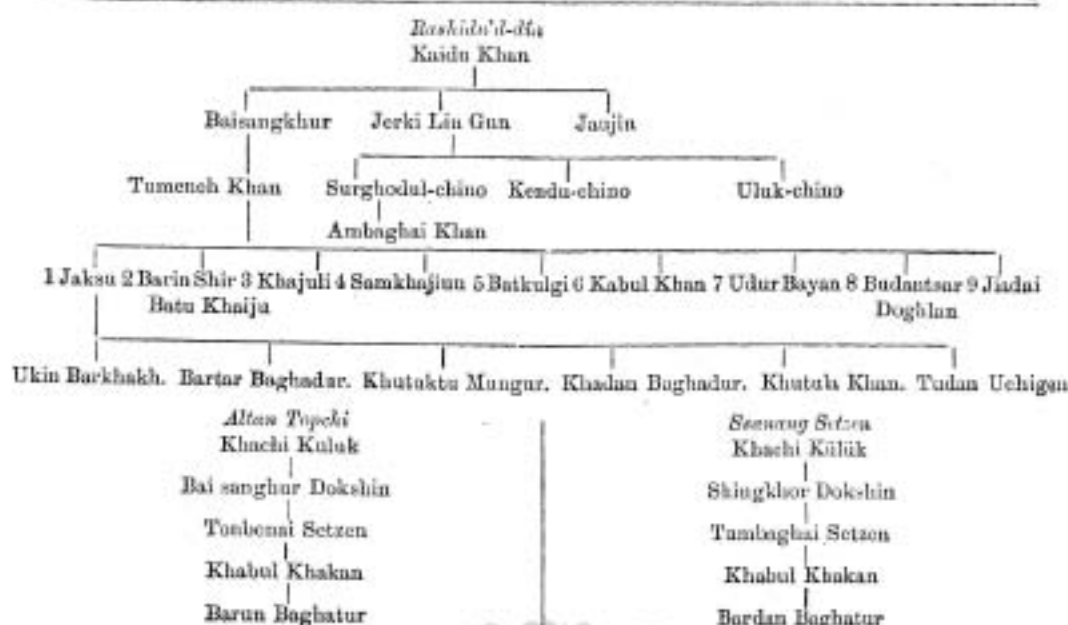


⁴⁴ *China Review*, vol. VII. p. 222.

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁴⁶ *Erasmus, Yensadchin*, etc., p. 512, note 3.

⁴⁷ *Erasmus, Asia*, B. II. pp. 321-323.



BOMBAY BEGGARS AND CRIERS.

BY K. RAGHUNATHJI.

As elsewhere, India gave birth to men of wealth and position, and numbers of these people fed, clothed, and even bore hardships on account of their beggars. The result was that he who gave most died leaving behind him the greatest number of beggars.¹ The practice of alms-giving has existed from a very early age, at least from the time of Manu. Nearly a tenth of the population have been beggars, and instead of being ashamed of this, beggary is deemed a condition worthy to be sought after and followed. There are even some among this class of people who will not go to the trouble of seeking charity, because they know they will be provided with the necessities of life by people who look upon them as having sacrificed themselves for some social end, for—

"Brother, we have become a Gosavi, and abandoned everything.

Patel build us here a chapel, bring plenty of *lāṅg* and tobacco,

Provide daily food for me, and send a sister to serve me."

Thus these worthless and degraded members of society are encouraged in idleness by the ready supply of their wants. What is the use of

labour, the beggars say, why work hard and get half a loaf, why not follow beggary as a profession? In Banāras, if a boy is told by his parents to go to school, his reply will sometimes be that, if again told to do so, he will join some of the many *alms-houses* (*anashalas*).² And when Khandarlo Gaikvād died, an immense number of *fagirs* sat lamenting his death; they said that the Mahārāja had induced them to beg, and now he was dead, and there was nothing left for them whereby to obtain their maintenance.

The Bombay beggars may be divided into two classes, the religious and the non-religious; they may also be subdivided into the Hindu religious and non-religious, the Musalmān religious and non-religious, and others. The Hindu religious beggars are *Vaishnavas*, *Śaivas*, and the abominable *Sāktas*, adorers of the goddesses. These classes may be distinguished by the kind of rosaries they sometimes carry, and by the marks on their foreheads, temples, arms, chest, and abdomen, which they either stamp with a wooden form for the purpose, or burn the skin with heated metal plates; and the *Sāktas* by the application of red stuff to their foreheads between the eye-brows.

¹ Mr. Gopālarāo Hari's *Bhikshukā*, p. 17.

² Mr. Gopālarāo Hari's *Bhikshukā*, p. 17.

To give a list, says Beveridge,¹ of the severities practised by the beggars would be to enumerate almost all the imaginable modes of torture; keeping the palms of the hands closed till the nails grow into the flesh on one side and re-appear on the other; creeping along in twisted forms till permanent and unnatural distortion is produced; holding the arms upright till they lose their power of motion and become shrivelled; hanging over slow fires; burying in a living grave with only a small aperture to prevent suffocation; such are only a few of the modes of tormenting displayed by beggars who infest the country and extort alms either by the commiseration which their sufferings excite, or the desire to be rid of their filthy and disgusting presence. Naked bodies smeared with ashes of cowdung; hair hanging in locks matted together with filth; sometimes with living reptiles concealed in them; human skulls filled with filth; and human bones strung round the neck,—are among the devices used by those who are ambitious of the honour and greediness of the profit which it too often commands. The following abstract of an account will show how some of these beggars do penance.² 'Atten years of age,' says the narrator, 'I gave myself up to meditation and mortification, at twenty I left my home and lived in a cell doing penance for twelve years. Vermin or worms gnawed my flesh, of which the marks still remain. When the Rāja opened the door of the cell, I said 'Either take my curse or prepare for me a bed of spikes,' which the Rāja did, and this is the one I occupy. During the four months of winter I travel on this bed, while night and day water is let fall upon my head. For thirty-five years I travel on this bed, which is pulled by my disciples. At Serat, Collector Boddam built a house for me and provided me with something to subsist on.'

Hindu non-religious beggars of all classes are found begging in Bombay—Brāhmins and Śūdras, Māngs, Mhārs, and Dhēḡas, principally the lame, the blind, the deformed, the leper and the decrepit, who prefer street-begging because their gains are large, and they have liberty to rove about and indulge in the luxuries of life.

The Musalmān religious beggars are known as Jalāls, Madārīs, Rafāīs, Banavas, and Safīs. Of

these the last two closely resemble their Hindu congeners; they are known by the names of Tarikat, Sharikat, Mārplāt, and Hakikat, and their chief is called the Sarguro.³ They use rosaries of beads, practise *jap tap*, and apply ashes to their persons. Those of them who do not marry are held in high estimation; some marry and have families. The Musalmān non-religious beggars are like those of the Hindus, they follow the profession of mendicants because their gains from it are large. As an instance the following from the *Indian Statesman* well illustrates the fact:—'A curious instance of the life led by some of the Musalmān mendicants was revealed by the researches of the officers of the Small Cause Court, Bombay. It would appear that a bailiff executed a writ of possession against a tenant, a Faqir, by name Sayad Ebrahim Sāhib. The bailiff on entering the room was nearly stifled by the stench arising from filth in the shape of dead rats, dead fowls, a dead dog which was packed in a tin fiddle-case, and heaps of dust and cock-roaches, living and dead. Money was found, in bank notes, silver and copper to the extent of Rs. 2,500. Surrounded by all this filth, with about nine or ten dogs for company, he looked on with a sad eye at the cleaning process, and begged to have his dead dog restored to him.'

The Bombay beggars generally start on their business in the mornings, and beg from early morn till one or two o'clock; and in the evenings from three till eleven at night. In the mornings they are given uncooked rice and in a few cases money, but in the evenings money and scraps of food are offered to Māng, Mhār, and Dhēḡ beggars. These, the most wretched of the class, beg only in the evenings, after people have had their meals, for the remains of food. They are not satisfied with what they get by begging, but they also rake up the spots where the dinner plates and fragments of food are thrown, and lick the plates along with dogs and cats; the dogs barking at the beggar and the beggar driving away the dog with one hand and eating with the other. This is a most pitiful sight to look at. These beggars go with baskets and pieces of cloth, in which they collect the remains, and after eating a sufficient quantity

¹ *History of India*, vol. II., p. 46.
² *Asiatic Researches*, vol. V., p. 59.

³ Mr. Gopālrao Hari's *Bhāṣhā*, p. 16.

sell the remainder to their more unfortunate brethren. The rice which the beggars collect they either sell to their customers at their houses or in the beggar (*bhikār*) bazar, where they sit in rows with their goods spread on pieces of cloth in front of them for disposal.

Pārsis, says a writer in the *Bombay Quarterly Review*,* do not allow the infirm, the helpless, the indigent, or even the unfortunate of their community to loiter about the streets or to beg from door to door, but they are cared for by the Pārsis themselves. No Pārsi knows experimentally the humiliation of asking alms. None deprived of the power to work, none left destitute, has his misery aggravated by the apprehension of being reduced to beggary. However helpless, food and raiment at least, and a place to dwell in, he can always find amongst his own people.

Then there are what may be termed reformed beggars—men, women, and children of all castes and creeds, (of course with the exception of the Pārsis,) and sometimes termed '*lurks*.' There are the sick-lurk, the fire-lurk, and petition or *arje vāldā*. There is no law as to who should assume the garb of a beggar. But any one that wishes may follow the profession without restriction. There are young and old, the poor and some that are well off, the diseased and sturdy, impudent, stout healthy fellows who follow this miserable profession with great pride, and if one, says a writer in the *Native Opinion*, has the stump of an arm or of a leg to parade, he does so in the most conspicuous manner, with the idea that the public is bound to feed him. Others will lash their bellies, exclaiming in English, 'Mamma no money, no *ekānā*':—showing their naked stomachs, 'look belly, mamma; two eye blind mamma; give poor man one pice papa.' And again, 'Mamma nurse *ekhota bābā*, mamma nurse blind *bābā*.' But of late much of this noisy beggary is put down by the executive police, and there are not to be seen now-a-days, as ten years ago, rows of beggars lining both the sides of the Esplanade road and other public streets. The number of these beggars, says a writer in the *Bombay Quarterly Review*,† would inundate Bombay but for the longing which they feel individually or in numbers of visiting their homes. Generally

the gains of a season are sufficient to take them to their native village, and maintain them there for some time amongst their relations. Yet for all this, Bombay has a pauper population which contributes largely to swell the number of beggars in her streets. The peculiar views and feelings which the mass of the native community entertain in reference to the virtue or goodness of alms-giving (*dharma*), leads them to the exercise of indiscriminate liberality; the prejudice in favour of such charity being so deep that it can scarcely be eradicated, and hence the attraction of many persons to Bombay from neighbouring and even remote districts. Were it not for the warmth of the climate, the simplicity and cheapness of their diet, this multitude of beggars would often feel such a want of proper clothing and food that they would soon be reduced to conditions of disease often terminating in death. The sum required to support life is so very small that it can usually be obtained with facility by even the aged and infirm. At the Musalman eating-houses a wheaten cake weighing more than half a pound may be purchased for half an anna. This cake with a little meat-curry twice a day forms the diet of many a labouring man here,—his two meals thus costing him one anna and a half. The ordinary meal of a poor Hindu is about a *sār* and a half of flour, or half a *sār* of rice with a little curry, and two such meals a day cost about one anna and a quarter per day. All who seek alms generally obtain as much as this, and so long as a really destitute person can go or crawl from door to door, and make himself heard, he is sure to obtain relief.

BRĀHMAN BEGGARS.

The Brāhmins, giving up their former thirst for knowledge, lead a life of indolence, adducing as their plea that as their ancestors once begged, and thereby maintained themselves, they now make begging as a profession their birth-right. Hindus, whose great weakness is an inordinate love of praise, are easily induced by Brāhman mendicants, who are apt flatterers, to give as much as they are able; their house and almost everything they have they will give to a Brāhman, however wicked or wealthy he may be, as they think no *dān* has any other signification than

* Vol. IV, p. 267.

† Vol. IV, p. 254.

bestowing gifts on Brāhmins, who as a class are designated charity-receiving people,—authorized to receive alms of every one willing to bestow it. Compared with the vast sums showered upon these beggars, the *dharmā* a Hindu makes to others is almost nothing. Brāhman mendicants do not, like the other Hindu beggars, go to the houses of others than Hindus for alms, for they are never patronized by them.

ŚĀSTRIBĀVĀS.

Śāstribāvā—or the expounder of the Śāstras—always a Brāhman by caste, and a well-to-do person, dresses in white clothes, with a shawl over his left hand and another wrapt round his shoulders, and accompanied by one or more followers. One of his followers goes inside a Hindu house, and tells the inmates that the Śāstribāvā awaits and asks for a seat for him. He then says that the great man is on his way to the holy Banāras on pilgrimage, and requests to be paid to visit Kīśvishveśwar, or the lord of Banāras, and return. This gentleman assumes a grave demeanour, and seeing his pomp he is generally paid in silver.

TELANGAS.

Telangā Brāhmins go about begging, and also offer for sale the sacred thread of the Hindus. They always roll round their waist a woollen cloth (*dāṣṭhī*), which they make use of to take dinner with, if they happen to see a dinner party at which Brāhmins are invited to dine. They go in uninvited, and if they are not allowed to join they will depart, but not before invoking bitter curses on the heads of those who refuse them a share in the feast.

Then there are again others from Telangāna, whose dress consists of a waist cloth, and pieces of coloured cloth tied to their arms with the ends hanging loose. They carry a square flat

wooden box in which is kept the image of a Hindu god, covered over with a cloth which is removed only when the bearer is to be paid, or the inmates of a house wish him to show it to them. He pretends to foretell future events. He is a very quiet beggar, and asks for alms in a low tone and humble way. He goes away quietly if nothing is given him. He generally gives persons a pinch of turmeric to be rubbed on their brows, or touches their foreheads with it himself.

A third kind of beggars from Telangāna are called *Kāvadyās*. They carry over their shoulders a *Kāvad*, or a bamboo stick with slings at each end; in these slings are hung bamboo baskets covered over with ochre coloured cloth. They say that on that stick they once conveyed their aged parents to the holy city of Banāras, and as a sign of their having visited Banāras they show a small glass bottle containing water which they say they brought from the sacred Gaṅga. Or they say that they are going to Banāras to bury the bones of their aged parents who died only a short time ago. People believe them, and give them money to defray their expenses on the way thither.

HARIDĀSAS.

These are Hindus, mostly Brāhmins, who deliver sermons (*kīrtans*), especially during the Gaṇapati and Rāmanvami festivals. Some of these men are very eloquent preachers, and their manner of delivery is most pleasing. A *haridās* is always accompanied by a drummer, *api-dangyā*, a fiddler, and two or more players on metal cups. Some of these musicians are little boys, and as their voices are sweet and musical, their singing is harmonious and very enjoyable.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

6. LIGHT AND DARK PORTNIGHTS.—Mr. R. A. Proctor, writing on "the Origin of the Week" in the *Contemporary Review* for June 1879, (p. 410), says with reference to the Hindu month; "Flammation. . . says, 'the clear half from new to full, and the obscure half from full to new;' but this is manifestly incorrect, the half of the month from new to full having neither

more nor less light by night than the half from full to new." Nevertheless, though Mr. Proctor is right as to the physical fact, Flammation is right as to the practice. Will more competent persons explain why this is, how the conventional *bright* and *dark* halves of the month do not correspond with the bright and dark halves of the moonlight? Or are bright and dark halves, though very commonly used both in the vernaculars and English,

as equivalents for Śadh and Vadya, only conventional mistranslations after all?

C. E. G. C.

The first half of the lunar month is called the *Śukla-pakṣa*—the light, bright, or white fortnight, and *Śadī* is used for 'in the clear fortnight,' while the other half is the *Kṛishṇa-pakṣa*, or 'dark fortnight,' also called *Vadya-pakṣa*. The first seems to be naturally enough called the bright fortnight, for the simple reason that in the moonlight evenings, especially in tropical climates, people enjoy the moonlight, sitting out of doors chatting, &c. When the evenings are dark, the moon of midnight and early morning is not so enjoyed, and the fortnight is regarded as relatively dark.

J. B.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

The fifty-seventh *Annual Report* of the Royal Asiatic Society (1880), has been prepared and published by the energetic Secretary, and is replete with information, chronicling as it does the contents of every publication and paper connected with every branch of Oriental Research that has appeared since last *Report*. We extract portions from it:—

During a tour "in the Northern districts of the Madras Presidency, His Grace the Duke of Buckingham paid a flying visit on the 20th Jan. last, to the Tōpe at Amarāvati. Having sent a working party beforehand, they uncovered, during the Duke's stay there, what appeared to be the foundations of the southern gateway, and a considerable portion of the procession path, that surrounded the monument. During these operations they found also a considerable number of sculptured slabs." Owing to the want of all experience on the part of the excavators it is feared, however, that this rough and ready excavation may have obliterated many traces that would have been of great importance in the eyes of a skilled archaeologist:—if so, it must be deplored that the Tōpe was meddled with under such circumstances. "Meanwhile it is to be hoped, that efficient means will be taken for the protection of the sculptures thus uncovered, as all those that have been hitherto exposed have been removed by the natives for building purposes or burnt into lime." Mr. Sewall has prepared a report 'On the Amarāvati Tōpe,' and on his excavations there in 1877. The famous Amarāvati sculptures recovered by Capt. Colin Mackenzie and Sir Walter Elliot, and long in the India Office, have been removed to the British Museum, and are being attached to the walls of the chief staircase.

"In the *République Française* (June 20, 1879), M. Regnaud has printed 'L'Avenir des études Sanskrites';—and in the *Revue Philosophique*, 'Études de Philosophie Indienne, l'école Vedānta.' In the *Academy* of July 5, 1880, is a long and able review by Prof. F. Max Müller, of Kielhorn's '*Vyākaraṇa Mahādāśakya*.' In the *Berliner Monatshefte* (June, 1879) Prof. Weber has two articles, 'Ueber die Magavyakti des Kṛishṇadāsa Miśra'—important essays on Mithraic worship, with reference, too, to the Indo-Skythic coins; and in the same, Dr. Bühler has printed 'Eine Notiz über einige Sanskrit MS. aus Kāśmīr in der Hof. Bibliothek zu Wien.' In *Mém. de la Soc. de Linguistique*, A. Barth has 'Formes irrégulières dans le Bhāgavata Purāṇa.' In the *Calcutta Review*, Mr. A. E. Gough has continued his study of the 'Philosophy of the Upanishads.'"

"F. Bollensen has brought out at Leipzig a scholarly edition of the drama *Malavikā and Agnimitra*;—Dr. Bühlingk has added to the valuable labours he carried out with Dr. Roth, some years since in what is known as the great *St. Petersburg Sanskrit Dictionary*,—the true *Thesaurus* of Sanskrit—a new and condensed dictionary; which is indeed, not only more than a mere abridgment, but a most important supplement to the former, in that all the *addenda* and *corrigenda* of the former are now incorporated into the new Dictionary. It is to be hoped that an English translation of this most useful work, now in contemplation, may be soon accomplished. Mr. Anandaram Borooah has issued a second volume of his *Practical English and Sanskrit Dictionary*, but this does not, as was anticipated, complete the work, as it only carries it as far as the word 'oyster.' The author has added to this second volume of his Dictionary a supplementary chapter on what he calls 'Higher Sanskrit Grammar,' or gender and syntax—of nearly 300 pages. The collection of rules and illustrations he has given will be highly appreciated by those who have to teach Sanskrit; but it is to be regretted that he has not thought it necessary to give more complete authorities for his various statements. To say that a word has this or that meaning in Maṇu or Pāṇini or Śaṅkara is scarcely enough, without the chapter and verse where it occurs. Professor Weber has completed the third volume of his *Indische Streifen*, being reviews of current Sanskrit, Pāli and Prakrit literature, with an index of forty-six closely-printed three-column pages for reference to the three volumes and a classified bibliographical table of contents. The number of authors mentioned or criticized in this third volume is about 330." "Professor Adolf has also published the second part of his *Rigveda*, die

älteste literatur der Indier, ein Wissenschaftliche beilage zum Programm der kantons-chale."

Prof. A. Weber has issued an earnest appeal for the constitution of a 'Sanskrit Text Fund' to take the place of the now moribund if not dead 'Sanskrit Text Society.' "It is to be hoped that his proposal may be successfully carried out, as no country has so large an interest as England in everything connected with Indian literature."

"Prof. R. Pischel has completed his edition of Hemachandra's Pāli Grammar." He has also "edited and translated the *Asaṅgāyana Sūtra*, the 93rd sūtra in the 2nd portion of the *Majjhima Nikāya*. It describes how the Brahmins, irritated by the promulgation of Gautama's doctrine of the equality of castes, persuaded Asaṅgāyana, a young and distinguished scholar, to undertake to overthrow Buddha's arguments—the result being that he was defeated and became a convert to Buddha's views. Reference is made to the state of things existing among the Yonas and Kambojas,"—and, "if, as seems probable, the Yonas of this passage are the Bactrian Greeks, the date when the *sūtra* assumed its present form cannot be earlier than the 3rd century B.C." "Dr. Oldenberg has published the *Dipavāṇī*, an ancient Buddhist historical record." "Also the second volume of the *Jātaka* and its Commentary, edited by Prof. Fausbøll, has been published."

German Oriental Society.—The Society has published vol. xxxiii, pts. 3 and 4, and vol. xxxiv, part 1. Among the papers they contain is one by M. Vambéry, 'On the speech of the Turkomans, and on Maḥdāmkuḥ's Diwān.' Professor Spiegel has a short paper on 'Adar Gushasp.' J. H. Mordtmann has one entitled 'Die Himjarischen Inschriften in Tschinili Kiseckh.' Dr. A. D. Mordtmann one 'Zur Pehlvi Münzkunde, Die ältesten Muhammedanischen Münzen,' and another (vol. xxiv)—his fourth contribution on the same subject, a very long and important paper on—'Die Münzen der Sassaniden,' which has been printed since the author's death. M. Adolf Holtzmann writes on 'Die Apsaras nach dem Mahābhārata,' and Prof. Aufrecht gives a short paper on 'Eine seltene Verbalform.' J. Klitt has one on 'Dharmapāla Rishabha pañcāṅga,' of interest as referring to Jaina worship; and Count Victor von Strauss and Torney, one on the 'Bezeichnung der Farben blau und grün in Chinesischen Alterthum.' Prof. Ethé has one on Nāgār Chusrau's Rāsanāma oder buch der Erlauchung; MM. Stöckel and Tiesenhausen write on 'Die Weltbezeichnungen auf Muhammedanische Münze,' Dr. G. Saleman

'Ueber eine Pehlevisch-Arabishe Münze,' and Dr. Fleischer gives a notice of a find of Sassanian coins at Oberlausitz, and suggests that they may have found their way thither by trade from Trebizond.

Asiatic Society of Bengal.—No. 1 of the *Journal* for 1889 contains, first, a "Description of the Great Śiva Temple of Gangai-Kondapuram and of some other places in the Trichinopoly District" by Lieut. Col. B. R. Branfill,—a paper which in another form has already appeared in this *Journal* (ante pp. 117 ff.); second, on "Rude Megalithic Monuments in North Arcot" by the same, which is also, in a more extended form, already in type for the *Ind. Antiquary*. The third paper is on the coins of the Mahārājas of Kāngra, by C. J. Rodgers. Kāngra is on a tributary of the Bīās, and the ancient chiefs were called the Rājas of Trigarta—the country of the three rivers, the Bīās, Rāvi and Satlej. These rājas claimed descent from Susharma Chandra, governor of Multān at the time of the Mahābhārata. Mr. Rodgers in his remarks follows closely the information collected by Gen. Cunningham (*Archaeol. Rep.* vol. V. pp. 152 ff.). The coins seem to be found in great numbers in the Panjāb, and range from the middle of the 14th to the middle of the 17th century A.D. Mr. Rodgers gives a plate of twenty-four specimens.

Major H. S. Jarrett has a "Note on an inscription found upon a stone lying near the ruins of a Masjid on Lanka island, Wular Lake, Kashmir." The inscription is in Persian, and reads,—
May this edifice be as firm as the foundations of the heavens,
May it be the most renowned ornament of the universe,
As long as the monarch Zayn 'Ibād holds festival therein,
May it be like the date of his own reign,—"happy."

The date in the chronogram خرم is 847 A.D., equivalent to A.D. 1443—4 during the reign of Zayn-ul 'Aabidin or Zayn 'Ibād. This inscription is mentioned in the Persian history of Kashmir by Muhammad 'Ā'azam, and thus affords Major Jarrett an opportunity to draw from that work an outline of the history of the country from A.D. 1305 to 1443.

The subject of the fifth paper is a more important one,— "Coins of the Sunga or Mitra Dynasty, found near Rāmanagar in Rohilkhand:—the property of H. Rivett-Carnac, Esq. Described by A. C. Cardile." Rāmanagar has been identified by General Cunningham with Abichhatra

¹ For references to Abichhatra, see *Jour. A. S. Ben.* vol. XXX, pp. 197, 198, *J. R. A. S.* vol. IV, p. 36; and

Vol. V, p. 295; Wilson's *Vishnu Pur.* (4th ed.) p. 187n., and *Meghadūta* (Roet's ed.), p. 243.

the ancient capital of North Panchāla; and whatever may be the value of this identification, many coins have been found on the old site, and also at Bhūnīla, the supposed site of Kapilavastu, in the Basti district. Mr. Carleyle assumes that "from the numerical proportion in which the coins of various kings are found in a hoard, we can generally make a pretty good guess as to who were the earliest, and who the latest of the series. Thus the king of whom the greatest number of coins are found in a hoard, may be accepted as either the latest, or the contemporary king of the dynasty at the time when the hoard was buried or lost; while the king of whom the fewest and most worn coins are found may be accepted as the earliest, in point of time of the series." This rough rule may be of some help in arranging a hoard buried all at once; but is utterly valueless for collections of coins buried at various times accidentally and otherwise, in which numerical superiority could only indicate the largeness of the mintage of any particular king, and hence, probably, of his greater length of reign. All these coins bear over the legend three symbols, which Mr. Carleyle describes as the Bodhi tree on the left, two snakes intertwined to the right, and in the middle a punch-marked depression containing a symbol, which in one case he calls 'a Liṅga,' and in others, 'a liṅga guarded by two Nāgas which rise on each side of it.' Might not these be the symbols of the Buddha creed—of Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha? The symbols on the obverses are generally but poorly preserved in the examples represented, but we can hardly accept them as "Buddha standing, with right hand raised and radiating from his head," and "on a Buddhist railing between two trees."

The series of names represented by these coins are arranged by Mr. Carleyle as follows:—

Kings.	No. of coins found at Rāṣṭrasagar.
1. Bhadrāghosa	5
2. Sūryamitra	7
3. Ansumitra	1
4. Bhānumitra	10
5. Agnimitra	11
6. Phāgunimitra	29
7. Bhūmimitra	34
8. Indramitra	1 + 1?
9. Vijayamitra	
10. Satyamitra	
11. Sayamitra	
12. Ayumitra	

Gen. Cunningham has also a coin of Dhruvamitra, which belongs to the same dynasty. Of the later kings in this list, Ayumitra's name is found on a single coin of Mr. Rivett-Carnac's, and "this king must have been one of the latest of the dynasty, as the letters of the legend belong to the later Gupta period." The coins of Vijayamitra, Satyamitra, and Sayamitra are from other localities and "are of quite a different type." The author places Pushyamitra at the head of his lists, though no coins have been found of his, nor do any of the names derived from his coins, except that of Agnimitra, coincide with those of the Paurāṇik lists of the Śunga dynasty founded by Pushyamitra.

The last paper is by C. R. Stålpmagel on coins of Ghāṣ-ud-dīn and Mu'izz-ud-dīn bin Sām, describing eight dirhems of the two brothers whose names are joined on them, and dated in 596, 597, and 598 A. H. The paper is illustrated by a plate of three specimens.

The Society has also published as an extra part to vol. XLVII., "A Sketch of the Turki Language as spoken in Eastern Turkistan," by R. B. Shaw,—a vocabulary of 226 pages.

BOOK NOTICES.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, Vol. IX.: Report of a Tour in the Central Provinces in 1873-74 and 1874-75. By Alexander Cunningham, C.S.I., C.I.E., &c. Calcutta: 1879.

In this ninth volume of his *Reports*, General Cunningham takes occasion to discuss the starting point of the Gupta era. For fixing the epoch of this era he adduces the following data:—(1) the "date of Buddha Gupta's pillar inscription at Eran in the year 165, Thursday 12th Ashāḍha sudi"; (2) the "date of Dhruva-bhāṣa in Samvat 447, he being presumably the king of that name who was reigning at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit in A. D. 640;" (3) the "date of the Mōrvi copperplate in the year 585

of the Gupta era, on the 5th Phālgun sudi, at the time of a solar eclipse," and (4) "the name of the 12-year cycle of Jupiter in five different inscriptions added to the date of the Gupta era." These five are—Mahā-Vaiśākha in Hastin's inscription of 156; Mahā-Aśvayuja in another of 173, and Mahā-Chaitra in a third of the same king dated 191; the fourth Mahā-Māgha is on an inscription of Hastin and Sarvaśātha, and the fifth is Mahā-Aśvayuja on one of king Sankshobha dated in the year 209.

General Cunningham points out, as had been done before him by Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 80), that if the sixth Śukāḍitya of Valabhī, who

bears also the name of *Dhruvabhāṭa*, be the king of the same name visited by Hwen Tsang, then the date on his copperplate of Śaka 447 must relate to some era commencing about 190 to 200 A.D. He says—"Of course, Dhruvabhāṭa's inscription may be some 25 or 30 years either earlier or later than the pilgrim's visit." This we cannot quite agree to, as we have a published inscription of Śāḍitya V., the father of the king in question, dated in Śaka 441,—so that 6 years is the utmost limit on one side, and thus the epoch cannot be placed much lower than A.D. 200.¹ He then computes that 12th Aśvādha sudi fell on a *Thursday*, on 24th June (O. S.) 359 A.D., and if this correspond with Buddha-Gupta's date in 165, the initial point of the epoch must be in 194 A. D., he also finds that there was a solar eclipse on 14th Magh vadi or 10th February 780 A. D., and considering this as the eclipse mentioned in the Morvi plate (*Ind. Ant.* vol. II, p. 258), he arrives at A. D. 195 as the 1st year of the Gupta-kāl. We have had these computations performed, and find that in E. long. 71° and lat. 23° N.² (near the position of Morvi), there was a solar eclipse on 10th Feb. 780 A. D. (15 Magh vadi), which lasted about 2 hours 50 minutes, the greatest obscuration being at 2h. 21m. P.M. and extending to fully half the sun's diameter at the assumed locality. For the other date, we find the 12th tithi of Aśvādha sudi began 30 p. 20 or 35 p. after sunrise on 23rd June 359 A.D., but if we follow the rule that when a tithi begins after sunrise, it is held to cohere with the following day, we find the date to be *Thursday*, 24th June, as the General states. Too much weight, however, should not be ascribed to this latter coincidence.

The names of the years in the Jovian 12-year cycle do not strengthen the argument; for, if we assume any one of them to be correct, the others must fall into their places. What is wanted to render them of any value for this purpose is distinct and authoritative information as to the use of this cycle and the date from which it starts.

As to the initial date, however, an additional argument might be added. The suggestion we believe is due to Dr. Bühler that the forged grant of Dharasena II. dated Śaka 400³ is approximately correct in its date. Now Dharasena must have died between 272 and 286 of the Valabhi era, and if we assume 284 as the date, and as coincident with the year in which the plates are dated,

or A.D. 478-9, we obtain A.D. 104-5 as the epoch. The forgery was fabricated of course later than Śaka 400, but not so late as that the date of Dharasena was not known at least within a few years. The assumption of the round number 400 as the numeral, may itself be due to some slight uncertainty as to the exact date to be fixed upon; but otherwise, if we allow that the forgery was made within a century or so of the date it presents, this plate is corroborative of the theory as to the initial date of the Gupta era which Dr. Bühler first suggested.

General Cunningham then attempts to show that Dronasimha may have begun his reign as early, according to this reckoning, as A.D. 345 or 370 (that is 171 or 176 of the Gupta era), and so have been contemporary with Buddha-Gupta. Now as his elder brother reigned before Dronasimha, his father Bhatārka can hardly, on this supposition, have died before 166, and Dharapatta, the fourth son of the latter, reigned for some time between 216 and 236. This makes the son survive his father by about 65 years,—which is somewhat unusual. This difficulty is in no way, however, connected with the initial epoch of the Gupta era, for the same thing must occur wherever we fix that epoch. But if we assume, as we may do without any forcing of the ages, that Bhatārka lived till 176 or 180, that Dharasena was Śaṅkapatil about 190, and that Dronasimha then acquired power, he might still be contemporary with Buddha-Gupta, during the last year of that king's reign (if he lived to 190⁴), and have been crowned by him. But it is more natural to suppose that he was crowned by Bānugupta,⁵ in whose reign we have the date 191 on an inscription at Kan. This clears away the objection which arises from assuming that Dronasimha had a very long reign.

General Cunningham next assumes that the Gupta kāl dates from the commencement of Chandragupta's reign; but as we have Chandragupta II. dating in 82 and 93, and his son Kumāragupta from 96 to 129, there seems no necessity for extending the four reigns over 130 years. With an average of nearly 22 years to each king, this period would include the six kings of the dynasty from its rise under Śri Gupta, who would thus be placed 60 years later than General Cunningham assumes.

¹ In 1878 I was led on the same grounds "to place the initial date of the Valabhi era about A. D. 195," but not regarding the point as sufficiently proved no further use was made of it (*Descrip. Account of the Rock-Temples of W. India*, p. 11); also *Cave Temples of India*, p. 191.—J. B.

² This eclipse would be central at noon in about lat. 18° 28' N. long. 57° 26' E.

³ *Ind. Ant.* vol. V, p. 110; vol. VII, p. 63; vol. VIII, p. 301; and *Jour. As. Soc. Ind.* vol. VIII, p. 244.

⁴ The latest date we have connected with Budhagupta is 182.

⁵ Mr. Newton (*Jour. B. R. As. Soc.* vol. VII, p. 11) has read this name Bānugupta; from another very clear example, however, it appears to be plainly Bānugupta. General Cunningham regards Mr. Newton's and Sir E. C. Bayley's readings as imperfect renderings of Chandragupta (p. 23); the occurrence of the name Bānugupta, with the date 191, however, places this matter beyond dispute.

It is to be regretted that General Cunningham is so sparing in the citation of his authorities; thus, though founding his argument largely for the fixation of the Gupta era on Dhruvabhāṣa's grant and the Morvi plate, he gives no reference to where they are to be found; and one is a little startled to find him referring to "an inscription of the Chālukyas as early as the reign of Mangala, or Mangalisa, the son of Pulakesi before A.D. 550" (p. 101), and the further statement that "the inscription of Mangalisa is dated at full length, but the numeral word is unfortunately doubtful. It was read *chāḥatasa* by General LeGrand Jacob, but I think it must be intended for *Chaturtha Samvatsara*, the 4th year, which would be about A.D. 533" (p. 102). Now the inscription here referred to is evidently the third Nēur grant, published in the *Journal Asiat. B. E. As. Soc.* (vol. III., pt. ii., pp. 209ff.) and, with a facsimile, in the *Ind. Antiquary* (vol. VI., pp. 161ff.), and the plates being in excellent preservation, there can be no doubt about the word referred to:—the grant is not dated, and both General Sir G. LeGrand Jacob and Mr. Fleet read the whole phrase alluded to as—*śaṣṭhi-vijayā cāka kate d saṁvatsara-pūjyatasadyam hīstikāṇḍadatyāh*, &c. The only dated inscription we have of Maṅgalisa is that at Bādāmi, of Śaka 500, A.D. 579* in the 12th year of his reign, which places his accession in A.D. 567 or about 38 years later than General Cunningham assumes. And the grant in question is evidently later than that of Bādāmi and may be even 60 years later than the General suggests. Then the dates of the inscription of Pahwa and on a Banāras copperplate of Mahendrapāla Deva are referred, without remark, to "the era of Harshavardhana of Kanauj," whilst no sufficient evidence is adduced or referred to that any such era was really in vogue.

These statements have reference to the principal other chronological point discussed in this volume—the era of the Chedi dynasty. Now there are eight inscriptions of the Chedis, dating from 793 to 928, and General Cunningham sets himself with his usual sagacity to determine the epoch from which they date, from the days of the month and of the week mentioned in each. Aided by these and several approximate synchronisms—some of which, as has just been indicated, may be questioned or modified,—he fixes on A.D. 250 as the initial date, and then finds that in four cases out of the eight the week days would coincide with those of the inscriptions, while in two cases they would fall on the day following, in one on the day preceding, and in one on the second day before. This result is not so satis-

factory as he expected, but the difference of a single day in three cases, he regards as "an amount of deviation which is not uncommon in Hindu dates,"—yet the Budhagupta date (p. 17) is regarded as incompatible with the usual Valabhi reckoning because it differs just one day from that computed. We think General Cunningham is probably very nearly correct in the important conclusion he arrives at regarding the epoch of the Chedi era, though, to be consistent, he must minimise the value of the Budhagupta date in fixing the Gupta era. But the synchronisms given long ago by Dr. Fitzedward Hall (*Jour. Amer. Orient. Soc.* vol. VI. p. 501) distinctly indicated 250 A.D. as the first year of the Chedi era. The volume is illustrated by thirty plates of inscriptions and drawings.

DIE NACHFOLGER ALEXANDERS DES GROSSEN IN BAKTRIA und Indien, von Alfred von Sallet. (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1879.)

On the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C., as is well known, his vast dominions were parcelled out among his principal officers. Stasanor, who had been appointed to the satrapy of Drangiana by Alexander himself, retained it after his death, but in the subsequent division at Triparadeisos (B.C. 321), he exchanged it for the government of Baktria and Sogdiana. Here he established himself so firmly that Antigonos prudently left him in undisturbed possession B.C. 316. In India, Eudemus had been left in command of the troops with Pithon, the son of Agenor, and Philip son of Makhanas, as satraps. The latter was murdered in 326 B.C. Pithon was removed to Babylon in 316 B.C., and Eudemus went to the assistance of Eumenes in 317 B.C., and was put to death by Antigonos. Seleukos Nikator, to whom Babylon had been at first assigned, after various changes of fortune, rose to great power, and between 311 and 302 B.C. extended his rule towards the east, and even invaded India, where he formed a matrimonial alliance with Chandragupta. Under his grandson Antiochos Soter B.C. 281–266, when his kingdom was weakened by his long war with Ptolemy Philadelphos, Arsakes established the Parthian kingdom B.C. 259, and shortly afterwards Diodotos, governor of Baktria, revolted, and made Baktria an independent state. Seleukos Kallinikos (246–235) undertook an expedition against the Parthians, and seems to have entered into an alliance with Diodotos to secure his co-operation, but he was totally defeated by the Parthians.

The successors of these Greco-Baktrian kings are known to us almost solely from their coins;

* See *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. pp. 303ff., and vol. III. pp. 360ff.

these have been discussed by several authors,¹ and A. von Sallet has done a service to science by the preparation of this modest little work of 232 pages and 7 plates, on the coins known up to the present.

The historical résumé, with which the book opens, occupies about a third of the whole. Plato, who reigned towards the end of the lifetime of Eukratides (cir. 165 B. C.), and of whom there is a unique tetradrachm of the Attic character, had not begun to use Aryan inscriptions on his silver coins, whence the author assumes that the reduction of the monetary standard and the use of the Aryan alphabet in the Baktrio-Indian kingdoms (of Eukratides, Heliokles, and Antialkides) must have been introduced after 165 B. C. in the last years of Eukratides, and that his reign must have terminated at latest about 150 B. C. After Heliokles, Plato and Antialkides all certain indications of dates fail us and the author at this point sums up in tabular form the numismatic results obtained thus (p. 29):—

The established dates of Greek rule in Baktria and India.

Alexander the Great coins square copper money in India or Baktria?

Sophytes, an Indian prince and vassal of Alexander the Great, in the neighbourhood of the modern Lahor coins Greek money about the year 305 B. C., imitating the head of Seleukos I. of Syria.

Antiochos II. of Syria issues (about 256 or 250) Baktrian coins with the name of Antiochos and national Baktrian type. Diodotos, called Soter by the later kings, about 256 or 250 becomes independent king of Baktria (revolted or was acknowledged by Antiochos). His son Diodotos II. mentioned by Justin is not proved by the coins and doubtful.

The following reigns stand side by side.

Demetrius	Eukratides	Agathokles	Antimakhos	Antialkides
Euthydemos II.	Heliokles	Pantaleon	ἑὸς	(perhaps somewhat later)
	during the later nominal part of the reign of Eukratides.	(or in inverted order)		
	Plato 165 B. C.			

Euthydemos from Magnesia follows him or his dynasty in Baktria—as appears from the coins, peaceably; but—according to Polybios—after setting aside the “grandchild of the rebel.” War with Antiochos III. of Syria. Treaty of peace. Antiochos promises (and afterwards gives?) his daughter (Laodike?) to Demetrius the son of Euthydemos. Euthydemos dies in old age.

Demetrius, son of Euthydemos, follows him, and extends his dominions as far as India. Bilingual coins appear. Demetrius makes war with—

Eukratides, king of Baktria, who reigns in the time of one of the earliest Arsakidan kings, therefore probably about 200 B. C. A treaty of peace (according to authors the overthrow of Demetrius and occupation of India) with favourable conditions for the victorious Eukratides (?); Demetrius gives his daughter Laodike to the son of Eukratides, Heliokles (?). Coins of Eukratides struck at the wedding of his son Heliokles and Laodike.

Heliokles coins as co-regent (socius regni, according to Justin) with his father.

Euthydemos II., son of Demetrius, a boy, coins (as co-regent with his father?)

These coins of Euthydemos II. are of the same date as those of

Pantaleon Antimakhos (ἑὸς),
Agathokles.

Pantaleon and Agathokles belong to the same kingdom, possibly Pantaleon's is a short reign immediately preceding that of Agathokles. Agathokles and Antimakhos strike the coins of their predecessors: among these, as predecessors on the Baktrian throne are thus honoured:

Antiochos Nikator (II F),
Diodotos Soter,
Euthydemos Theos.

¹ Beyer, *Historia regni Bactriani* (Petrov. 1798); Monnet, *Supplément*, vol. VIII. (1837); Lassen, *Zur Geschichte der Griechischen und Indisch-Baktrischen Könige* (Bonn, 1858); the same translated by Dr. Roer and H. Torrens in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. IX, pp. 251, 339, 449, 627, and 736 ff.; Grotefend, *Coins of Greek, Parthian, and Indo-Scythian Kings of Baktria and the countries on the Indus* (Hannover, 1859); H. H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua* (Lond. 1841), and papers in *Asiat. Res.* vol. XVII, pp. 359 ff., *Jour. E. As. Soc.* vol. III, p. 381, *Numismatic Journal* vol. I, p. 144, &c., H. Torrens in *Jour. A. S. Beng.* vol. IX, p. 70; vol. XI, p. 137; vol. XX, p. 137; Cunningham, *J. A. S. Soc.* vol. IX, pp. 393, 551, 807, 1008, 1217; vol. X, p. 359; vol. XI, p. 130; vol. XXIII, p. 379; *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. VIII, p. 175; also in vol. IX, X, XII, XIII;

Tod in *Trans. R. As. Soc.* vol. I, p. 313; J. Bird, in *J. Burm. R. As. Soc.* vol. I, p. 295, and *Histor. Researches*; M. E. Jacquet in *Jour. Asiatique*, *Séme Sér.* t. I, (1836), p. 122; t. II, p. 234; t. IV, (1837), p. 401; t. V, (1838), p. 163; t. VII (1839), p. 385; Longpré, *Rev. Num.* *Bols* (1839) p. 81; M. Haoul Rochette *Jour. des Savants*, 1834, pp. 328, 329; *Supplément*, 1835, pp. 514, 577, 640, 765; *2me Suppl.* 1836, pp. 6, 129; *Séme Suppl.* 1838, p. 730, 1839, p. 89, and 1844, p. 198; Lassen, *Afterth.* Bd. II, 88, 239 ff. Prinsep, *Antiquities* (ed. Thomas), vol. II, pp. 125 ff. Thomas, in *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. XX, p. 90, in *J. A. S. Soc.* vol. XXVII, p. 251, *Nouv. Chron.* vol. XIX, p. 13, and *N. S.* vol. IV, p. 108; W. S. W. Vans, in *id.* vol. XVI, p. 166, and *N. S.* vol. XV, p. i. ff.

The reduction of the coin took place in the later years of Eukratides; the change being from the Attic standard hitherto in use.

Eukratides Antialkides
Heliokles

From this period all the princes coin according to the reduced standard.

In the later days of Eukratides: Antialkides's successor, perhaps not contemporary:

Apollodotos. Lysias
Heliokles follows Eukratides.

Strato contemporary of the latter part of the reign of Heliokles.

Agathokleia
Strato's wife.

Strato II. "the beloved of his father," Strato's Son.

So far all is certain, or, according to the coins, in the highest degree probable. With the death of Heliokles, or more correctly with the reduction of the coin in the later years of Eukratides, there begins suddenly large series of other Greek coins of the Indo-Baktrian kings so very like one another in style that it is quite impossible, as before, where writers still help us a little, to arrange them chronologically. Antialkides, Lysias, Apollodotos, Strato, have already been spoken of so far as they reach into earlier times, but from the joint character of their coins the greater part of their reigns, also stretch into the time of these later Greek Indo-Baktrian kings, whose names the author arranges here in alphabetical order before giving them chronologically.

Names.	Surnames.
Agathokleia (Strato I's wife).	Theotropos
Amyntas	Nikator
Antialkides	Nikephoros
Antimakhos (II.)	Nikephoros
Apollodotos	Soter, Megas, Philopator
Apollonios	Soter
Archebios	Dekaioi, Nikephoros
Artemidoros	Aniketoi
Diomedes	Soter
Dionysios	Soter
Epander	Nikephoros
Hermaios	Soter
„ and Kalliope	
[Sy-Hermaios]	Soter
Hippestratos	Soter, Megas
Lysias	Aniketoi
Menander	Soter, Dikaioi

Names.	Surnames.
Nikias	Soter
Philoxenos	Aniketoi
Strato I.	Soter, Epiphaneis, Dikaioi
Strato II. Strato's Son	Soter, in the Aryan transcript still "loving his father"
Telephos	Euergetes
Theophilos	Dikaioi
Zoilas	Soter, Dikaioi

We now pass on to give a translation* of a later paragraph (p. 42) of this resumé:—

"On the occasion of the publication of the tetradrachm of Plato, Vaux made the striking remark, that a comparatively large number of the names of the Baktrian kings occur again in the army or companions of Alexander the Great, and that we may therefore appropriately recognize in the Baktrian kings, the descendants of those companions of Alexander, who remained behind in Baktria or India as a kind of Emeriti. Although, considering our fragmentary knowledge of the statistics of ancient names, we can here prove but little, it cannot be denied that an examination of the Baktrian royal names in the sense indicated by Vaux, leads to surprising results. Following Vaux, I give the list of all the Baktrian kings, with remarks on the names which appeared in Macedonia, especially in the surroundings of Alexander and of the Diadochoi."

Diodotos is the name of the Syrian usurper, later called Tryphon after Antiochos VI. (Diodor).

Euthydemos from Magnesia.

Demetrius,—a frequent name, especially in Macedonia. One of them belonged to the Hetairoi (the mounted body-guards of the Macedonian kings were thus called) of Alexander the Great: commander of Cavalry under Alexander.

Eukratides.

Heliokles.

Laodike.—A frequent name of Syrian princesses.

Agathokles—a Thessalian flatterer of Philip; Eparch of Persis under Antiochos II. (but this is dubious. See Droysen's *Epigonen*. 331, 337).

Pantaleon—a Macedonian from Pydna (Arrian).

Antimakhos—a Macedonian, (Polyb. b. 29. 1, c) in the time of king Persens (Didot's edition the Index of the Latin translation has erroneously "Antimarchus").

Plato—an Athenian, cavalry officer of Alexander (Curtius).

Agathokleia.

* Prepared by Mr. E. Behnsok.

§ "For this purpose I chiefly use the list of Vaux and the

Nomenclature by Pape-Benseler. I make some slight additions."—Author's note.

Amyntas—a frequent Makedonian name, also of several companions of Alexander, one of whom was Satrap of Baktria (Arrian, Justin).

Antialkides.

Antimakhos (II).

Apollodotos or perhaps **Apollodoros**, a Satrap of Babylonia, strategos of Susiana.

Apollophanes—Satrap of the Orites or Gedrosians (Arrian).—A Pydnæan.

Arkhebios.

Artemidoros.

Diomedes.

Dionysius—a frequent name also in Makedonia. A friend of Ptolemaios Soter.—A Dionysius is sent to India during the reign of Ptolemaios II. Philadelphos.

Epander.

Hermaios.

Kalliope—town in Parthia.

Hippostratos—a Makedonian (Arrian); a commander of Antigonos in Media (Diod. and others); Governor for Lysimakhos in the Ionian towns. (Recently found inscription.)

Lysias—often in Syria; officer of Seleukos (Polymn.) Guardian of Antiochos Eupator, and others.

Menander—a Menander of Magnesia (hence like Euthydemos) one of the Hetairoi and officer of Alexander and after his death in Lydia (Arrian, Justin); another companion of Alexander (Plutarch).

Nikias—one of the officials of Alexander (Arrian). A relative of king Ptolemaios, and of others; a Makedonian.

Philoxenos—Alexander's Governor in Ionia and Susiana, &c. (Arrian and others); Alexander writes to a Philoxenos (Arrian); son of Ptolemaios Alorites (Plut.).

Strato—son of the prince of Arsakos; prince of Sidon; a historian who describes the war of Persens.

Telephos—a Makedonian, one of the Hetairoi of Alexander (Arrian).

Theophilos.

Zoilos—a rhetorician who lived at Amphipolis in Makedonia; a coin-engraver or official of king Persens; Zoilos from Beroia (in Makedonia?)—Arrian.)

"We have 28 names in all (besides women); eleven of these are stated to have been names of companions of Alexander, natives of Makedonia and of other provinces; some to have been even satraps in Baktrian districts, whilst others occur among the Diadochoi and in Makedonia. As already observed, nothing can be proved, but nobody will

deny that an examination like the above is important, especially as rare names, such as **Telephos**, occur, which is a genuine Makedonian name, and **Heraklos**, the Makedonian chief god, is the father of **Telephos**. Also the coin of Zoilos with Heracles' head, club and bow, resembling the copper-money of Alexander, may point to Makedonia, and perhaps even to Alexander."

Again (p. 51) he remarks:—"The close connection with the adjoining Parthian realm appears from the Parthian names of many sovereigns, such as **Vonones**, **Abdagases** (in Tacitus—the name of a Parthian dynast), **Pakores** (*sic*), and lastly even an **Arsakes** who belonged according to the coinage also to the **Axes** kingdom. Different from this is the unique coin (a square copper coin) of the Berlin collection, with the Arsakidan typical horse, bow and quiver, used precisely in the same manner already by Mauss, and which I ascribe with confidence to a Bactro-Indian **Arsakes** *évé* who uses only Greek, not Aryan, and may in spite of the Θ , ϵ and ζ belong to a tolerably good age.—The king **Yndopheres**, also **Gondophares**, &c. is the only one of these Partho-Baktrian reigns known to us with certainty from an Aryan inscription, which is to be examined more particularly.

"This inscription is from **Takht-i-Bahj** near (a little N. E. from) Peshawar on the Indus, and begins with the words: *Mahdajass' G... pharraz*, and means:—"In the 26th year of the great king *G... phara*, in the Samvat year 100." If, as is most probable, this somewhat longer royal name is identical with that on the coins, we obtain, besides the information that this king reigned at least 26 years, also the date of a year. *Samvat* means only "era," and would therefore demonstrate nothing, if the **Turushkas** had not used this identical *Samvat-era* on their inscriptions in various regions, as well as in the vicinity of the spot where the **Gondophares** inscription was found. Accordingly **Gondophares** would fall into the time of, or perhaps even after, the last **Turushka**-prince **Bazodéo** whose *Samvat* years reach as far as 98. In my opinion this is numismatically scarcely possible, because **Bazodéo** cannot be very far from the time of the Sassanians while **Yndopheres** or **Gondophares** seems to be earlier. If therefore different eras were not used by **Gondophares** on the one part and the **Turushkas** on the other, and if the inscription really contains the name of the **Gondophares** of the coins, where it has 3 letters more, a difficulty presents itself here, the solution of which is referred to Indo-

instead of *es*.

* This king is thus properly called: **Philoxenos**, as the word is almost everywhere spelt, is nothing. We find in books even **Lysias** instead of **Lysios**, also transcripts such as **Menandrus**, **Alexandrus**; **Antialkidas**, **Axes** &c.

* See the inscription published by Dowson in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. vol. VII, p. 376. A photograph is in the Jager collection of the Berlin Museum.

logues. I would, however, perhaps place Gondophares *after* Chr. but *before* the Turushkas. That this Yndopheres (Gondophares &c.), the uncle of Abdagases, coined also pure Greek silver-drachms with βασιλεὺς βασιλείας μεγας (sic) Ὑνδοφάρης ἀντισφαιρο, like those of Sanabarus, and almost exactly resembling those of the Parthian supreme king, is one of the more important results of my researches.

"Might not Sanabarus perhaps be identical with the Indian king called in the *Periplus maris Erythraei*—Μάμβαρος and Ἀκιάβαρος? The marks purporting to be Seleukid numbers on his drachms (*Nuss. Chr. N. S.* vol. XI. p. 217) are not at all years, as the Berlin specimens show. The pretended ΓΙΤ is once quite plainly τττ and once the signs τττττ go round the throne like ornaments. If the time of the composition of the *Periplus* and the identity of the names were quite certain, we should here obtain most important data, because Sanabarus and Yndopheres are certainly almost contemporaries. Abdagases is the nephew of Yndopheres, &c. But so long as all this is not perfectly certain, no further combinations can be attempted. A contemporary of Yndopheres is also Orthagnes (?), who places in Aryan characters the name of this his contemporary upon the coins, as king, resembling Pakores, and dressed according to the Parthian fashion. Some ephemeral dynasts, such as Zeionises, and two which cannot yet be named with certainty, among whom is also one whose Aryan superscription I read according to clear specimens as "mahadrjasa mahatasa kashanaskayala . . ." and who yet belong to the Azes series—present but little historical information; nevertheless the Greek title 'satrap' which occurs, according to the readings of Prinsep, on the coins of Zeionises, is settled and important.

"A king resembling the Arsakides in his bust, and made known by Gardner from a unique coin in the British Museum, is certainly, according to the inscription, a king of the Saka-Skythians; because the curious inscription of this tetradrachm is in later characters—ϣαπανοειδης Ἡπίου Σάκας κομης. How remarkable, that just in non-Hellenic and half-Greek regions Homeric reminiscences present themselves in the popular language! Thus, in the Cyprus dialect the Homeric κορυμνός stands for brother, and in the distant Indo-Skythian east we find the ancient κομης for ruler! The forms of the participle βασιλείωντος Ἡπίου Σάκας κομης are from the oldest times (Agathokles, Antimachos) at home in those regions."

The author concludes this part of the book (p. 65) with the series of Bactro-Indian kings who used the Greek alphabet, but whose names were

not Greek, arranged according to the order developed by him, generally current, and but little differing from it except by a few additions of years which are determined conjecturally:

1. Ranjabala (Greek PAZY or like it).
2. Maues. At least 100 B. C.

The Azes Series.


3. Azes, successor (and son?) of Maues.
4. Azes and his strategos Aspavarma } identical.
5. Azes and Aspatis, his strategos. }
6. Axilises, contemporary of Azes.
7. Vonones and Azes.
8. Vonones and Spalahara.
9. Vonones and Spalagadama, son of Spalahara. This is identical with Spaliris.
10. Spaliris (a) as king's brother, (b) as king.
11. Spaliris and Azes.
12. Spaliris (or Spalirys) king's brother. His Aryan name is Spalagadama, son of Spalahara.
13. Arsakes, βασιλεὺς (*Nam. Chron.* vol. XIX, p. 62).
14. Arsakes, θεός, unique coin in Berlin.
15. Yndopheres, also Gondophares, and similar.
16. Sanabarus, contemporary (successor?) of Yndopheres in the same region. Identical with Μάμβαρος, Ἀκιάβαρος of the *Periplus mar. Erythr.* Late Arsakid.
17. Abdagases, brother's son of Gondophares.
18. Abdagases with differing inscription on the reverse (*Nam. Chron.* vol. XIX. p. 62): "Sub-Abdagases Sasin."
19. Zeionises.
20. Undetermined with the title,—Mahadrjasa Mahatasa Kashanaskayala (Berlin).
21. Pakores.
22. Orthagnes, with the name of Gondophares on the reverse, Aryan.
23. Heraos, king of the Sakas.
24. Soter Megaa.
25. Yrkodes.

The Kadphises and the Turushka Series.

26. Kadphises (I.) with Hermaios symbols.
27. Kadphises.
28. Kadphises (II.). Time of Augustus? or later?
29. Kanerku or Kanerki. First century A.D.?
30. Ooerki.
31. Ooer Kenorano.
32. Bazodeo.
33. Barbarized.
34. Barbarized under Sassanian influence.

About the time of the Sassanian Sapor I. 238–269 A.D.

"Here I must, in conclusion," he adds (p. 67), although entirely in contradiction to the current views of Indologists, "reject one class of coins from the domain of Græco-Indian moneys. It is an extremely numerous series of Indian royal coins,

mostly of silver, executed in entirely national-Indian, inartistic, chiefly barbarian, workmanship with the following symbols :—a king's head (with moustaches). Reverse generally the symbol  with waves beneath it, giving "in beautiful uniform Devanāgarī letters" (Lassen) the names and titles of a large series of kings of the Śaśa-dynasty of Śiṃha-kings; fourteen in number according to Thomas (*J. R. A. S.* vol. XII., pp. 1-72) and according to Newton even twenty-three :

- 1, Śiṃha Datta.
- 2, Rudra Śaśa I.
- 3, Aśa Datta.
- 4, Dama Śaśa, &c.

the last is called Śaśa Rudra Śaśa IV. The titles of these kings in long inscriptions contain, among other matters, the satrap designation *Kaśatrapasa*.

"The heads on these coins have Greek circumscriptions, and we shall at once discuss them; one of them had been considered as the name of the Baktrian king Dionysios. According to the assumption of Thomas these kings reigned from 157 B.C., but Lassen (II. 929) is inclined to place them even as satraps under Euthydemus.

"This determination is however quite disallowed to a numismatist. The coins are so bad, coarse, and late in the form of the letters, and, even in the Indian ones so totally different from all the antique characters, that the whole series is evidently a kind of continuation of the bad silver-drachms of $\Upsilon\text{P}\text{K}\text{O}\text{O}\Delta\text{O}\Upsilon$; nay the coins of the Gupta-kings closely and immediately following the Śiṃhas with symbols entirely resembling these appear to me even to imitate the fire-altar of the Sassanians (see Thomas's plate, I. c.), so that I must at once, on purely numismatic grounds, consider the whole series as having been coined very late, and long after Christ."

"And now for the 'Greek' of the principal side! The second king Rudra Śaśa is said to have put the name of his supreme king upon his coin! Thomas gives this inscription thus: $\Lambda\text{I}\text{O}\Delta\Upsilon\text{I}\text{H}\Upsilon\text{I}\Delta\text{A}$. When we examine many copies and originals of these coins, we soon become quite certain about the character of this sort of Greek inscriptions."

And then as to the so-called "Greek" legends on the principal side of these coins, after giving examples, the author very sensibly remarks that "whoever practically occupies himself with coins, at once perceives what we have here to deal with, namely, vague *plagia barbarorum* not understood, and nonsensical imitations of Greek letters without any sense or meaning, owing their existence perhaps to $\Upsilon\text{P}\text{K}\text{O}\text{O}\Delta\text{O}\Upsilon$. The value of such inscrip-

tions is nil, and to attempt from such barbarisms and ignorant strokes to make out reasonable Greek names, is as futile as the endeavour to read and to explain the random traits of our mediæval Wendenpfennigs. However familiar numismatists may be with the extremely frequent appearance of corrupted, senseless and worthless legends; the mischief caused again and again by the attempts at this kind of decipherment is nevertheless just as great. Hence I cannot include within the compass of my researches the coins of the Śaśa kings, which, I am convinced, are very late, have senseless inscriptions with strokes derived from Greek models, but perfectly *correct Indian* circumscriptions on the reverse."

In the body of the book (p. 157) he returns to Yndophores,—

"Yndophores is a rare example of the fact that from gradually augmenting, and apparently very minute examinations and discoveries of coins, inscriptions, and notices of authors, a history securely based on official documents is at last formed, which affords a distinct insight into an important epoch in the civilisation and history of a very remote country.

"At first nothing of this king existed, but a mass of coins which were, according to their style, relegated to a tolerably late date, soon after the last Azes-coins. Then the coins of 'Abdagases the brother's son of Gyndipher(es)' were added. Abdagases according to Tacitus was a Parthian dynast; therefore the Parthian descent of Yndophores became probable; which, as well as the immediate contact of his boundaries with those of the Arsakidan realm, is satisfactorily proved by the pure Greek drachm of the Berlin museum, coined exactly in the type and style of the Arsakides, as discovered by me. Of the duration of Yndophores' reign we are informed by the Aryan inscription of Takht-i-Bahl near Peshawar, dated the 26th year of this king's reign, which is at the same time a sign that his sway extended over the Indus countries. After the Arsakidan drachm of Yndophores follow similar coins of Sanabares, and their coarse style implies probably their later production; the heads of these drachms of Sanabares are very much like those of the Arsakidan Volageses I. with the tiara worn during the years 389 and 390 of the Seleukidan era, corresponding to the years 77 and 78 A. D.⁷ Therefore Sanabares must have produced his coins about 80 A. D. and Yndophores had died about 80 A. D.

"But the most interesting information about

* "Determined by me; it may also be easily determined by non-Indians from the excellent representations of these coins given by Thomas.—Rudra Śaśa was determined

by the aulic councillor Pertsch."—AUTHOR.

⁷ According to the determination of Prokesch.—Prokesch's *Arsakides* Tafel. V. 45, S. 61.

Yndophores, Gondopharos, &c. and historically quite coinciding with the above was discovered by English scholars in a source, the utilisation of which for the study of ancient history had probably not been noticed before. It is astonishing that this most interesting discovery has apparently scarcely been noticed (Lassen for instance passes it over entirely).

"The collection of legends, the so-called *Legenda Aurea* or *Historia Lombardica*, arranged in the 13th century by the Genoese bishop Jacobus a Voragine, mentions the Indian Mission of the apostle Thomas as follows (cap. V. p. 33 ed. Graesse, 1846):—"Thomas apostolus cum esset apud Casarem apparuit ei Dominus dicens: rex India Gundoforus misit propositum Abbanem querere hominem architectoria arte eruditum."—Thomas follows the call of the Lord, goes as architect to India, and builds a palace for the king. He is to be killed because he distributes the treasures of the king among the poor, but the king's heart is softened by his brother Gud who had been resuscitated from the dead, and he humbles himself before the apostle. The apostle preaches the gospel, and then betakes himself 'in superiorem Indiam.' The very presence of the apostle Thomas in India has been doubted, but such questions do not concern me; but this medieval collector of legends gives facts, credibly and faithfully culled by him from ancient sources in his possession, not so much events as the diplomatically correct mention of the name of the king, who, as the coins at any rate appear certainly to imply, reigned during the time of the apostles, consequently in the 1st century A.D. (Inscription of Tukt-Bahi) during many years, till the middle of the second half of it, demonstrating, or at least making very probable, a remarkable connection of this Indian king with the first propagators of Christianity. How else could the name of an Indian king, who was so remote and beyond the pale of all civilisation, have become so correctly known to the first legend writers?

"Further conclusions about those masters permeated by myths, or perhaps entirely mythical, are unreliable; that monuments however and legendary reports agree so perfectly in expressing the time and the name, is distinctly to be pointed out just by those who seek to investigate the history of those regions critically, and so purify it from useless conjectures evolved from nothing."

A few of the coins he gives are:—

"Æ. 4. Bearded bust with diadem in rich dress,

resembling the Arsakides,* BACIAEON BACIAEON MEFC (sic) YNΔOΦEPHCAYTO PATO, Sitting king, resembling the type of the Arsakides, but in the raised R. a kind of short sceptre (elephant goad?): behind him a wingless Nike, garlanding him.

"Drachm of tolerably good silver, of the weight of *Arsakides drachms*. Unique of the Berlin museum, from the unascertained Guthrie collection. The title *Autokrator* is first borne by Tryphon of Syria, but then also by an Arsakidan on his drachmas, according to Prokesch the VIIIth Artaban II, according to Gardner the Xth Simatirokes.

"Æ. 4-5 □ The king on horseback, 1, receiving a garland from the Nike who stands before him. Symbol ♀ once a small cross in it.* One or two Aryan monograms. Berlin. Wilson, *Ariana*, Plate VI, 2, and Plate XXI, 16.

"The circumscription of the *obverse* of one of Wilson's specimens is totally destroyed.

"The second of Wilson's coins has plainly on the obverse above ΦΑΡΟΥ, hence the end of the name, the ΜΕΤΑΡΟΥ may be seen on the drawing (on the right) like ΜΙΔΟΥ, then ΡΟΗ. The ΡΟΗ (you not you) cannot however belong to the . . . φάρεω because two or at least one line intervenes. Prinsep-Thomas (vol. II, pp. 215, 4) read BACIAEON . . . ΦΑΡΟΥ (F).

"The Berlin specimen displays only indistinct traces of a circumscription on the chief side.

"The reverse of the first of Wilson's specimens he reads *maharaja* (*rdjardjasa*) *maharajasa*; the drawing does not quite agree with this.

"The reverse of the second better specimen of Wilson has *Gudopharasa* plainly. The preceding word is indistinct—Wilson: *jayadharasa*, Prinsep-Thomas: *ja . . . sa* before *apratihata*sa plainly, preceded according to Wilson's text and drawing certainly by *dharmika*. Prinsep-Thomas read only: *maha . . . dhaga . . . sa*.

"*Dharmika* *apratihata*sa *gudopharasa* appears also to be certain. The Berlin specimen has below certainly the name *gudopha* . . . The circumscription begins on the right, and we perceive with tolerable distinctness *maharajasa rdjardjasa*.

"The round billon and copper-coins of Yndophores, with riders and variously changing orthography of the name, as well as the often spoiled circumscription of both sides, are evidently like the similar ones of Ases, deteriorated tetradrachms.

"Bill. 6. BACIAEON BACIAEON TONΔOΦΑΡΟΥ, The king on horseback, bearded, garland in the R. R. the symbol ♀. *Mahardjardjasa maharajasa*

* E. Thomas, to whom we are indebted for the notice on the legend (Prinsep, *Assyria*, vol. II, p. 214) places the king earlier; but I have shown why he must belong to the 1st cent. A.D.

* I scarcely need warn the reader of the fantastic explanations of this symbol which contains a garland and a cross of the ancient form T, as well as the oft recurring other cuneiform symbols on the coins of this king.

... *gudapharasa*, almost quite distinct. Standing figure V. before, half dressed, with diadem, supporting the L. on the trident, stretching out the R. (Poseidon?) L. and r. monogram. (Wilson, *Ariana*, pl. v. 16)."

"Æ 4-7. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΟΙΤΗΡΟΣ ΥΝΔΟΦΕΡΡΟΥ. Bearded bust with diadem and earrings, in rich dress r. *Drudratasa* (for *trudratasa*, *εὐρύπτερος*) *mahd-rājasa gudapha. asa* or *gudapha. asa*. Nike with garland and palm r. Prinsep-Thomas read *trudratasa* for *drudratasa*. I cannot give a satisfactory explanation of the penultimate letter; it can scarcely be d, it is certainly not an r.

"Æ. small ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Y; bearded head r. *rajadirdjasa mahatasa gudapharasa*, Lightning-throwing Pallas, as in Menander; &c. r. monograms. Prinsep-Thomas No. 7. Remarkable, because this coin demonstrates the succession of Yndopheres to the Greek kings and to Ranjibul¹⁰."

"The coins of the so-called 'Sub-Abdagases Sasan' (Prinsep-Thomas, p. 216) are probably nothing more than a variety of Yndopheres. I have several originals before me; they are copper or more probably *Billon-coins* (deteriorated tetradrachms).

"Æ. 5. Completely barbarized circumscription; &c. The bearded king on horseback r.; with outstretched R. garland. Before him the symbol ☸ and an Aryan-letter.

"Half-dressed figure with diadem r., stretching out the R. in the l. arm a sceptre (Zeus? probably not the king); l. the symbol Ω¹¹; monograms and letters in the field.

"The circumscription is according to Prinsep-Thomas: *mahd-rājasa mahatasa trudratasa. . . gudapharasa sasana*; the omitted word is read by Cunningham (see Prinsep-Thomas, vol. II, p. 216): *devahadasa* "god-hearted." On the reverse of the originals before me, the following is distinct. *Mahara. . . (trudratasa. sahadasa gudapharasa* (or *go* or *gudapharasa*) *sasana*. Therefore the lection *deva-hadasa* is very probable, although the first letter does not look quite like a d. The forms are of course somewhat careless, and therefore the lection *deva-hadasa* is not quite certain, but the name of Yndopheres is entirely so; *gudaphara* (or *go*, *ga*-) and *sasana* in the lection, but *Abdagases* is impossible; not a trace of indication of his name stands on the coins. Also the reading *Sasan* is arbitrary; *Sasan* may certainly be a name, but the founder of the Sasanians can scarcely be meant.

"Æ. 5. Like. Circumscription according to

Cunningham: *mahd-rājasa mēchka (mepidusa) sasana*. Zeus Nikephorus standing l. monograms.

"Of this variety I have never seen a distinct specimen. The drawing in Wilson, *Ariana*, Pl. V. 19 (*ibid.* No. 20 is not of this, but the preceding variety) and the originals before me display only traces of a superscription on the reverse.

"It is at all events certain, that this 'Godopara Sasa' has nothing at all to do with *Abdagases*."

"*Sanabara* is in my opinion perhaps identical with the Indian king 'Ανάβαρος or Νάμβαρος of the *Periplus Mar. Erythr.*—of late Arsakidan times, perhaps about 80 A. D. A contemporary or successor of Yndopheres. His drachms are indeed of good, perhaps of better silver than those of Yndopheres, but later in fabrication.

"Æ. 3. Bearded bust with tiara, l. resembling those which first appeared among the Arsakides of the year ΘΗΓ (389 = 77 A. D.) behind it ΔΠ which is supposed to be = 80.

"ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΤΑΘ ΚΑ ΝΑΒΑΡΟ round the enthroned king r., with tiara, holding a bow, as on the Arsakidan coins. Around the throne ΤΥΓΥΤ r. Ν. Berlin (Prokesch), *Taf.* v. 8."

"Hitherto the letters round the throne have been considered as designating the Seleukidan year ΓΙΓ (hence Γ inversely γ) 313 wherefore *Sanabarus* was placed much earlier than I place him (Thomas l. c. and Gardner, *Parthian Coins*, p. 46). The Berlin specimens demonstrate however the untenableness of this assumed numerals of years. The τ and γ &c. strokes make their appearance in great numbers as a decoration round the throne.

"The head and its tiara appear to me quite evidently copies from later Arsakidians. This tiara first appears, as already observed, on Arsakidan coins in the year 77 A. D., hence the year 77 A. D. is the earliest date for *Sanabarus*." (p. 167).

Abdagases (p. 228). "Nephew of Yndopheres. The passage communicated by Gutschmid from the *Apokryph. Evangelium Thomae de obitu Maris* is important. There the apostle Thomas says of his mission to the king of India: τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ὀνόματι Λαβδανῆς ὑπ' ἑαυτοῦ πολλοὺς σφραγίζεσθαι ἐν τῇ παλατίᾳ. Moreover, besides *Gondophoros*, his brother *Gud* who was converted with him, is mentioned; now Gutschmid justly compares ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ ΑΒΑΔΑ ΓΥΝΔΟΦΕΡΟ ΑΔΕΛΦΙΔΕΩΣ¹² with υἱὸς τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ βασιλέως. This is certainly the same person, and the notice again demonstrates how well the first legend-writers were informed about *Gondophares* and his family.

¹⁰ This word occurs also on p. 47 spell "Ranjahala" as the name of a satrap, but Sollet observes in a foot-note that the letter l is not settled.

¹¹ This occurs at the commencement of early Buddhist inscriptions.—Ed.

¹² This is probably a genitive, not nominative, for ἀδελφιδῆς = ἀδελφιδῶν.

But from the former erroneous lection ΑΟΑΑΑ instead of ΑΒΑΑΑ fixed by the Berlin specimen which I copied, the erroneous suppositions of Gutschmid follow, who considers βασιλεύς to be a barbarous genitive of the name 'Οάδας = Gvād, Gad,—the supposed brother of the king and perhaps = Labdanus (Abdanus), and compares this supposed Oadas with ΟΑΔΟ, the windgod of Kanerka.

"Now the more correct lections of these nephew-coins (Prinsep, *Essays*, vol. II, p. 216,) with the distinct name Αβδαγασα in Aryan, which Gutschmid has not used in this instance, demonstrate the erroneous nature of these conjectures.

"The nephew of Gondophares, as we learn from his coins, was called Abdagases, in Aryan always Abdagasa or Avdagasa, in Greek sometimes corrupted to 'Αβαδάς... 'Αβαλγασεύς, &c. The reading adduced by Gutschmid of υιοῦ τῆς δδελφῆς τοῦ βασιλέως Ααβδαρούς is certain and of great value; this nephew and his name are certainly identical with the Abdagases, Abada..... Abalgases of the coins.

"Gadaphara Sasa.—Gutschmid conjectures to be perhaps 'the father or co-regent' of Gondophares. All this is quite obscure, and the circumscription, supplemented in the titles by Cunningham, and pointing according to Gutschmid to Buddhism: 'Mithradajasa (sic) sackcha-dka- (scapitasa) Sazasa,' is, as I have shown (on pp. 165 and 166) quite uncertain. The specimen adduced in Prinsep-Thomas for this coin from Wilson's *Ariana*, has quite another circumscription, namely, the usual one of Gadaphara Sasa: *mekhasthina tradafasa devahadusa gadapharasa sasasa*, and as Cunningham's lection of the decisive passage is distinctly supplemented; moreover, as this Buddhist title is altogether unheard of on the coins of Gondophares and of his dynasty, the whole title remains uncertain; I have among the numerous coins of the enigmatic 'Gadaphara Sasa' never myself discovered one with the so-called Buddhist titles, hence the whole supposed Buddhism of Gondophares and of his family evaporates, and can be demonstrated by nothing!"

Sallet's volume, from which we have here given abundant selections, will be found most useful to the student of this interesting subject.

HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS from the 9th to the 19th Century: Part II.—The so-called Tartars of Russia and Central Asia. By Henry H. Howorth, F.R.S. 2 vols. London: Longman, Green & Co. 1889.

The first part of Mr. Howorth's *History of the Mongols* was published four years ago, and has taken its place as a sterling work of reference. It was chiefly devoted to the history of the empire of Chinghis Khan. This second division may almost

be regarded as a separate work. It begins with an ethnographical chapter on the Golden Horde, and proceeds in the second to give a history of Juchi Khân the eldest son of Chinghis, of his son Batu Khân who swept down upon Eastern and Central Europe, conquering Muscovy, Poland and Hungary, and threatening the German Empire. The Muhammadans of Western Asia offered to ally themselves with the sovereigns of Western Europe to repel this terrible invader who had established his rule from the Yaik to the Carpathian Mountains, and included a suzerainty over Russia. The third chapter continues the history of the Golden Horde located on the Volga, under Berekd, Bâtâ's brother and successor, who became a Muhammadan, and of his descendants till the extinction of the family, during which period the Grand Dukes of Muscovy were tributaries to the Khân who ruled at Sarai on the Volga. Then follows an account of the struggles for supremacy among the other descendants of Juchi, ending in the rise of the family of Orda, and the decay of the Horde till it shrank into the petty Khânate of Astrakhan, and that in turn was swept away after many struggles by Russia in the 16th century. The history of the Khânate of Krim, which was only crushed and absorbed at the end of last century, is told in the seventh chapter, and the eighth is occupied with an account of the White Horde and the Khirgiz Khazaks descended from tribes subject to Orda the eldest son of Juchi Khan. The Usbeks of Bukhara, Khokand, Kaskozm, and the Khânate in Siberia are treated of in the next three, and the Nogai branch of the Golden Horde in the last chapter.

Mr. Howorth has availed himself fully of the learned works of Von Hammer-Purgstall, Zernof, Grigorief, Blankenagel, Vambery, Schnyler, Lorch, Schmidt, Sorot, Desmaisons, Müller, Levehine, &c. &c. and he has produced a book which must long continue a standard one on the subject. It must have been a work of great toil to get together the materials embraced in these two divisions of over 1100 large and closely printed pages: we hope Mr. Howorth may have the strength and patience to complete the third and concluding Division of his great work.

NĀGĪMANĀ IN JĀI DES SĒPENTS: Drame Bouddhique attribué au roi Cri-Harsa-Deva. Traduit pour la première fois du sanskrit et du prākṛit en français, par Abel Bergaigne, Maître de conférences à la faculté des lettres de Paris, répétiteur à l'école pratique des hautes-études. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1879.)

This translation of the *Nāgīmanā* appears as one of the beautiful little volumes of M. Leroux's 'Bibliothèque orientale élévienne,' which already includes versions of several Sanskrit dramas.

It is well known that the *Nāgīmanā*, like the

Ratnadevi, professes in its prologue to be the work of king Śrī Harshadeva. Dr. Fitzedward Hall (Introd. to the *Vāsevadatta*, pp. 15 ff.) long since attributed the latter to Bāṇa who flourished at the Court of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, and this has since been confirmed by Dr. Bühler (Weber's *Ind. Stud.* Bd. XIV, S. 40; *Hist. Ind. Liter.* p. 204). The *Nāgāwanda* was attributed by Cowell to Dhāvaka—another poet supposed to have flourished at the Court of Harshavardhana, but Weber doubts this and supposes that it may with equal reason be attributed to Bāṇa (*Ind. Streif* Bd. III, S. 106); and M. Bergaigne, with Hall, doubts even the existence of Dhāvaka. The Buddhist character of the drama, however, agrees perfectly with what we know from Hwen Tsang of the favour shown to his religion by king Harshavardhana of Kanauj.

In noticing Boyd's translation of the same Drama (vol. I, pp. 148 ff.) we have given some account of the contents of it. M. Bergaigne in presenting a new version has been obliged to follow the same text, and notwithstanding some differences in the renderings of certain passages, he makes no claim to any scientific novelty. The publication of it ought, however, to help in spreading among readers some knowledge of, and increase a taste for, a very interesting literature.

KINCH OR KĀSHMĪRA : being a translation of the Sanskrit work *Rājataranginī* of Kalhana Pandita. By Jogesh Chunder Dutt. Calcutta: 1879.

The *Rājataranginī* or Historical Chronicle of Kāśmīr is too well known to need description: it is principally accessible to Europeans in Prof. H. H. Wilson's abstract of the first six cantos of it, in the XVth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, and in M. A. Troyer's text and French translation of the whole. But, as is well known, all the printed texts contain corrupt passages, and before any important improvement can be made on Troyer's translation, we must have a revised Sanskrit text,—which it is understood Dr. Bühler is preparing from the valuable MSS. obtained by him for the purpose in Kāśmīr (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, pp. 264 ff.).

"The present work, it should be stated," says the author, "pretends to be nothing more than a faithful rendering into English of a history which already exists in the Sanskrit language." But he has "thought it necessary to omit from the text such stories as relate to superhuman agencies, and to give them in the form of an Appendix, in order

to preserve the continuity of historical narration." Then the translation extends only to the first seven books, it being "the intention of the translator to bring down the history in two more volumes to the period of the conquest of the valley by Akbar."¹

Before blaming Prof. H. H. Wilson for mixing up his abstract "with the whimsical additions and alterations which appear in the Persian translation," as this new translator does, it would have been as well if he had seen that his own version was a scholarly one. If any one will compare the specimen version of the first 107 ślokas given by Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, pp. 268—274) with the first eight pages of what Babu Jogesh Chunder Dutt calls his "faithful rendering," he will be painfully struck with the difference; and further comparison with the Sanskrit text, or even with Troyer's version, will only show more clearly that this translation has no claim to fidelity of rendering. Should the author pursue the translation further he might be advised either to follow the original more closely or to describe it as only a free version—a species of work fully deserving of encouragement, perhaps more so, if only well executed, than a strictly literal translation. Most Sanskrit works will bear condensation in translating, and the *Rājataranginī* among them. This version, though not a faithful one, appears, however, to give a fair representation of the general sense of the text. It is not well printed.

MODERN INDIA AND THE INDIANS, being a series of Impressions, Notes, and Essays. By Member Williams, D.C.L. &c. Third edition. Revised and augmented by considerable additions. (London: Trübner and Co.)

We noticed the first edition of this very readable and instructive book soon after its appearance two years ago, (vol. VII, p. 236), and we heartily welcome this third edition, which contains about a half more matter than the first. Among the additions are two Essays on the 'Progress of our Indian Empire,' originally published in the *Contemporary Review*, while the chapter on the 'Villages and Rural Population of India' and several other sections of the work are quite new. The work now appropriately appears as one of the volumes of Trübner's valuable "Oriental Series," and well deserves the attention of our readers. When another edition appears we trust it will contain others of the recent Essays of Dr. M. Williams on Indian subjects, supplemented by an Index.

¹ The text used seems to be *A History of Kashmir*; consisting of four separate compilations: viz. I. The *Rājataranginī*, by Kalhana Pandita, 1148, A.D.—II. The *Rajastri* by Jona Raja (defective) to 1412, A.D.—

III. Continuation of the same by Sri Vara Pandita, pupil of Jona Raja, A. D. 1477.—IV. The *Rājastri* pūrnā, by Pradya Bhāṭṭa, brought up to the conquest of the Valley by the Emperor Akbar, Calcutta, 1835, in 4to dem.



ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 एतन्मूर्तिपूजाय
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
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 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

KANHERI PAHLAVI INSCRIPTION, No. 2.



ON A RUBBING.

SCALE— $\frac{1}{4}$ ACTUAL SIZE.

THE PAHLAVI INSCRIPTIONS AT KANHERI.

BY E. W. WEST, PH.D., MUNICH.

ANQUETIL DUPERRON appears to have been the first European who specially noticed the Pahlavi inscriptions in the Kanheri Caves. In the account of his visit to the caves in 1790, published eleven years afterwards in his great work on the *Zend-Avesta*,¹ he describes the cave in which they occur, and mentions inscriptions "upon two pilasters which form part of the walls." Although acquainted with the Pahlavi character he thought these inscriptions were Mongolian, probably because they are inscribed in vertical lines, and not horizontally.

No further notice of these inscriptions seems to have been taken for fully a century. They escaped observation when the Kanheri inscriptions were being systematically copied, some twenty-five to thirty years ago, because a Brahman recluse had taken up his abode in the cave which contains them, and had built a small house in front of it. This Brahman first occupied the cave some years before 1848, and remained till 1865, effectually preventing Europeans and others from examining the cave by his presence there.

The late Dr. Bhâu Dâjî, however, being a high-caste Hindu, was able to obtain admittance into the house so far as to examine the exterior of the cave, and about 1861 he found an inscription in the recess over the water-tank, which seemed to him to be in the Kufic character. He showed a copy of this inscription to the late Dr. John Wilson, who at once recognized it as Pahlavi, and referred him to the specimens of Pahlavi writing in Anquetil's *Zend-Avesta*. Dr. Bhâu Dâjî then showed his copy to Professor Haug and some Parsis who were acquainted with Pahlavi, but did not succeed in obtaining any decipherment of its contents. Subsequently he rediscovered and copied the two inscriptions on the pilasters of the cave verandah, which had been noticed by Anquetil.

Shortly afterwards, while examining the ruins of a dagoba on another part of the cave hill, I discovered a few words on one of the stones, which I believed to be in some form of the Arabic character. This short inscription was published, with other details relating to the dagoba, in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of*

the Royal Asiatic Society (vol. VI, pp. 116 ff.) and a Parsi writer soon pointed out that it was in the Pahlavi character; thus directing my attention for the first time to the Pahlavi language.

In December 1865, after the disappearance of the Brahman recluse, I had the first opportunity of seeing the Pahlavi inscription in the tank recess, discovered by Dr. Bhâu Dâjî, of which I made a tracing, and sent a reduced copy to the Bombay Asiatic Society in 1866. This copy and those prepared by Dr. Bhâu Dâjî were soon after discussed in the *Zartushti Abkân*, Nos. 2—4, and the greater part of the three inscriptions was correctly deciphered by Parsi priests well acquainted with Pahlavi; but, owing to the imperfection of the copies, some errors and obscurities occurred in those decipherments.

In December 1870, tracings of the two pilaster inscriptions were taken for me, and in February 1875, I corrected these tracings and that taken in 1865 by comparison with the inscriptions themselves, which I was then better able to read. Mr. Burgess has also recently favoured me with prints of the two clearest inscriptions (one over the tank and the other on the left-hand pilaster) which, with the tracings before-mentioned, probably give the decipherer all the information he is ever likely to obtain with regard to the letters inscribed.

These three Pahlavi inscriptions are all dated, and consist chiefly of the names of certain Parsis who visited the Kanheri Caves early in the eleventh century. They are all three inscribed in vertical lines, to be read from the top downwards; Pahlavi writing being read from right to left. As they would be more conveniently read if the lines were horizontal, the reason for inscribing them in vertical lines is not obvious; but it may be noted that a few short Pahlavi inscriptions, in the same comparatively modern character,* are found in Persia, which are also inscribed in vertical lines.

The earliest date is that in the inscription on the verandah pilaster to the right of a person entering the cave. This inscription is so faintly cut that the greater part of it would be illegible

¹ *Zend-Avesta ouvrage de Zoroaster*, &c. par Anquetil Duperron; Paris, 1771; Tome premier.

* Not the Sassanian inscriptions, which are always in horizontal lines.

if it were not for the fact that the names it contains are the same as those in the second inscription.

With the assistance of that inscription it may be read, line for line, as follows:—

Pavan shem-i yazatō.

Pavan tag mūrvāk va nadūkō dādak denman shnat 300

70 8-1 Yazdakardō bidanā Mitrō yōm

Aōharmanzand hamdūnikān val denman jīnāk yātūnd

hōmand Yazdān-pānāk va Māh-aiyyār-i

Mitra-aiyyār,⁴ Panj-būkhō va Padar-būkhō-i

Māh-aiyyār, Marān-shād-i Hirād-Bāhrām

va Hirād-Bāhrām-i Marān-shād, Mitra-aiyyār-i

Bāhrām-panāh va Bāhrām-panāh-i Mitra-aiyyār,

Falān-zād⁵ va Zād-sparham-i Ātūr-māhān,

Nūk-māhān va Dīn-Bāhrām va Bajūrg-ātūr va Hirād-mard

va Bēh-zādō-i Māh.

This inscription is evidently incomplete, as it stops in the middle of a name, and also omits the names contained in the last two lines of the next inscription. Nearly the whole of the first two lines have been broken away and removed since 1870, and the copy of them could not, therefore, be corrected in 1875; so that the reading of so much of the second line as does not occur in the next inscription, is doubtful.

The next date, which is only forty-five days later, occurs in the inscription in the recess over the water-tank alongside the cave. This inscription, though likewise cut faintly, is much more distinct than the last, and is numbered with the Pahlavi cipher for "two" preceding the invocation in its first line. It contains the

same names as the last inscription, with a few others added at the end to complete the list, and may be read as follows:—

2. Pavan shem-i yazatō.⁶

Shnat 300 va 70 8-1 Yazdakardō bidanā Ācānō

va yōm Mitrō hamdūnikān val denman jīnāk yātūnd

hōmand Yazdān-pānāk va Māh-aiyyār-i

Mitra-aiyyār, Panj-būkhō va Padar-būkhō-i

Māh-aiyyār, Marān-shād-i Hirād-Bāhrām

va Hirād-Bāhrām-i Marān-shād, Mitra-aiyyār-i

Bāhrām-panāh va Bāhrām-panāh-i Mitra-aiyyār,

Falān-zād va Zād-sparham-i Ātūr-māhān,

Nūk-māhān va Dīn-Bāhrām va Bajūrg-ātūr

va Hirād-mard va Bēh-zādō-i Māh-bāzō,⁷

Bāhrām-panāh-i Mitra-bandād.

Māh Ātūr Aōharmanzad-i Ācān-bandād mard.⁸

The third inscription in point of time is that on the left-hand pilaster of the verandah, and is numbered with the Pahlavi cipher for "three" preceding the invocation in its first line. It is dated twelve years later than the preceding inscriptions, and contains a different list of names, in which only four of the names in the previous inscriptions occur. It is fairly legible, and may be read as follows:—

3. Pavan shem-i yazdān.

Bidanā Mitrō va yōm Dīnō shnat 300 90-i

Yazdakardō min Alrān⁹

val denman jīnāk yātūnd hōmand

Māh-Frōhang va Māh-aiyyār

i Mitra-aiyyār, Panj-būkhō-i

Māh-aiyyār, Marān-shād-i

Hirād-Bāhrām, Bēh-zād-i

Mitra-vindād,¹⁰ Jāvidān-bādō-i

Bāhrām-Gōshnaspō, Bajūrg-ātūr-i

part of the name is here written unbroken, but is written in the next inscription and in the next name here.

⁴ This word is illegible, but is assumed to be the same as in the preceding inscription. The *z* in *zōrō*, like the *z* in *zōrō* and *zōrō*, and the *z* in *zōrō* is written like *z* or *le*, as it always is in Pahlavi MSS.; but this is merely a graphical variant, as these words are written with *z*, *zō*, and *zō* in Sassanian Pahlavi.

⁵ The last syllable is circumflexed, but can hardly contain the letter *d*.

⁶ The last letter is doubtful, and the word looks more like *mard*, but this would be unintelligible. This last line is evidently an addition to the inscription after the list of names was finished.

⁷ These last two words are doubtful, *mā* being nearly all cut away, and *Alrān* hardly legible; they occupy the place of the doubtful word *Amulāzō* in the first two inscriptions.

⁸ Presumably the same name as the *Mitra-bandād* of the first two inscriptions.

³ As some sounds are written more ways than one in Pahlavi, italics are used to express such variants; thus, *d* is used for *d* written like *t*, *j* for *j* written like *y*, *l* and *r* for *i* and *e* written either like *n* or like *nn*. *Ācānō* is *ā* and *z* for *v* and *a* written like *ch*.

⁴ *Aiyyār* is merely a provisional reading for the Pahlavi equivalent of Pers. *yār*, until its true sound is ascertained. In the second inscription it is always circumflexed, as if to be read *aiyār*.

⁵ Or, perhaps, *Khōdō-urōt-ānō*, as the final *d* (not being *d*) is doubtful after a vowel.

⁶ In the second inscription the *i* is distinctly noted by a diacritical mark, otherwise it would be better to read *Parānō-zād*, a common Pahlavi name.

⁷ Hitherto I have generally read this word *āyār* derived from the Avesta, but it occurs in Sassanian inscriptions, not only in a form which can be read either *āyār* or *āyār*, but also in another form which must be read *āyār*; it is also transcribed by Syriac writers as *āyār* or *āyār*. The second



FROM A RUBBING

SCALE $\frac{1}{2}$ ACTUAL SIZE.

KANHERI PAHLAVI INSCRIPTIONS.

No. 4.



No. 5.



Māh-bizāde, Māh-aiyyār va Bandūdsh¹³
i Hirād-farukhō, va Māh-bandād-i
Gōhān-khash chīsh¹⁴-nyōkshsh.

The following are translations of these three inscriptions, as transcribed above; the words in italics being understood, but not expressed, in the original Pahlavi:—

1. 'In the name of God.¹⁵

'Through strong omens and the good Judge this¹⁶ year 378 of Yazdakard, on the day Aūhar-masā of the month Mitrō (10th October 1009), there have come to this place the co-religionists¹⁷ Yazdān-pānak and Māh-aiyyār sons of Mitra-aiyyār, Panj-būkt and Padar-būkt sons of Māh-aiyyār, Mardān-shād son of Hirād-Bāhrām and Hirād-Bāhrām son of Mardān-shād, Mitra-aiyyār son of Bāhrām-panāh and Bāhrām-panāh son of Mitra-aiyyār, Palān-zād and Zād-sparham sons of Ātūr-māhān, Nūk-māhān, Dīn-Bāhrām Bajūrg-ātūr, Hirād-mard, and Bēh-zād son of Māh¹⁸.

2. In the name of God.

'In the year 378 of Yazdakard, the month Āvān and day Mitrō (24th November 1009), there have come to this place the co-religionists Yazdān-pānak and Māh-aiyyār, sons of Mitra-aiyyār, Panj-būkt and Padar-būkt sons of Māh-aiyyār, Mardān-shād son of Hirād-Bāhrām and Hirād-Bāhrām¹⁹ son of Mardān-shād, Mitra-aiyyār son of Bāhrām-panāh and Bāhrām-panāh²⁰ son of Mitra-aiyyār, Palān-zād and Zād-sparham sons of Ātūr-māhān, Nūk-māhān, Dīn-Bāhrām, Bajūrg-ātūr, Hirād-mard, and Bēh-zād sons of Māh-bizāde, and Bāhrām-panāh son of Mitra-bandād. In the month Ātūr²¹ Aūhar-masā son of Āvān-bandād died.'

3. In the name of God.²²

'In the month Mitrō and day D'nō of the year 390 of Yazdakard (30th October 1021) there have come from Irān²³ to this place Māh-Frōbag and Māh-aiyyār²⁴ sons of Mitra-aiyyār Panj-būkt²⁵ son of Māh-aiyyār, Mardān-shād²⁶

son of Hirād-Bāhrām, Bēh-zād son of Mitra-vindād, Jāvādān-bād son of Bāhrām-Gūshnasp, Bajūrg-ātūr²⁷ son of Māh-bizāde, Māh-aiyyār and Bandādsh sons of Hirād-farukhō, and Māh-bandād son of Gōhān-khash, the listener to instruction.²⁸

It must have been during the visit mentioned in this third inscription that the few words were inscribed on the dāgoba, as mentioned above; for they mention the same year and one of the same names. This short inscription (No. 5 on the accompanying plate), was correctly deciphered in 1836, as published in the *Zartushti Abkās*, No. 3, p. 164, and is as follows:—

Shnat 300
90-i Yazdaka(v)
Shatra-iyār
Māh-Frōba(g).

'The year 390 of Yazdakard Shatra-iyār. Māh-Frōbag.'

Besides these four Pahlavi inscriptions at Kanheri there has been a fifth (No. 4 on the plate), of which only two or three detached letters are legible on another stone of the dāgoba, which is now in the Museum of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. This inscription appears to have consisted of seven vertical lines on a flat space between two groups of sculpture; but the surface of the stone is so much decayed, that the letters legible are only just sufficient to show that the words have been Pahlavi.

The interest attaching to these Pahlavi inscriptions is threefold:—First, they show that Parsis visited the Kanheri Caves early in the eleventh century. Secondly, they exhibit the form of Pahlavi writing at that period, though due allowance must be made for the fact that such cursive writing is not well-adapted for inscribing on stone. Thirdly, they indicate what kind of names was commonly used by the Parsis of those times; differing very much from the kind now in use.

¹³ Or, perhaps, Bīzā.

¹⁴ This word is doubtful, being partly broken away.

¹⁵ The Pahlavi word is here in the singular number.

¹⁶ As already stated, the reading of this first phrase is doubtful. Another guess would make it mean "in a good omened and happy state I write."

¹⁷ This word is doubtful, but *hazdānān* in seems to be the only intelligible reading for it as it stands in No. 2.

¹⁸ Breaking off in the middle of a name.

¹⁹ Probably a son of the preceding man, who had been named after his grandfather, a custom still common among the Parsis.

²⁰ That is, in the following month (9th Dec. to 8th Jan.). It might possibly be "on the day Māh of the month Ātūr

(29th Dec.); or it might be translated "Māh-Ātūr and Aūhar-masā sons of Āvān-bandād died," but the word "died" is doubtful. This last sentence seems to have been a later addition to the inscription.

²¹ The Pahlavi word is here in the plural number.

²² The words "from Irān" are doubtful, being partly cut away to form a mortice in the rock for attaching wood-work.

²³ These four names also occur in the former lists in Nos. 1 and 2.

²⁴ This last phrase is doubtful, and it is possible that the list of names is incomplete in this inscription, as it is in that on the other pilaster.

With regard to the writing it may be noticed that it differs but little from that of the oldest MSS. extant, which were written three centuries later. The chief differences are that the letter *s* is more like the letter *d* than in the MSS., differing merely in being a deeper letter, and that in compounds of *a* and *u*, or *sh* and *u*, the upper stem of the *u* has almost disappeared, and the first letter is set close down upon the second.

With reference to the men's names we find they were very much of the same character as those borne by the old commentators on the *Avesta*, and others mentioned in the *Bundahish* and elsewhere, who lived between the sixth and ninth centuries. Thus, the names *Māh-a-yār* and *Zā-d-spārham* occur as names of the ninth century in *Bundahish* xxxiii, 7, 11;²² *Mitrō-ayār* occurs in the *Vijākard-i Dīk*²³ as the supposed name of a former husband of one of Zaratūst's wives; *Ādharmaxd* is a man's name still in common use in a corrupted form; *Yazd-panāh* or *Yaxōd-panāh*²⁴ occurs in a Syriac MS. of the twelfth or thirteenth century, containing the *Acts* of certain Persian martyrs; and Professor Hoffmann, in his German translation of these *Acts*, also quotes the names *Mitr-bundād* and *Māh-bundād*.²⁵ Again, *Mardān-shād* may be compared with *Mardān-vēh* and *Vāhrām-shād*.²⁶ *Panjbūkt* and *Padar-bukht* with *Māh-būkt* and *Vād-būkt*.²⁷ *Bajūrg-ātūr* with *Bajūrg-Mihir*, the prime minister of Khāsrō Nōshirvān; *Mitr-vindād*, *Mitra-bandād*, *Ācān-bandād*, and *Māh-bandād* with *Afrōbag-vindād*; *Māh-Frōbag* with *Ātūr-Frōbāg*.²⁸ *Jāvidān-bād* with *Mard-bād*.²⁹

Hirād-farukhō with *Dād-farukh*.³⁰ *Bāhrām-Gūshnasp* with *Māh-Gūshōsp* (*Gūshnasp*?)³¹ and *Mihram-Gūshnasp*.³² and *Ātūr-māhān* and *Nūk-māhān* with *Barz-māhān*.³³

In the translations of these inscriptions the dates corresponding to those inscribed have been calculated on the assumption that these Parsi visitors used the calendar of the Indian Persis. This is, of course, not quite certain; but if they used the calendar of the Persian Persis, which makes the dates one month earlier in the year, they must have arrived at the caves in September, when the jungle is most impenetrable, whereas in October the paths are usually open, and the caves are easy of access from that month till the following August, when the jungle again becomes difficult to traverse for two months.

It is possible that the first two inscriptions refer to two separate visits to the caves by the same party, but, considering the distance these people probably came, it is more likely that they refer to two different periods of the same visit. What induced these Parsis to reside at the caves for more than six weeks it is difficult to guess. If, however, I have correctly interpreted the last line of the second inscription as implying that one of the party died at the caves, it is just possible that he may have been brought there for the benefit of his health. The water in the cave tanks is still esteemed by the natives for its curative effects, and twenty-seven years ago I found an invalid Hindu at the caves, who had been brought there during the rainy season for the benefit of drinking the water.

REPORT ON THE ANCIENT INSCRIPTIONS IN THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCE AND IN THE DISTRICTS OF MATALE AND TRINKOMALI, CEYLON.

BY DR. E. MÜLLER.

(Continued from p. 14.)³

During a second trip to the North-Western Province, and to the districts of Matale and Trinkomali, I corrected the copies of the inscriptions discovered previously, and found several new ones belonging to the first centuries

of the Christian era. I give here the transcripts of those which are well enough preserved to allow of a translation:—

(1) *Kaikāwa*, four miles from Balalla on the road to Yapahu:

²² See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. V, p. 147.

²³ See p. 22 of *Dastūr Peshotanji Behramji's* edition of the text.

²⁴ See Hoffmann's *Ausgabe aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*; Leipzig, 1880; pp. 87–91.

²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 297.

²⁶ See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. V, p. 147.

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 194.

²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 244.

²⁹ See Hoffmann's *Ausgabe*, &c. pp. 94–95.

³⁰ *Ibid.* note 60.

³¹ See also *ibid.*, vol. VIII, p. 221.

Siddham. Patama tera Warasi ametaha jita
Amaryawa ameti Abaha cha duti bati
Wadhachetahata ja bikasagata
ja dina.

'Hail! Amaryawa, the daughter of the chief therā minister Warasi (P), and the second brother of the minister Abhaya gave
to the Wadhachaitya and to the priesthood.'

In the name Amaryawa we have a combination of *ry* analogous to that of *ay* in the inscription at Kirinde, see Goldschmidt's *Report* (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 321). *Wadhachetahata* and *bikasagata* are the oldest instances I met with of the Siñhalese dative composed from the genitive in *ka* = *aya* + *ata* = *arthāya*. *Sagata* already represents the more modern form, where the *h* of the genitive is dropped; *ja* is the intermediate form between the old *cha* and the modern *da*, *d* or *t*, which is now used in Siñhalese.

(2.) Binpokuna, five miles from Galgamuwa :—

Siddham. Datanaka ametaha

(2) chetahata do kariha ka kabare rāja Darakachetaha wawiye cha niñhala chadawawihi

(3) ka.

'Hail! Two *karihas* and four paddy fields [*shall be the property*] of the minister Dāthānāga, and the same number the property of the chaitya of king Dhāraka, at the Chandra tank.'

The character rendered by *ka* in the transcript line 2, 3, is the numeral which expresses 4 in old inscriptions, see Burnell's *South Indian Palaeography*, Pl. xxiii. The numeral 'do' for 'two' occurs also in the inscription at Habarane, line 4, 10, where however it was misunderstood by Goldschmidt. *Niñhala* is most probably a mistake for 'niñhila' = *niñhila*.

(3.) Periyakaḍu vihāra, four miles from Dehelgomuwa on the road from Kurunēgala to Dambula :—

Gamaṇi Aba rajaha wa

(2) ha puwadara sawanaka wasa

(3) ka [pa] rama tera Tusaha ka mahāwawi

(4) [para]ma tera Majiḥa ka gūṇaya Chaka (?) darika webe

(5) rahi chetahata cha bikasagata

(6) dina Chakadaraka wehara [hi] dina.

'From king Gāmiṇi Abhaya [in order]: In the year Puwadara Sawanaka the four great tanks of the chief therā Tusa and

the 4 *gūṇas* of the chief therā Majiḥa are given to the chaitya in the Chakadharaka vihāra, and to the congregation of the priests. To the Chakadharaka vihāra they are given.'

For *puwadara* we find *puṇḍarā* at Habarane and *paridasa* at Ingimitiya; the meaning of it is doubtful. *Sawanaka* is evidently the contrary of *sawanaka* in the Habarane inscription. *Tasa* occurs also in the name of the village Thesavattika, *Mak.* I, 243. *Majjima* was the name of one of the theras who accompanied Mahinda to Ceylon (*Mak.* I, 71, 74). It also occurs in an inscription at Piduruwagala near Sigiri, which runs thus :—

Kolagāmasāwapa Majimayasa jitya Tisāde-wiṇ lene sāsana.

'The cave of Tisāde wi, daughter of Majjima, son of Kolagāmasāwa, is given to the priesthood.'

The name of the king in this inscription Gāmiṇi Abhaya may either point to Gajabāhu Gāmiṇi (116–119 A.D.) or to Meghawanna Abhaya (302–320 A.D.), but to judge from the form of the character it is more probable that it belongs to the latter of the two.

(4.) Kottarakimbiyāwa, four miles from Hiripitiya, not far from the road to Anurādhapura :—

Payati theraha lene savayitha. sadhamasa

(2) sangahāyaya Wesawasikagamawawi melunahi nawanikate.

'This was called the cave of the therā Payati. The tank of the village Wesawasika at this cave has been restored for the priesthood of the true religion.'

The language of this inscription resembles very closely that of the Aśoka inscriptions, although I do not believe that it can be so old. We find here the aspirates *śh* in *thera*, *savayitha*, *sagahāyaya*, and *dh* in *sadhama*, where other inscriptions have the unaspirated *t*, *d*. As far as I know, only Meghawanna Abhaya's inscription at Mihintale (see my *Report*) participates in the same peculiarity, as it writes *paṭhama*, *aṭhaya*, *sadhama*, etc. *Savayitha* is a form quite analogous to *kanayitha* of the Yogi Mārā cave inscription (see Cunningham's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. I, p. 105). It corresponds to Sanskrit *śāśvayikṣa*. *Nikate* is Sanskrit *nishkrīta*: in Pāli it would be *nikkṣata*, but the word does not occur in the texts which are known at present. *Wesawasika* may

be derived from *Wesamansa*, but this demon is generally called *Wesamāsa*, as for instance in the Habarane inscription, line 5.

(5.) *Eriyāwa tank*, four miles from *Mediyāwa* :—

Paru[ma]ya Hipaha puta kaha dine.
Ima wapi Dipigala wihārahi niyate sagnā.

'The son of the Brahman Hipa gave this to This tank is dedicated to the priesthood of the Dipigala vihāra.'

To judge from the form and especially from the size of the letters, this inscription must be about as old as that from *Tonigala* mentioned in my last report (*ante*, p. 10). Unfortunately neither of the names in the inscription can be identified, and the construction of *Eriyāwa tank* is not related in the *Mahāvaṃsa*. A temple *Erakavila*, though, is mentioned at *Mahāvamsa*, p. 237, which may be identical with the still existing *Eriyāwa pansala*.

(6.) Of about the same date as the last mentioned is a cave inscription from *Dambulla vihāra* over the entrance of the temple :—

Dewanapiya mahārājasa Gāmiṇi Tisasa mahāleṇa
agata anāgata chata dīsa sagnā dine.

'The great cave of the great king Gāmiṇi Tissa, beloved of the gods, is given to the priesthood of the four quarters present and absent.'

The title *Devanapiya* has been much discussed with regard to the edicts of *Rupnāth*, *Sahasrām* and *Bairāt*, which Dr. Bühler ascribes to *Aśoka* (*Rhys Davids' Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, p. 59). It occurs frequently in India,* but in the Ceylon books it is only given to the great *Tissa* (307—267 B.C.), who introduced the Buddhistical religion into the island. It is clear that our inscription cannot be ascribed to him; but we find the title also in two other inscriptions at *Gallena vihāra* and *Tonigala* in connexion with the name *Gāmiṇi Abhaya*. This *Gāmiṇi Abhaya* is said to be the son of *Tissa* on the *Tonigala* stone, and according to the *Gallena* inscription he again had a son of the name of *Tissa*. Now, if we look in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the only king of the name of *Gāmiṇi* whose father and son were called *Tissa*† was *Waṭṭagāmiṇi*, and I think that to him all three inscriptions belong. In my former report I ascribed the *Tonigala* inscription to *Duṭṭhagāmiṇi*, whose father was *Kākā-*

waṇṇa Tissa, but as only a period of thirty-three years separates the two kings, it is likely that they used the same form of alphabet. There is also internal evidence for my statement, as *Waṭṭagāmiṇi* is known to have been a great protector of the priests, and therefore may well have deserved the name *Devānapiya*. The *Mahāvamsa* says concerning him—*Pitipphāso phituttassa pitirājāti abravum.*—'As he assumed the character of a father, they called him father king.'

There are other inscriptions of this kind, but not so well preserved, at *Ambogaṇawaeva* and *Diyaṇaeta* between *Mediyāwa* and *Yapaha*, at *Niyadawane* and *Welangolla* five miles from *Kepitiyāwa*, at *Malasne* and *Nayindanawe* near *Mā-eliya*, at *Nīlagāma vihāra*, three miles from *Galuwela* on the road from *Kurunegala* to *Dambulla*, three at *Dambulla vihāra*, and one at *Hunapaha vihāra* near *Yatawattna*. An inscription belonging to the 7th century I found at *Demalamāna*, four miles from *Hiripitiya*, but the characters are so totally different from those used in the earlier as well as in the later centuries, that I have not yet been able to make it out.

We now proceed to the pillar inscriptions of the 10th and 11th centuries. They all resemble each other very closely, as not only the names of the kings are constantly the same, but also in the text the same words and sentences recur continually. Dr. Goldschmidt, in his *Report*, has given extracts of several of these Pillars, but the only one he published and translated in its whole extent was that from *Mahākālattawa* (now in the Colombo Museum). I published two others in my *Report*, and after much useless effort succeeded in restoring three more, viz., those from *Mayilagastota* (now in the Colombo Museum), from *Inginimitiva* and one from *Polomnawara* (see Goldschmidt's *Report, Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 324). I give the texts and translations here :—

I.—*Mayilagastota*.

A.	B.
(1) Sīri mat apa da	(1) yan no
(2) . . . kaṭṭaha na wā da	(2) wadā i
(3) n uturat wāsa	(3) sū gam
(4) n kaṭṭa kula pae mīli	(4) gon rada
(5) kaṭṭa O k ā w a s	(5) hana bili
(6) parapuren boṭ	(6) bun gael
(7) mīd paramuwanat	(7) miwun wae

* It was applied to *Aśoka*, *Dāśaratha*, *Tāhira* and others (see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, p. 14).

† He adopted *Mahākūṭika Tissa*, the son of his elder brother *Khālāka Nāga*.

A.	B.
(8) ag mehesu[n].	(8) riyā no
(9) wū Lak diw polo-	(9) gannā
(10) yon parapuren	(10) isā mangi
(11) himi siṭi Gon	(11) wa piyagi
(12) biso raedna kus-	(12) wa no wad
(13) hi upan Abhā Sa-	(13) nā isā da
(14) lamewan maharadhu	(14) wacs me hi
(15) urehi dā kaeta	(15) miyā mahā
(16) kula kot wiyat	(16) himin ao
(17) dāham niyao gat	(17) toḷa tā siṭa
(18) aṭṭā Mihindāhu	(18) sannas so dā
(19) wasin karaḍ na	(19) yao tu . . .
(20) wam utomhi mahana	(20) no nannā
(21) m uwanisi	(21) isā me kana
(22) siribara mahawe-	(22) yo ne para
(23) her nakāhi	(23) dawā rada
(24) rad parapur wasnu	(24) kol samdaru
(25) wawas tamā kaernē	(25) wan wisin
(26) Uḍā Tisa piriwe	(26) bisamwat
(27) n sāhasi has	(27) no raknā i
(28) pamae yan ba	(28) nā nat
(29) ma dayas nakā	(29) . . . isā
(30) wac	(30) wan
(31) ta sa ha	(31) aṭṭā Mi-
(32) wan dunu	(32) hin dāku . .
(33) [maḍulu] melāṭ	
(34) [āri] rad kol [āre] mi	

The aṭṭā Mahinda, who was born in the womb of the anointed queen Gon, chief queen to his Majesty the king, descended from the unbroken line of the Ikshwāku family reigning on Lankā's ground by hereditary succession—the son of king Abhā Salame-wa n—the pinnacle of the Kshatriya caste, the sage who has comprehended the doctrine—having made the necessary repairs at the Mahā-vihāra, caused priests to be ordained for the nikāyas at the Uḍā Tisa monastery and ordered that the officers of the royal family shall not enter the place belonging to the priesthood; that enemies shall not take away the villages, the cattle, the royal taxes, the revenue, the cart buffaloes; that daily the priests, including the high priest, shall not destroy life; that the officers of the royal family together with the queens shall not protect (?) All this was ordered by the aṭṭā Mahinda.

II.—*Inginimīṭiya.*

A.
(1) Swasti.
(2) Siri Saṅga Bo

* Can this be the year Śakvāna of the Twelve year cycle? *Conf. Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, pp. 22, 25; vol. VII, p. 35; and

(3) ma	purmukā
(4) sawanaga	pu
(5) ridase	hima-
(6) ta	paradisa
(7) wak	dawna
(8) radol	ma
(9) hāpaṇan	
(10) wahanse	
(11) wadāleyi	
(12) para	āripāla
(13) parāparawen	
(14) me raṭa . .	
(15) . . . āwā	sirithi isā
(17) wasara	tun
(18) ahnayā	maha-
(19) lekā	Arak
(20) samapan	wa
(21) me dāna kuḍa saḷā	wadāḷā
(23) ek	
(24) taen	samiye

B.	C.
(1) n rado-	(1) perana su
(2) l pere Demeḷ	(2) sama me ga-
(3) kahae pere	(3) m no wad
(4) sirit ae	(4) nā kot i-
(5) toḷa wae	(5) sā gael mi
(6) me tuwā-	(6) wun waeriya-
(7) k denamo	(7) n ganḡeu
(8) Giriwehe-	(8) no gannā
(9) rā Mihinden	(9) kot isā
(10)	(10) atapiṇ
(11)	(11) nepannā.
(12) Hingini-	(12) kot isā
(13) piti saṅga ae	(13) gam himin
(14) toḷa wae aep	(14) aculata wā
(15) gam bimāṭ	(15) Sirigala ta-
(16) atsāpi pae	(16) n paṇḍur
(17) rach aer dat	(17) no nas
(18) Sirigala ta-	(18) nā isā . .
(19) n me ganna-	(19) me
(20) ṭ de mapḷala-	(20) we herhi
(21) n radol a-	(21) attāpi
(22) wan mela-	(22) paerachaer de
(23) ttina mang	(23) nu ladi.
(24) diw pediw	

'Hail! His Majesty SiriSangaBo, in the Sawanaka* (see above No. 3) year of his reign, on the 10th day in the bright half of the month Himata the great sage declared: According to the rule made by former kings in their hereditary succession in this kingdom in three days at this temple, called after the chief Secretary Arak, a great privilege has been granted:

Asiat. Res. vol. III, p. 217 ff; Burgess, *Śākyas Siddhānta*, ix, 17.—Ed.

In one place the headmen shall come together and in the monastery, according to the rule formerly fixed by the Tamils, they shall divide it between themselves. All this we give to the Girivihāra: so it was sanctioned by Mahinda including the villages and lands that belong to the priesthood of Hingipitiya, a privilege is granted. All the villages beginning from Sirigala and the villages of the headmen of the two maṇḍalas, travellers and pilgrims shall not enter, the officers and noblemen shall not enter, enemies shall not take away their cart buffaloes, and they shall be made dependent upon themselves. In all the villages beginning from Sirigala the property shall not be destroyed. Thus a privilege is given to this temple.

III.—Polonnaruwa.

A.	C.
(1) ma	(1) dara
(2) ka tun	(2) wadā
(3) wanne	(3) sā
(4) Nawayne pa-	(4)
(5) ra dāsa	(5) dāsa
(6) k dāsa	(6) wadā
(7) wadā	(7) sā
(8) ā sene	(8) gon
(9) wī rad	(9) rīyan
(10) sū (7) warne	(10) lī
(11) tura	(11) lī
(12) dā yo	(12) nā
(13) turā sū	(13) mā
(14) iś mahā	(14) [pā
B.	D.
(1) samana	(1) nō
(2) n warne	(2) dā
(3) dāsa	(3) wadā
(4)	(4) sū
(5) lā dāsa	(5) lī
(6) mō	(6) ru
(7) sū Giri-	(7) Wadurag
(8) nā	(8) bonā
(9) mā Wadurā-	(9) nge
(10) g bonā	(10) lū
(11) wā	(11) mā
(12) Galutisa	(12) tū
(13) gamay	(13) pā
(14) kamā	(14) dū

the king, in the third year of his reign, on the 10th day in the bright half of Nawaya, ordered: In the monastery called after the general of king we give it: and

thus in the land of Girina, belonging to the minister Wadurag at the village Galutisa, two karmasthānas that the officers of the royal family shall not enter, that enemies shall not take away the cart buffaloes, that nothing but raw rice shall be given [as taxes], that travellers and pilgrims shall not enter: Thus we, the royal family, order: we give a privilege to Galutisa, the village of the minister Wadurag.

Another inscription of Siri Saṅg Bo [Kassapa V.] is at Mihintale, not on a pillar but on seven broken slabs lying on the ground. Although a part of it is effaced, the sense can be made out with tolerable certainty.

Mihintale Inscription—Upper Portion.

(1) Śrī Siri Saṅg Bo mā purmukā dolo-
swanne Hihilae awagun poho dawasa satar rāṭae
wel kaemi [ya]n weherat [w]e [l]
[we]he [ra]n wel kaemiya [d] [ya]n yuta ran
sat kaṇḍak

(2) iś me rāṭae me āleyaku diyae yutu ran
kaṇḍak iś sangweli upaṇi kaemiya ku diyae
yutu ran de kaṇḍak iś ka [.]
kaṇḍak iś me rāṭae me piri [wa] [ha] [na] ku diyae
yutu ran pas

(3) kaṇḍak iś me rāṭae me ran lada kaebi
piriwahannā ran tun kaṇḍak iś me rāṭae me
balannaku diyae yutu ran de kaṇḍak iś me
rāṭae iś yan hae
diyae dāsa wel kaemi [ya]n diyae yutu ran dāsa
kaṇḍak

(4) k iś me rāṭae me piriwahannā ku diyae yutu
ran de kaṇḍak iś me rāṭae me balannaku diyae
yutu ran kaṇḍak iś me rāṭae me āleyaku di-
[ya]n yutu diya dāsa
urūla aēl terne we [l] kaemi [ya]n diyae yutu ran
pasājo

(5) s kaṇḍak iś me rāṭae me āleyaku diyae
yutu ran de kaṇḍak iś me rāṭae me ariki leya-
[ku] diyae yutu ran de kaṇḍak iś me rāṭae me
kaṇḍak iś me
diya [l] [we] kaemiya diyae

Lower Portion.

(1) yutu ran pas kaṇḍak [iś me] rāṭae me
diya [l] yutu [ra]n
kaṇḍak iś me aēl rae pas haema
arikileya [ku] diyae yutu [ra]n pas kaṇḍak iś
kaebi piriwahannā diyae yutu ran tun kaṇḍak
iś [me] aēl de kaebi deṭun diyae yutu ran de ka-

(2) kaṇḍak iś me aēl y yaku
diyae yutu ra [s] kaṇḍak iś mehi li pamanin
unu no karana iś me li tāk ran
hawuru-dupatā wā pāra keremin
si iś wanun agin gannā iś keremin si pi [ya]
keremin hennae wadāran ra.

(3) *n kenekanaṭ waḍpāra* isa de kaḷandak [ma]ṅgul wae go sang wae go naḷ lulu muna p[re] apā se pasnaṭ iṣā deṭ wādi wehera kaemiya daruwan sangā [ahannā maṅgulaṭ] diyaṭ yuta ran de kaḷandak kaḥāy de paclak sāl iṣā mehi

(4) *waḍ pāra karaṇa tāk denaṭ weheraṭ piḷi-* [ma] deka iṣā de kenekun kaḷandak kaḥāy pawana iṣā.

Hail! His Majesty Sīri Saṅg Bo, in the 12th year of his reign, on the dark poya day of Hihila, ordered: the workmen in the four kingdoms for the vihāras it is right for the vihāras to give to the workmen; seven kaḷandas of gold shall be given to the chief writer, one kaḷanda of gold shall be given to a workman born on the ground of the priesthood, two kaḷandas of gold to kaḷandas in this kingdom to the sweeper, five kaḷandas of gold in this kingdom to the mān who having received this gold divides the shares, three kaḷandas of gold in this kingdom to the superintendent, two kaḷandas of gold in this country shall be given to the workmen for water and fuel, ten kaḷandas of gold in this country shall be given to the sweeper, two kaḷandas of gold in this country shall be given to the superintendent, one kaḷanda of gold in this kingdom shall be given to the chief writer shall be given to labourers for water and fuel, on sluices, [?] channels and banks of a river, fifteen kaḷandas of gold in this country shall be given to the accountant of this; two kaḷandas of gold in this country shall be given to the chief writer of this; two kaḷandas of gold in this country (shall be given) to the of this kaḷandas [of gold] shall be given to the labourers on channels and banks, five kaḷandas of gold in this country shall be given to two kaḷandas of gold shall be given to the on the bank of this channel five kaḷandas of gold shall be given to him who [divides] the shares; three kaḷandas of gold to the overseers on the two banks of the channel: two kaḷandas of gold shall be given to on the bank of this channel, one kaḷanda of gold to him who only yearly for making a road to the tank, shall the workmen of the vihāra and their children give

to the distributor of the priesthood, two kaḷandas and two paclak of rice to the accountant, and for two statues to the temple

It is difficult to identify the names in the inscriptions of Inginiṃitiya and Polonnaruwa. The former bears the name of a chief Secretary Arak, a name which occurs several times in the Mahāvaṃsa under the form Rakkhō, Rakkhako or Rakkhaso. At Mahāvaṃsa li, 31, we find a chief Rakkhō who built a vihāra at Sawirakagāma under the reign of Kassapa V., at Mahāvaṃsa l, 84, one Rakkhaso is mentioned under the reign of Sena Silāmegha; at Mahāvaṃsa liii, 11, one Rakkhako under Dapula V. builds the Naṅgūwāsa. The name Sīri Saṅg Bo points to Kassapa V., who always bears this title, but it is by no means impossible that some other king may have had it besides him. The title mahāleka or mahāle or mahāleṇa seems to have been very frequent at the time of Kassapa and his successors. In the inscription of Mahākalattawa, mention is made of a mahāle of King Dapula called Arak, like the one in our inscription, and besides of a mahāleṇa Sena, most probably the same who built the Mahālekhapabbata vihāra according to Mahāvaṃsa li, 33. Also, Mahinda I. is said to have built a Mahālekhapariwena at Abhayagiri, Mahāvaṃsa xlviii, 135; and at Mahāvaṃsa lxi, 12, we find the names of a laṇḍamahāleṇa Sikkhānāyaka and of a jayamahāleṇa Setṭhināyaka, where of course mahāleṇa is only a mechanical translation into Pālī of the Sinhalese mahāleṇa. There is also the name Mahinda legible, though not very clear on the stone, but this is most probably not a king of this name, but one of the two apāda who governed Rohana under Udaya III. and Kassapa V.

On the Polonnaruwa inscription the name of the king is broken off. It was ascribed by Goldschmidt to Wajira, the minister of Silāmegha, Mahāvaṃsa l, 84; but the form of the name Wadurag agrees better with Wajiragga, the general of Kassapa V. mentioned Mahāvaṃsa li, 105, 118, 126, and with Widuragga (translated back into Pālī from the Sinhalese), the general of Udaya III., Mahāvaṃsa liii, 46. There is also mentioned another Wajira, minister of Dapula III., Mahāvaṃsa xlix, 80, who built the Kachchavāla-ārāma, but he may be identical with the general of Silā-

megha. The name of the village Galutisa does not give us any help, as it is not known from elsewhere. However, I feel inclined to ascribe this pillar as well as that at Inguimitiya to Kassapa V., as we have several other inscriptions of his in which the terminology is almost exactly the same as in the two in question. Especially the end—*Galutisa gassayma uttāpi pueruchaer divanaka*—is almost to the word the same as in the Mahākālattaowa inscription in Goldschmidt's *Report*. (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 323).

The inscription of Mayilagastota belongs to Mahinda III. when he was *apā* in Rohana during the reign of Sena III., and it is related at *Mahāvamsa* liv, 5, that this king repaired the shrine of the tooth relic, and that he explained the *suttanta* at the great brazen palace surrounded by the priests of the three *nikāyas*, i. e. of the Abhayagiri, Jetavana and Mahāvihāra fraternities.

The inscription at Mihintale, I also ascribed to Kassapa V., although there is no

other proof for this but the name of the king Siri Saṅg Bo. The contents of the inscription are very much like those of the long inscription of Mahinda III. on the two tablets at Mahintale, but the form of the character is somewhat older, so that it suits very well the time of Kassapa V. An explanation of all the words occurring in the inscriptions seems out of place here.

Inscriptions of the 12th and 13th centuries are in great number at Polonnaruwa belonging to the kings Parākrama Bāhu, Niśānka Malla and Sāhasamalla. Some of them have been published by Mr. T. W. Rhys Davids in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*; of others extracts have been given by Dr. Goldschmidt, as they are too long to be published in their whole extent. At Kantalai also I found a stone seat of Niśānka Malla, the contents of which are almost exactly the same as those of the stone seats of Kiriwelāra and Jetawanārāma at Polonnaruwa.

Colombo, 10th November, 1879.

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(Continued from p. 247.)

IV.

Bartan Baatur, the grandfather of Chinghiz Khān, was styled Ebaken, a soubriquet applied by the Mongols to the grandfather or second ancestor of their chiefs.¹ It would seem that he did not actually reign, and either died before his brother Kutlugh, or was killed by the Tajut as one legend reports. Nor was he in fact entitled to reign, since his elder brother Ukin Berkhakh left descendants. His wife, according to Rashida'd-dīn, was called Sunigel Fujin, Fujin being a Chinese title for 'princess.' She belonged to the Bargut tribe, Sanang Setzen calls her Sain Maral Khayak. Sain Maral means the 'Good Hind.' By her Bartan had four sons—Mangetu Kian, the Ming-ko-tu-ha-yan of the *Yuan-shi*, Nikun Taishi, called Chi-hwan-ta-shi in the *Yuan-shi*, and Bukan Taishi by Abu'lghāzi, Yessugei Baatur, and Daritai Uchtgen called Ta-li-ghan in the *Yuan-shi*. This is the order in which the names occur in the several authorities. Although all four had sons, Yessugei

became the representative of the family, and succeeded Kutlugh not only as chief of the Mongols but as Khākan or Emperor, and we find him acting as Kutlugh's heir and supplying the funeral meats after his supposed death as we have related above, and this although Kutlugh left two sons, named Juchi Khān and Altan Khān. Yessugei was obeyed apparently by all the race, including the rival tribe of the Tajut. Of the latter we are told that on the death of Anbakhai a discussion arose about the succession. His sons and relations collected the chiefs of the tribe who met together to elect a successor. The discussion was prolonged, as none of them wished to have the position. They first approached Tuda Anbakhai's grandson, and the senior prince of the house, and asked him whom he thought worthy of the position. He suggested Terkutai Khiriltuk, who was also a grandson of Anbakhai, but he in turn suggested Mets-Gun-Sajan, who also declined saying—"How can I undertake to decide what should be done in such a weighty business. I feel

¹ Abu'lghāzi, p. 78.

like a sparrow, who either keeps hopping round a snare until he falls into it, or flies suddenly to the crest of a tree to escape falling into the trap. I as a Karaju² know the limits of my words, but I have not at command words befitting a king. The Karajus are like stallions who have been brought up on the milk of two mares, and have become satiated and stout. If you will assemble a council, and will agree together, then I will surrender my wishes to all, (i. e. accept the chieftainship.) If, however, you disagree, and feud and dissension arises in your *alasses* I shall still be satisfied." In this wise he said many things, and began to weep and left the meeting. "Eventually," Rashid says, "according to the annals they apparently elected Terkantai Khoriltuk."³

Let us now return again to Yessugei Khâkhan, who as Chinghiz Khân's father and the first ancestor was styled Echigüé. Yessugei is derived from the Mongol word *yissu* or *yessu*, meaning 'nine,' a number deemed fortunate and almost sacred among the Asiatic nomades. Baatur or *Baghatür* is a well known sobriquet in Mongol, meaning 'brave' or 'heroic.' It is the original of the title of *Behadur*. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* reports that once when Yessugei was hawking on the river Onon, — (the *Altan Topchi* and *Ssanang Setzen* say he was following the tracks of a hare in the snow,) — he saw a man of the race Merki⁴ named Yeke Jiladu, who was carrying off a maiden whom he had captured from the tribe Olkhon.⁵ Having noticed that she was a beauty, he immediately galloped home, and soon returned with his brothers Nikan Taishi and Daritai Uchugen. Yeke Jiladu seeing them thus return, sped quickly over a ridge and defile, and joined his wife. She bade him haste away, as it was clear they would do him harm. "If you preserve your life," she said naively, "you will get another wife like me, and if you think of me, call your other wife by my name." She thereupon removed her nether garment, and gave it to him as a memorial of herself. Her husband spurred his horse accordingly, and fled along the Onon. Yessugei and his brothers pursued him hotly over seven ridges, but could not over-

take him. They thereupon returned again, and escorted the wife of the fugitive, Yessugei acting as postilion, Nikan Taishi riding in front, and Daritai near the traces. The woman wept and cried out—"Oh my husband, the wind never scattered the hairs on your head, nor has your stomach been pinched with hunger." Now you have fled, what troubles will you not have to bear?" Her cries disturbed the waters of the Onon and the woods in the valley. Daritai rebuked her, saying "Your husband has fled over many a hill and many a river, he will not turn his head backwards. Seek his tracks, you will not find them, cease your crying." So they took her home with them, and gave her to Yessugei as his wife. This Saga is also told in the *Altan Topchi*, which, however, calls the Merki Jiladu, the Taijut Jeled, while *Ssanang Setzen* calls him a Tartar. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* calls Yessugei's wife Khoilun—the Yalun of the *Yuan-shi*.⁶ Rashid-u'd-din styles her Ugez Fujin and also Ulun Ergeh,⁷ both of which are probably titles rather than names. The *Altan Topchi* and *Ssanang Setzen* call her Ogelen Eke, which according to Schmidt means 'the mother of clouds' or the 'cloud mother.'⁸ Yessugei continued the struggle which his uncle had with the Tartars, and in one fight took prisoners Temujin Ugo and Khoribukhoa, the Temujin Ergeh and Kur Baka of Rashid-u'd-din. About this time Yessugei's wife Khoilun, gave birth to a son on the banks of the Onon, at Deligon Buldak, to which we have already referred, and where the chief camp of the Mongols was situated, and as a memento of the capture of the Tartar chief, they called the child Temujin. He is better known as the famous Chinghiz Khân. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us that in his closed fist when born there was found a hard clot of blood—no bad presage of his future career. I have already mentioned that the ruling race among the Tartars was most probably of Turkish descent. This is confirmed by the name Temujin, or Temuchin, which was borrowed from their chieftain, for the great World-conqueror. In the vocabulary attached to the *Yuan-shi* we read that the name means the best iron, whence we judge that it is a derivative of *timur*, which

² i. e. subject.

³ Erdmann, *op. cit.* p. 551.

⁴ Abulghazi, p. 78.

⁵ D'Osson, *op. cit.* vol. I, p. 35 note.

⁶ *Fide infra.*

⁷ i. e. the section of the Kongurat, Olkhon.

⁸ Meaning she had taken good care of him.

⁹ Douglas, p. 9.

¹⁰ Erdmann, p. 258.

¹¹ *Ssanang Setzen*, p. 375, note 11.

in Turkish means 'iron,' whence again the word Timurji, 'a smith.'¹² This Turkish word has apparently been adopted in Mongol, for Schmidt says that in that tongue Temurchi or Temurchin means 'a smith.'¹³ It was probably from this name that the Saga was derived which is reported by such various authorities as the Greek historian Pachymerus, the Arab Novairi, the Armenian Haithon, and the Franciscan friar Rubenquis, that Chinghiz Khân had formerly been a smith. This Saga apparently still survives in Mongolia, for we are told by M. Timkofski that on Mt. Darkhan is still preserved the anvil of Chinghiz Khân, which is made of a particular metal called Baryn, which has the properties of iron and copper, being at once hard and flexible.¹⁴ Chinghiz Khân forged iron at its foot, and on one of its southern heights there is an *obo* of stone set up by the Mongols, who go there annually to commemorate the memory of Chinghiz Khân.¹⁵ There is also a mountain on the island of Olkhon, in the midst of Lake Baikal, on which is fixed a tripod, and on this an iron kettle. This also is traditionally connected with Chinghiz Khân. We must now consider the date of the birth of the Mongol chief. According to Rashidud-din he died on the 4th of Ramazan 624, i.e., the 18th of August 1227.¹⁶ This agrees with the Chinese authorities. Rashid and the Persian authors generally state that he was then 72 years old, which would put his birth in 1155 A.D. The Chinese authors, and notably the *Yuan-shi*, and also the *Altan Topchi* and Ssanang Setzen agree that he was but 66 years old, which would bring his birth to 1162. The *Altan Topchi* says distinctly he was born in the year of the serpent, i.e. 1161, and Ssanang Setzen in that of the horse, i.e. 1162. The latter is doubtless the correct date, and it is not improbable, as has been suggested by Von Hammer, that the mistake of the Persians had a certain method in it. It being calculated so that the great enemy of Islam should be born, ascend the throne, and die in a year which in the Mongol cycle was marked by the unclean beast, the swine. Rashidud-din expressly says of Chinghiz that he was both born and died in a swine's year. It is certainly

curious that the years 1155, 1203, and 1227 should each of them correspond to a swine's year in the cycle.¹⁷ Yessugei apparently won for himself an important position among the nomade frontagers of China. Not only did he receive the allegiance of the various Mongol tribes and defeat the Tartars, but his assistance was also sought by the chief of the Kirais, a Turkish race descended, as I believe, from the Uighurs, who occupied the central and western parts of the steppes of the Gobi, and about whom I shall have more to say presently. We are told by Rashidud-din that the chief of the Tartars, who lived about Lake Bayur, having captured the ruler of the Kirais named Merghuz Bayuruk Khân¹⁸ sent him as a prisoner to the Kin Emperor, who put him to death by nailing him on a wooden ass. His widow, Khutakti Haryeji (meaning bright and lively), took a characteristic revenge. She sent word to the Tartar chief that she wished to give him a feast. He accepted the invitation, when she sent him 10 oxen, 100 sheep, and 100 sacks of kumis. The host of these however, instead of containing drink, concealed a body of armed men, who cut their way out during the feast and killed the Tartar chief.

Merghuz left two sons, Kurjakhus Bayuruk, (called Khurja-khosh-bila, in the *Yuan-shi*, as translated by Hyacinthe, and Khurjakhu Sebatur Khân in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*), and secondly Gurkhân, equivalent to Khakhân or Great Khân. The sons of Kurjakhus were Tughrul, Kereh Kara, Tatimur Taishi, Buka Timur, and Ilka Sengun (Ilka is a proper name, and Sengun means 'born in the purple'). He was also called Jagembo Keviti. Jagembo is probably the Tibetan Dsanbo, which enters into the composition of many Tibetan regal names, quoted by Ssanang Setzen as Degum Dsanbo, Dingtshi Dsanbo, Muthi Dsanbo, Muni Dsanbo, Muruk Dsanbo.¹⁹ The whole name probably means the powerful Kirai prince, and was doubtless given him by the Tibetans who on one occasion made him prisoner.²⁰ Tughrul is the name the eldest son bears in Rashidud-din's pages; and in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, where the name is written Tu-n-ril; in the *Yuan-shi* he is called To-li. He

¹² D'Osseson, vol. I., p. 36, note.

¹³ Ssanang Setzen, p. 376.

¹⁴ Timkofski, vol. I., p. 173.

¹⁵ D'Osseson, op. cit. p. 37, note.

¹⁶ Erdmann, op. cit. pp. 443 and 574.

¹⁷ Von Hammer's *Golden Horde*, pp. 56 and 92.

¹⁸ Merghuz was his name; Bayuruk is a Turkish title and means Emperor. D'Osseson, op. cit. vol. I., p. 30, note.

¹⁹ Quatremere, *Hist. des Mongols de la Perse*, p. 91, note 8.

²⁰ Erdmann, op. cit. p. 233, note 6.

was afterwards given the Chinese title of Wang, and was known as Wang Khân. He was away from home on his father's death, whereupon his brothers Tatimur and Baka Timur seized the throne. He speedily returned, however, killed them both, and seized the succession.²¹ According to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shih*, when Tughrul killed his brothers, his uncle, the Gurkhân, attacked him, followed him into the mountain Karaun, called Khalagan in the *Yuan-shih*, and Hala-vœn by De Mailla. Tughrul had but 100 men with him, and repaired to Yessugei, who having conquered the Tartars, was now the dominant chief in those parts. The latter attacked the Gurkhân, and drove him into the district of Hashin. (This is a Mongol corruption of Hosi, i.e., the district "West of the River," and so called because it lay west of the principal bend of the Yellow River, and was otherwise known as Si-Sia or Western Sia and Tangut. Palladius says that in the *Si-Sia-shu-shih*, this flight of Gurkhân is dated in 1171.) He thereupon reinstated Tughrul, and the two allies swore the close friendship called *aada*. Erdmann and others, including also the old western chroniclers of the first invasions of Europe by the Mongols, have minimized too much the extent of the power and influence of Yessugei. The former would have us believe that his subjects only equalled in number the inhabitants of Saxo Weimar Eisenach, and gauges accordingly his power and authority. The latter, apparently overwhelmed by the suddenness of the apparition, exaggerated the unimportance of its beginning. Thus it was with Rubraquis, who speaks of the Moals (or Mongols) as a very poor people, without a leader, and as being very subordinate to the Kirais, whom he calls Crit; while he speaks of Chinghiz himself as "a certain blacksmith."

But this is great exaggeration. Yessugei was undoubtedly the most powerful chieftain among the Nomades who bordered upon China. He was obeyed by all the Mongols, by the Kungir or Kongurat, and other Turkish tribes about Lake Bayur, had defeated the Tartars; and, as we have seen, was also the patron of the ruler of the Kirais, who then held the central Gobi.

We will now turn to the concluding scenes in his life.

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shih* tells us that when Temujin was nine years old, his father set out with him to get him a wife among the boy's relatives on his mother's side, the Olkhonut. He went to a place situated between the mountains of Jeksar and Jikhurgu (the former, no doubt, the Jajarula of the *Yuan-shih* referred to by D'Ohsson as Checher-ondur.²² Erdmann gives the name as Jagachar²³). There he met a man named Dai Setzen, of the tribe of Khunghir (i.e. of the Kongurat), the son of Bosikhur. Rashidu'd-din calls him Dai Noyan.²⁴ When Yessugei met him he accosted him, asking him whither he was bound. He replied he was on his way to the Olkhonut to find his son a wife. Dai Setzen then remarked that Temujin had bright eyes and a clear face. He added that the night before he had dreamt, that a white hawk, holding in its claws the sun and moon, flew down and settled on his hand, and added that Yessugei had opportunely arrived as the interpreter of the dream. "Surely," he said, "it foretells good luck to you, Kian."²⁵ Our house of Kunghir never had disputes with others about land and people. We had beautiful daughters, whom we gave to your Royal house, and you made them princesses." He then quoted a Chinese proverb that people expect rank and wealth in a husband, but beauty in a wife. He then told him he had a daughter at home, who was a beauty, and whom he would show him. She was ten years old, a year older than Temujin, and was named Burtê, which is the same word apparently as the first part of the name Barteichino. That night they passed with Dai Setzen. The next day Yessugei began to negotiate for the hand of the girl, and her father, again quoting a Chinese proverb to himself, judged it would add to his importance if he prolonged the negotiations. He asked that Temujin might stay with him awhile. To this Yessugei consented, and having presented his host with one of his best horses, he went homeward. The Saga is told, no doubt, from the same source both in the *Altan Topchi* and *Ssanang Setzen*, the former of which preserves some further details. According to the former author, when Yessugei met him, Dai Setzen was watering his horses at the river Tsorgo. He says the white hawk was the blazon or symbol of the Borjigs.

²¹ Erdmann, pp. 254 and 255. ²² *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 82.

²³ *Op. cit.* p. 278, and note 104.

²⁴ Erdmann, *op. cit.* p. 120.

²⁵ i. e. the Kiat of *Ssanang Setzen*, *vide supra*.

or Imperial Mongol house, and in apostrophising the future greatness of his daughter, he makes Dai Setzen say "we must make the beautiful maiden the Empress of the whole nation when we have placed her in the one-horsed cart drawn by a black camel; we must make the beautiful maiden who has ascended the chariot with a whitehaired camel in the shafts the Governor of a strong nation."

Reverting to the main authority, the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, we read that as Yessugei went homewards, and when he reached the wood Jheksar, he came upon some Tartars, who were feasting. Feeling hungry and thirsty he joined them. Unfortunately they recognised him, and in revenge for what he had done to their people, they mixed some poison with his food. He mounted his horse, and in three days reached his home, and feeling that the illness was a serious one, he summoned a descendant of the old man Jarakha Munlik, previously mentioned; he told him what his last wishes were, and bade him communicate them to his relatives. On the Khân's death

Munlik set off for the camp of Dai Setzen, and took Temujin home again. In the *Altan Topshi* the Khân's concubine is called Maikalikh,²² while Sanang Setzen calls him Menggulik of the Khongkhotan tribe.²³ The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* calls Burtë's mother Solan. When Khubilai Khân raised his ancestors to the honorary rank of Wangti, or emperor, he commenced the line with Yessugei, who was given the style of Le tsu. By his wife Khoilun he had four sons, Temujin, Juchi Khasar, i.e. Juchi, the Lion; Khajikin or Khajian, and Temuqa Uchugen, also called Utji Noyan, and a daughter Tumulun. He also had two other sons by another wife. These sons were respectively named Bekter and Belgatei. Their mother is called Ghoakhechin in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. Sanang Setzen makes each of the latter have a separate mother, and calls them respectively Goo Abaghni and Daghashi. He adds that Daghashi followed her husband to the grave, and that the six boys were brought up by Ogelen Eke.²⁴

(To be continued.)

BOMBAY BEGGARS AND CRIERS.

BY K. RAGHUNATHJI.

(Continued from p. 256.)

NĀGAS.

The Nāgās, as their name implies, go naked. Having eradicated the sense of shame they give free indulgence to all the vices which it might have helped them to cover, and are unquestionably the most worthless and profligate members of their respective religions. They are either Śaivas or Vaiṣṇavas, and the hatred they bear towards one another has often led to sanguinary conflicts, in one of which at Haridwar eighteen thousand of the Vaiṣṇava Nāgas were left dead on the field.¹ In 1778 Goddard was attacked by a band of Śaiva Nāgas. They are sometimes to be found seated on the verandas of temples and edges of tanks where they are sumptuously fed.

AGHORIS.

Aghoris propitiate Śiva by horrible and revolting austerities, and once offered human victims. Hence they assumed a corresponding appearance, and carried about for a wand and water pot, a staff set with bones and the upper half of a human skull. This worship has long been sup-

pressed, but traces of it still exist among those who go about extorting alms. They drink wine and eat carrion and ordure, and hence the practice among Hindus of not returning from the burning ground till the corpse is wholly burnt, and keeping a watch on the burning of little children. The Aghoris smear their body with ordure, and carry it about with them in a wooden cup or skull, either to swallow it, if by so doing they can gain a few pice, or to throw it on the persons or into the houses of those who refuse to comply with their demands. They also inflict gashes on their limbs, that the crime of blood may rest on those who deny them charity, and by this and similar devices work upon the timid and credulous Hindus.² These beggars are rare, but when they do come, they generally beg at noon, and visit houses the doors of which they find open; they frighten women, and walk away with clothes they see hanging on pegs.

LINGAYAT BEGGARS.

These are Śaivas, they wear a *linga* on some part of their dress or person. Their priests are

²² *Op. cit.*, p. 125.

²³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 63 and 65.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 65.

¹ Beveridge's *History of India*, vol. II, p. 69.

² *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 70.

Jangams. They celebrate a festival in honour of the dead, but do not mourn or perform funeral rites. Their women also wear a *liaga*, and apply ashes to their foreheads. They deem their food polluted if seen by a stranger. They blow a shell and beg, singing in praise of Śiva. The Jangam dresses in ochre-coloured clothes. On his shoulder rests a conch shell, and in his hands he carries metal caps. He begs singing hymns, and when paid blows the shell for a few minutes. The Jangams also carry a bell in their hands, which begins to strike when the beggar turns a short stick round its edge. He holds the bell in a slanting position. He is satisfied with a handful of rice.

GOPICHANDAS.

Gopichandas carry fiddles and sing in praise of Gopichand. They dress in ochre-coloured clothes, and sing both in Hindustāni and Marāṭhi.

CHITRAKĀTHIS.

Chitrakāthis are Hindus, Marāṭhis by caste. They carry with them a few coloured plates or pictures of their gods, rolled up and slung on their backs. The companion carries a drum, and goes about beating it now and then, and enquiring if people would like to hear of the exploits of the gods. If consent is given, the Chitrakāthi opens his book, and shows to the spectators each plate, sings and preaches. This beggar frequents only the Śūdra quarters, as no high caste Hindu would think of hearing a sermon preached by a Śūdra.

VAIDUS.

The Vaidus is both a beggar and a hawker. He dresses in ochre-coloured clothes, and carries a bambu provided either with one or two bags of like coloured cloth, containing medicinal roots, herbs, hides, porcupine quills, tigers' claws, bears' hair, and deadly poisons. They pretend to heal any and every disease, from simple cough to severe maladies, giving some article from their bag as a sure cure for the malady. These are jungle people inhabiting forests and hills. They generally go once a year to the principal stations, and after disposing of their goods disappear.

BLIND BEGGARS.

These are both Hindus and Mussalmans, men and women. The former frequent Hindu localities, especially on Mondays and holidays, in gangs of two, four and six. With their hands

on each other's shoulders, they are led by one or more guides who receive the alms. Some of them take musical instruments with them on which they play and sing. In localities occupied by Pārsis, they do not use their instruments, and the Marāṭhi singing is exchanged for Gujarāṭi and Hindustāni. The beggars stop at every house, and will not move until they either receive alms or are driven away. The money they collect is divided equally amongst them at the end of their performances for the day. If however they are not successful, they break their gangs, and such as have their wives or children with them take a different route from their other partners, and others by the help of their sticks steer on by the side of the road. Some of these beggars have bells attached to their legs, and they jump and dance for the amusement of those from whom they exact charity. Others, again, beat their stomachs with their hands, and cry out in a peculiar way so as to excite the compassion of those who are looking at them. Some of these beggars are placed by the sides of much-frequented thoroughfares by their guides, but not before furnishing them with pieces of bread, betelnut, and leaves and tobacco and a match-box. Some go about leading a cow behind them, and asking Hindus and Pārsis to give them a trifle to buy grass for the *gāi*, which is held to be sacred. Some go about in the evening pretending to be blind, with either a stick in their hand, or led by others, whilst others go about asking for firewood only, and which they afterwards convert into money. Among all the beggars excepting the shawl-wearing Śāstribāvā and a few others, the blind beggars are the best off.

ĀRĀDHIS.

Ārādhis are a class of beggars who cover the upper portion of their bodies with sea shells (*kaṇḍis*), all strung together, and go about with a thick torch well soaked in oil, and lighted. This they do in honour of the goddess Ambābāi. They wear a long coat all besmeared with oil, and on their heads they wear a cap covered over with *kaṇḍis*. The Ārādhis are sometimes accompanied by a man who carries a musical instrument (*samel*) and another called *luntane*. These are all men. They sing both in praise of the goddess, and obscene songs, *lāvnis*, for the entertainment of the people who wish to hear them.

TELHĀJĪ.

The Telhājī is a worshipper of the goddess Hīnglāj. He is accompanied by one or more servants when moving about. He wears a piece of cloth round his waist and another round his head, puts on a long robe which hangs from his shoulders down to his feet. He pretends to be a fortune-teller, and tells events which have happened or will happen. He also pretends to tell of the number of children one already has and how many more his wife will yet have, together with their sexes. He tells what a person wants and what he should do to obtain it. As soon as he approaches the house of a Hindu, his servant orders some oil to be brought and poured upon his master, and when this is done, the business of foretelling commences. Having got a few pice he, the king, goes to another place. This king, the oily rājā, is so copiously smeared with oil that it keeps dropping as he goes along. Hindus think that the pouring of oil is pleasing to the king and his mistress—the goddess Hīnglāj. He is not to be met with daily, but whenever he does appear there are those who prostrate themselves before him and worship him.

WĀSUDĒVA OR DHUKOT.

The Wāsudeva wears a long hat or crown on his head adorned with peacock's feathers. He also wears a long coat and clothes which hang from his waist, arms and shoulders. In one hand he has two metal cups, and in the other wooden *chiptyās*, and tied to the string round his neck is a wooden whistle; he wears trousers and a long coat, having ample folds, and to his feet are attached brass bells and jingling rings. He is a noisy beggar, dances round and round, and whilst so doing tells the lookers on what a man's duties are as regards the giving of charity. He says:—"Alms were given by Rājā Karṇa; alms were given by Dharmarāja; alms were given by the god Rāma; by Gopikālāi; Chāṅgdeva; Dāmājipant; Puṇḍalika; Janābhāi;" &c. &c. and names some dozens of other Hindu gods, kings, and saints. It is indeed a pleasing sight to see these beggars, when two, four or more pairs dance together, striking their instruments against each other's with precision and regularity. These beggars mostly frequent the houses of Marāṭhās, by whom they are much liked. They are also known by the name of Dhukots. (To be continued).

FOLKLORE IN THE PANJAB.

NOTES COLLECTED BY MRS. F. A. STEEL, WITH ANNOTATIONS BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.B.A.S., &c.

(Continued from p. 279.)

No. 4.—Folk-Tale.

*The King of the Crocodiles.*¹

A common story among all Panjāb women:—Once upon a time a farmer² went out to look at his fields along the side of the river, and behold! all his young green wheat was trodden down by the crocodiles which were lying about in the crops like great logs of wood.³ He was very angry and bid them go away, but they refused.

Now every day when he went down to the riverside to look at his young wheat, he found the crocodiles lying in the fields. At last he got very angry and threw stones at them. Then when they all rushed at him he was frightened, and begged them not to hurt him.

¹ بادشاہ گھریال Bādshāh Ghariāl—a common story.—R. C. T.

² زمیندار Zamindar—properly in the Panjāb a peasant proprietor; in common parlance any agriculturist or cultivator.—R. C. T.

³ It is a common idea in the Panjāb that crocodiles go

"We will not hurt you, or your fields if you will promise to give your daughter in marriage to us," said the crocodiles.

The farmer in a great fright promised he would do so, and the crocodiles disappeared into the river. But when he told his wife what he had done, she was very much vexed, for their daughter was beautiful as the moon, and her betrothal to a rich house had already taken place. So she persuaded her husband not to think anything more about his promise. But when the time of the wedding came, the bridegroom died. However, the farmer's daughter was so beautiful she soon had another asking,⁴ but this time her suitor fell sick of a lingering illness. So

into riverside fields, but I do not know that there is any real foundation for it.—R. C. T.

⁴ مانگنی Mangani—Panj. Betrothal or offer of marriage; ordinary Hindi expression is मांगी Māṅgi. In the Panjāb Mangani is the universal usage, *Maṅgi* is restricted to the Banīsh castes, who are principally there Pārās or North-West Province men.—R. C. T.

it was whenever she was sought in betrothal, till the farmer's wife acknowledged that the crocodiles were determined her daughter should fulfil the promise made to them.

By her advice, the farmer went down to the river to try and persuade the crocodiles to release him from his promise. They would hear no excuses, but threatened him with fearful punishments if he did not at once fulfil it. He went home sorrowful but determined not to yield.

The very next day his daughter broke her leg. Then his wife cried: "These demons¹ of crocodiles will kill us all: better let us give up our dear daughter."

So the farmer went to the river bank, and told the crocodiles they might send the bridal procession² as soon as they chose. The very next day a number of female crocodiles arrived with *mahindis*,³ etc. for the *sanchit*⁴; they brought beautiful clothes and behaved with the utmost politeness. But the beautiful bride wept, and wailed "Are you marrying me to the river?" she said, "I shall be drowned."

Soon after the bridal procession arrived, and such a *barat* never was seen. In the middle sat the King of the Crocodiles covered with jewels. Some crocodiles played instruments of music, some danced, some carried on their heads baskets full of food, sweets, garments and jewels.

At the sight of these magnificent things the bride's heart was comforted, but when they put her into the *dold*⁵ to carry her away, she wept bitterly. When they arrived at the river they took her out of the *dold*, and dragged her into the river. She screamed fearfully, but behold, no sooner had they touched the water, than the stream divided, and the whole party disappeared down a path which seemed

to lead to the bottom of the river. The girl's father returned home very much astonished at what he had seen.

Some months passed by: the mother wept because she had no news of her daughter, and said "She is drowned, I know she is, and your story about the stream dividing is not true."

Now when the King of the Crocodiles was leaving with his bride he gave a brick to her father, saying "If ever you want to see your daughter, go to the river, throw this brick as far as you can into the current, and you will see what you will see." So the farmer said to his wife, "I will go and find out for myself if my daughter be alive or dead." So he went to the river, whirled the stone round his head, and threw it far into the stream. Immediately the water rolled back, and there was a dry path leading down to the bottom. It was bordered by flowers and looked so inviting, that the farmer never hesitated, but hastened along it. By and by he came to a magnificent palace, with golden roof, and shining diamond walls with gardens and trees all round them, and a sentinel was pacing up and down before the door.

"Whose palace is this, sentry?" asked the farmer. "The King of the Crocodiles," answered the sentry. Then the farmer was overjoyed. "My daughter is surely here," thought he, "and what a splendid house she has got: I only wish her bridegroom were half as handsome." Then he said to the sentry, "My daughter married the King of the Crocodiles. Is she within? I want to see her." The sentry laughed; "A likely story indeed! What! my master married your daughter! Ha! Ha! Ha!"

Now the queen was sitting inside by the open window. She was as happy as the day was long, with her handsome husband, for you must

¹ جن *Jinn*—Arabic, a spirit, a genius—now in common use by Hindus and Muhammadans in the Panjāb.—R. C. T.

² برات *Barat*—Hindi—a marriage procession,—used in the Panjāb among the Boniāhs. Panj. expression is چیت *Chit*.—R. C. T.

³ مہندی *Mahindī*—Lawsonia alba, used for staining the hands and feet; henna.—R. C. T.

⁴ سانچت *Sanchat*, Panj. the ceremony of staining with henna.—There are two kinds اچھی *Ajhi*, open ceremony, گچی *Gachi*, stolen or secret ceremony. *Sanchit* is *sam* and *chit* from Sansk. root चि *chi*, an assembly.

The custom is to send a body of friends from the bridegroom's house to the bride's with henna, etc.—R. C. T.

⁵ دولہ *Dold* is a large palanquin, used for bridal processions; a smaller and better known kind is the دولی *Doli* in common use. This is the *Dhooly* of the English. It should be remarked here that among all classes in the Panjāb the distinction between the Mussalmān and Hindu religions is not broadly marked in matter of ceremony; and, especially among the Jāt Zamindārs, the marriage ceremonies now observed by Mussalmāns and Hindus are almost identical and mostly of Hindu origin. This is to be observed in all their tales introducing marriages. Hindus also frequently have Mussalmān wives, who remain such all their lives without social degradation. The custom of Mussalmān kings taking Hindu wives is of course historical; witness Akbar.—R. C. T.

know he only took the form of a crocodile when he went on shore. In his river kingdom he was a handsome young prince. So the young queen was so happy she had never once thought of her home; but now she heard a voice speaking to the sentry, and said: "It is my father's voice." She went to the window, and looked out, and lo! there was her father standing in his poor clothes in the splendid court. She longed to run and meet him, but she dared not, for her husband had bidden her never to go out of, or let any one into, the palace without his permission. So she cried—"Oh my dear father, only wait till the King of Crocodiles returns, and I will let you in."

The farmer didn't wonder his daughter was afraid of her terrible husband, so he waited patiently. Very soon a crowd of horsemen trooped into the court, and in the midst of them, the handsomest young prince you ever set eyes upon, dressed from head to foot in golden armour. They all wore armour, only while he wore gold, the rest wore silver. Then the

farmer fell down before the prince, and said:—"Cherish me, oh King, for I am a poor man, whose daughter was carried off by the terrible King of the Crocodiles." Then the prince smiled, and said: "I am the King of the Crocodiles, and your daughter is a good obedient wife." Then there were great rejoicings, and the farmer after a few days' feasting begged that he might take his daughter home, to convince her mother that she was well and happy. But the Crocodile King said, "Not so; if you like I will give you a house and land here, and you can dwell with us."

So the farmer said he would ask his wife, and returned home, taking with him several bricks to throw into the water and make the stream divide. Next time he travelled to the Crocodile Kingdom, he brought his wife with him, and by degrees they became so fond of the beautiful river country, that at last they went to live there altogether with their son and daughter, the King and Queen of the Crocodiles.

(To be continued.)

M. SENART ON THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

From the French.

M. Émile Senart has published, in the *Journal Asiatique*, a very careful Étude on the Inscriptions of Piyadasi or Aśoka¹ which deserves the attention of all Indian scholars: we give an outline translation of parts of it:—

He first notices the discovery of the various inscriptions and the progress made in their interpretation from the days of Prinsep till the present, when the publication of General Cunningham's *Corpus Inscriptionum* has supplied to scholars new copies of these inscriptions. These copies, however, he does not regard as of final authority, seeing there are several passages as presented in them in which the text still resists translation, and others in which the earlier copies have an advantage over them of which the grammar and the sense leave no doubt. We find examples not only in the variants of Burgess's facsimiles for Girnār,² but even in the comparison of the facsimile of Wilson for the Kapur-di-giri version. Even now, as Burnouf said thirty years ago, "no one can flatter himself that he has attained to the complete under-

standing of these difficult monuments." But much progress has been made which may well justify new attempts; and more than ever may we join with Burnouf in adding that "there is no one who may not flatter himself that he may help towards the interpretation of these precious witnesses to the home and foreign history, religious and linguistic of ancient India."

To group and condense the results attained up to the present, especially by exact and methodic commentators, by Burnouf, Kern, and Bühler; occasionally to correct them; to attempt the analysis of parts which they have not translated; to extend to all the parallel versions, where there are several, the examination hitherto restricted to one or two of them; to prepare in this way, and present in a complete form the conclusions which, from the grammatical and historical aspects, are promised by documents so authentic, and their relation to other literary monuments:—such are the various features which invite a new study.

He reviews in succession the different groups

¹ *J. As. VIIème Sér. tom. XV, pp. 287-347, 479-509; referred to ante, p. 232.*

² *Archæol. Sur. of West. Ind. 1874-75, pl. X, and fig.*

of inscriptions: the *Fourteen Edicts* of Girnar, Kapurdi-giri, Khalsi, Dhauli, Jaugada, to which the *Detached Edicts* of Dhauli and Jaugada form a natural pendant; the *Pillar Edicts* at Dehli, Allahābād, Mithia and Rādhia; the *Detached Rock Edicts* at Bhābra, Sahasrām, Rūpnāth and Bairat. The commentary will be followed by a grammatical study and some historical remarks; an index of the words contained in the inscriptions will close the paper.

In all our texts, M. Senart points out,³ there appear examples, too numerous to be regarded as mistakes, of the equivalence of the long vowel and the vowel nasalized. It may suffice to give some examples from the first of the xiv edicts:—

I. Kh. 1. 2: *dasā* for *dasān*.—K. 1. 1: *hidanā* (at Khalsi *kida*); *nash=na* for *na*, like *chā* for *cha*; 1. 3: *paṇṇā* for *paṇḍ=prāṇā*.—Dh. 1. 4: *tiṇi* for *tiṇi=trāṇi*; *paṇchā* for *pāchā*, an equivalent form of *pachchā* for *pāchā*.—J. 1. 4: *tiṇi=trāṇi*.

II. Dh. *asni* for *asni-yāni*.—K. 1. 3: *savataṇ* for *savataṇ=sarvatra*.

III. Kh. 1. 7: *nikkamāṇu* for *nikkamāṇu*; 1. 8: *chān* for *chā=cha*.

IV. G. 1. 1: *atikāṇ* for *atikāṇ=atikhāṇ*; 1. 6: *avikāṇ* for *avikāṇ=atikhāṇ*.—Kh. 1. 9: *bādhana* for *bādhana=brādhana*; 1. 12: *tikhāṇ* for *tikhāṇ*.—Dh. 1. 12 and 15: *bādhana* for *bādhana*; 1. 17: *tikhāṇ* for *tikhāṇ*.—K. 1. 8: *dharmannāṇṭhaya* representing *anvāṇṭhi* for *anvāṇṭhi*; 1. 9: *asā* for *asā*.

V. G. 1. 3: *atikāṇ*, as above; 1. 4: *dhāma* for *dhāma=dharma*; 1. 5: *āparāṇ* for *āparāṇ*.—K. 1. 13: *paṭividdhanāyā=pratividdhanāyā*; *savataṇ* for *savataṇ=sarvatra*.—Dh. 1. 22, Kh. 1. 15, and K. 1. 13, we have *bādhana* for *bādhana=bādhana=ādhana* or *bādhana+bādhana* with the lengthening of the final *a* in composition so frequent here.

VI. G. 1. 1: *atikāṇ*.—Dh. 1. 31 and J. 1. 4, we read *anvāṇṭhi* and *anvāṇṭhi* for *anvāṇṭhi*, *anvāṇṭhi*.—Dh. 1. 32: *anvāṇṭhi* for *anvāṇṭhi*; 1. 33: *palataṇ* for *palataṇ*; 1. 33: *palakamāṇu* = *parākramāṇu*.—J. 1. 5: *kaṇṭamāṇu* corresponding to *kaṇṭamāṇu* of the other versions. —Kh. 1. 17: *ayāṇṭhi* for *ayāṇṭhi=udyaṇ*; 1. 20: *anvāṇṭhi* and *palataṇ* as at Dhauli. —K. 1. 15: *savataṇ*; 1. 16: *anvāṇṭhi* for the usual *nāṇṭhi=anvāṇṭhi*.

VII. G. 1. 3: *nichā* for *nichā*.—Dh. 1. 1: *adyamāṇu* = *adyamāṇu*.

It is needless to extend this enumeration; these are enough to justify, without special proof, the equivalence of *ā* and *ā*, &c., wherever the grammar or the sense require it. It is not necessary to dwell here on the grammatical interest of this fact. It is to be compared with certain well known phenomena of the Prākṛit: the instrumental *anā*, for example, of the Jains, in this light, is only a particular instance of a fact quite common in the cognate dialects—the indifference of the final vowel. The same thing explains those examples in which it was thought that the sign of the *anvāṇṭhi* might serve equally in the Aśoka alphabet to mark the redoubling of the following consonant; *kiṇṭhi* ought not to be read *kittī* but rather *kiṇṭhi*; only this form is equivalent to *kittī*, which itself, following the constant law of Prākṛit phonetics, is equivalent to *kittī=kittī*.

We have just had *palataṇ* for *paratra*; we find also (K. vi. 16) the reading *parata*, and we have no right to deny the possibility of it; in a certain number of words *ā* and *ā* are interchanged and consequently equivalent. Here are the principal instances:—

K. i. 1: *anvāṇṭhi* which can only be explained as *anvāṇṭhi*.—J. iv. 16: *duṇṭhi* is for *duṇṭhi=durāyitā*.—Kh. v. 14, Dh. v. 23 and J. v. 24: *supadāṇu* = *supadāṇu*.—K. v. 13, without insisting on *ayo* = *ayā*, but *anvāṇṭhi* (or *anvāṇṭhi* according to Wilson's facsimile) represents *anvāṇṭhi*.—Kh. vi. 19, *anvāṇṭhi* is to be explained as representing *anvāṇṭhi*.—K. viii. 17: we have *nikkamāṇu* which can only be *nikkamāṇu*, as in 1. 22: *kaṇṭhi* = *kaṇṭhi* for *kaṇṭhi*; in the same 1. 17 is also found: *anvāṇṭhi* for *anvāṇṭhi*.—K. ix. 9: *ayāṇṭhi* for *ayāṇṭhi*.—K. x. 21: *dharmāṇṭhi* = *dharmāṇṭhi*.—K. x. 22: *anvāṇṭhi* corresponding to *anvāṇṭhi* of Khalsi. —Kh. xi. 30: we read *kaṇṭhi* for *kaṇṭhi*, that is to say *kāṇṭhi* = *kāṇṭhi*.—G. xii. 7, has *anvāṇṭhi* which is the 3rd per. plur. of the optative for *anvāṇṭhi*.—Kh. xiv. 17, has *anvāṇṭhi*, corresponding to *anvāṇṭhi* of the other versions, i. e. *anvāṇṭhi*.

This fact is important for the interpretation of many details: it is sufficiently established even if we admit that part of the instances given might arise from a material confusion

between *an* and *u*, so easy in the alphabet of the north-west. It would be still further confirmed if the presence of a *u* were not always subject to some doubt in the Kapur-di-giri version, by the future *kusati* (K. v, 1) = *kusasti* for *kusati* for *kur(i)shgati*.⁴

We know that at Kapur-di-giri the long *ā* is not ordinarily written or distinguished from *a* short, any more than *i* or *ī* long from their corresponding short sounds. We now see, however, that it is sometimes indirectly expressed by an equivalent—the nasal. This leads us to recognize in the same inscription another indication, equally accidental, and different from the first, though perhaps graphically derived from it. The foot of the line, less or more vertical, which enters into the forms of most of the letters very often bears a short turn towards the left, affecting the form of the *u* in some cases where there is no question of admitting that vowel.⁵ I do not think there is ground for attaching any significance to this mark; it is easy to see in it the natural movement of the chisel in a writing read towards the left and in a character so cursive. The more remarkable are the converse examples, where the additional mark turns to the right and affects the form of the *r* group, only that the presence of an *r* is quite unjustifiable: we see by the following list that in most of these cases the reading *ā* is, on the other hand, perfectly natural. We thus find:—

1st face, l. 6: *dharmasūtrīya* (*anūśātri*), *śūśrūṣā*; l. 7: *yūśātri*, *chā* (= *cha*); l. 9: *nātaru* (see above); l. 12: *gandhārānā*; l. 13: *danasayutā* (*dānasayuktā*); *viṇayapāṭā* (*vyāpṛitā*); l. 14: *rāya*, *tāya*; l. 15: *śāntirāyā*; l. 17: *jāva* (= *gāva*); l. 23: *dharmadāna*; l. 24: *vatāva* for *vātāva* = *vaktāya*.

2nd face, l. 1: *vijitā* corresponding to *vijitā* at Kh., *śātri* corresponding to *śātri* of Kh.; l. 2: *tāta* for *tātā* of Kh. l. 4: *vihitātesha* = *vihitātesha*; l. 5: *śāntirāyā*; *śāntirāyā* for *śāntirāyā*; *śāntirāyā* by mistake for *śāntirāyā*; l. 8: *śāntirāyā*, that is *śāntirāyā*; l. 9: *śāntirāyā*, the transcription of the name of Ptolemy.

With these examples, only subject to the previous remarks, are connected:—

⁴ On *cha* compare the next note.

⁵ There are also other cases where a positive decision is impossible; especially in the form *cha*, the equivalent of *cha* (probably through the intermediation of *cha* = *chā* = *cha*) the carelessness of the engraver at Kapur-di-giri does not permit us to decide whether we ought to read *cha* or *cha* in many instances. But in every case the legitimacy of the word *cha* is assured (notwithstanding the opinion

I. L. 1: *ayā*, i. e. *ayā*; l. 19: *śāntirāyā*, for *śāntirāyā*; l. 20: *anātā* = *anantā*; l. 21: *tādātā*, locative for *tādātā* (= *tādā*).

II. L. 1: *kalikā* in face of *kalikā* at Kh.; l. 10: *jūdhā* which I take as = *[ai]rodhā*.

Another remains doubtful from the uncertainty and the obscurity of the surrounding characters, and of the whole passage: *śāntirāyā* (?) xiii. l. 7.

Only a few examples are found opposed to the transcription here proposed: *śāntirāyā*, i. l. 5, where it is necessary, following all analogy, to replace *śāntirāyā*; *śāntirāyā* ii. l. 1, and *śāntirāyā* for *śāntirāyā*, l. 7. As for *śāntirāyā*, i. l. 15, which it is necessary to read *śāntirāyā*, the whole sign for *ya* is so badly formed and the two facsimiles differ too much in appearance to allow any serious objection to it. Twice (ii. l. 5 and 6) we find *śāntirāyā* in place of *śāntirāyā*, but besides having here an accidental inversion, in the second case Kh. has also *śāntirāyā*. From the preceding we are authorized to regard the sign in question as a sporadic notation for *ā* long. It is however distinguished in the transcriptions by using *ā* for it.

In the legends of the coins a dot or stroke, used below or a little to the left of certain letters, has been regarded⁶ as a sign of *ā*, but this M. Senart considers a mistake. A somewhat analogous fact he finds in the Kapur-di-giri inscription. Certain words of the xiiith and xivth edicts have a line slanting up to the left below the *m*: these are,—l. 8: *śāntirāyā*, corresponding to *śāntirāyā* of Khālsi; l. 9 and 10: in *nama* after the proper names *śāntirāyā*, *śāntirāyā*, *śāntirāyā*, *śāntirāyā*; then in *dharmā* in composition in lines 10 (twice), 11, and 12, finally l. 13 in *śāntirāyā*. None of these indicate any character different from the usual *ma*. The horizontal strokes at one or both edges of the sign *u* which stands for *m* similarly have no significance (p. 310).

The sign *u* has hitherto been always read *śā*: it ought to be read *thi*, which answers the requirements in every case (p. 311).

Elsewhere⁷ M. Senart has remarked on the sign

of M. Kern, *Über die Inschriften der südlichen Ind. dhāten*, pp. 32–33) by its so frequent use in the inscriptions in Indian characters.

⁶ Von Sallet's *Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Bactrien*, pp. 104, 108, 109, 111, 113, 114, 116, 120, 121, 125, 133, 154, 156, 174.

⁷ Notice sur le Ier volume du *Corpus Inschrift. Ind.* in *J. As.* VII, 1ère Ser. t. XIII, p. 323 ff.

found in the Gīrnār inscriptions, and which has usually been transcribed as a simple variant of *p*. Collating all the instances where the facsimiles present the sign with sufficient clearness, and without insisting on the altogether special value of the photographic reproduction* given by Mr. Burgess, they prove, what the form itself indicates, that the character really represents the compound *pr*, the *p* being completed by the wavy line for *r* carried upwards. The corrected analysis of the *pr* group throws light on others formed similarly by the curvation of the vertical line; these are *sr*, *sr*, *tr*. In xiv, 2, the copy (*Corp. Insc.*) has *pra* a mistaken alteration from *sra*; the word is *sarvata*, i.e. *sarvatra*, the *r* is attached to the *s*, exactly as the alphabet of the N. West uses *dhra* for *dkar*, *dhrama* for *dharmā*, *dva* for *dar* (*prigadarsa*), *sra* for *sr* in *sarvatra*. In both the alphabets of Kapur-di-giri and of Gīrnār all interpreters seem to have overlooked in these two last as in other cases, the presence of the *r*, marked nevertheless usually, by a horizontal stroke below and to the right of the consonant which it accompanies. By a license less singular we find the compound *sra* expressed by a sign which on the analogy of the preceding we should transcribe *sra*, in *sarvata*, ii, 1, 4, and also ii, 6, 7 at least very probably; in *sarva* vi, 9; 11. There remain to be noted the traces of a more curious *r* group. In ii, 8, is distinctly read *srchhā*, corresponding to the Sanskrit *srāṣṭhā* (Dhāuli: *lukhāsi*); here *r* represents the vowel *ri*, and in reality we ought to read *srichhā*. This suggests that we should read also in v, 4 and 6, *pra* (for *pr*) in *yāprita*, written in the following line *vyāputā*: perhaps, however, we should retain simply the reading *vyāputā*.*

"A new and careful revision of Mr. Burgess's facsimiles, our authority most worthy of confidence, enables me," says M. Senart,¹⁰ "to complete the proof of the above. One or two instances, which appeared to imply a serious mistake of the engraver's, disappear; many others appear to confirm my proof, and even a new group *kra* is twice employed in *parākramāsi* and *parākramena*. Here is a complete table of the groups:—

kra, vi, 11, 14.

tra, ii, 4, 7; vi, 4, 5; ix, 2; xiv, 5.

trā, iv, 8 (thrice); vi, 12, 13; xiii, 1.

tes, ix, 6, 7.

pra, i, 3; iv, 2 (twice), 6, 8; vi, 15; viii, 4; ix, 2, 4; xi, 2; xiii, 1, 4 (twice).

prā, i, 9, 10, 12; ii, 1; iii, 2, 5; iv, 1, 6; xiii, 4.

prī, i, 1, 2, 5 (twice), 7 (twice), 8 (twice); ii, 1, 4 (twice); iv, 2 (twice), 5 (twice), 7, 8 (thrice), 12 (twice); v, 1; viii, 2 (twice), 5; ix, 1 (twice), x, 1, 3; xi, 1; xiv, 1 (twice).

sra, ii, 1, 4, 6, 7, 8; iii, 2; v, 4; vi, 5; vii, 1; xiv, 2 (twice).

sra, iv, 2; xiii, 1.

sra, i, 9; vi, 6.

sri, v, 8.

sru, iv, 7 (twice); x, 2; xii, 7 (twice).

Another compound $\frac{1}{2}$ at Gīrnār, composed of *p* and *t*, was read by Wilson *ta*; Lassen¹¹ simply admits that *te* becomes *pt* in the Gīrnār dialect; and Burnouf,¹² on the analogy of other groups, read *pta*. Kern¹³ transcribes it *pta*, but says its pronunciation is uncertain. It is found in:—i, 3: *śrabhita*; iv, 4: *danayita*; vi, 11: *hitapāya*; x, 1: *taḍāpana*; x, 4: *parichajita*; xii, pass.: *āpāpāśaṇḍa*; xiii, 8: *chāpāro*; xiv, 4: *alocheṭā*. In short, this group appears in the termination of the absolutive where it is *-ta*, in the numeral *chāpāro* where it has the same value, as well as in the suffixes *tes* and *tesa*; lastly in *āpa* it corresponds to *tu* in *ātma*. The form in ordinary Prākṛit to which it corresponds in all these examples, which alone explains its graphic formation, is *ppa*,—compare *appa-ātma*, the suffix *ppa-tesa* in Śāraṣeni, the absolutes in *ppi*, *ppāpa* of the Apabhraṃśa¹⁴ (p. 311-313). The letter $\frac{1}{2}$ then is a historical form and not simply representative; it is the result of a kind of compromise between actual pronunciation (probably *pp*) and the etymological form (*te* and *tu*) (p. 314).

Next we have in the form $\frac{1}{2}$ composed of *s* and *t*—the dental *s* with the cerebral mute, and corresponding in turn to *śt*, *śth*, *st* (*avaśt*), *sth* (*stha*), and even *sth* (*stha*) of the Sanskrit. Hemachandra (iv, 299) says that in Māgadhi—*sta* and *stha* ought to be written *st*; but he adds, in disaccord from the Gīrnār practice, that *stha* and *stha* are to be written *sta*. The presence of the dental *s* is explained by the poverty of the alphabet, in which one sign

* *Archaeol. Surv. of West. Ind.* 1874-75 pl. X. and fig. and *Ind. Ant.* vol. V, plates at pp. 257 to 275.

* *J. As.* tom. XIII, pp. 538, 539.

¹⁰ *Tom. XV*, p. 311 ff.

¹¹ *Ind. Ant.* II, 227, n. 4.

¹² *Notes de la Bonne Loi*, p. 600.

¹³ *Jaarbericht*, p. 46 and note.

¹⁴ *Lassen, Inst. L. Prākṛ.* pp. 463, 469.

stands for the sibilants in general. The real pronunciation of the group was doubtless *śh* or *ṣh*.

In the Khālsi inscription, the sign 𑀅 ought, where the etymology requires it, to be regarded simply as another form of 𑀅 , and the form 𑀅 , which Cunningham regards as the *s* palatal¹² is nothing else than a form parallel and simply equivalent to the 𑀅 (pp. 317-323).

I. *The Fourteen edicts and the Separate edicts of Dhauli.*

Of the five versions, Dhauli and Jaugada only include the first ten and the fourteenth, but they have in common two edicts,—the *Separate Edicts of Dhauli*. The text of Girnār is by far the most correct; it is on the whole the best preserved, except for part from the Vth, and some very important and greatly-to-be-regretted losses from the XIIIth edicts; it is also that of which we have the most and best revisions, the only one indeed of which our knowledge may now be regarded as complete. It is therefore made the basis of the translations (pp. 327-330).

M. Senart produces the text of Girnār in Pāli type with a transliteration from the fac-similes in the *Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India*, vol. II., followed, first by transliterations side by side, of the Dhauli and Jaugada, and then of the Khālsi and Kapur-di-giri versions,—the inexactitude of the transcriptions in the *Corpus Inscriptionum* rendering it necessary to give them anew.

On each version of each edict there is a full commentary, that on the Girnār one coming first, and embracing all remarks that bear on the other versions in common with it, and those on the others dealing with the details more specially belonging to each.

We can afford space only for the Girnār versions and the translations:—

1st Edict.¹⁰

- (1) Iyañ dhammalipi devānāmpriyena
- (2) Priyadasinā rāñā lekhaṇīṭā[...] idha na kim-

¹⁰ *Corpus Ins.* vol. I. p. 13; conf. Bühler, *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 150, a. v. *Śaṅkha*.

¹¹ Prinsep, *J. A. S. Soc.* vol. VII. (1838), p. 249; Wilson, *J. R. As. Soc.* vol. XII. p. 157 f.; Lassen, *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 226, n. 1; also *Jour. Asiat.* VII. S. t. XIII, pp. 540-545.

¹² Cunningham's fac-simile, plate v. (C) has "kaśchā." According to Dh. J. and Kh. *prajāhitaṣṭhā* is an error for *prajāhitaṣṭhā*, fut. part. pass. of *prajāhāti*, which ought to be given up, sacrificed. (p. 336).

¹³ Fac-simile C. *śāṅkha*.

¹⁴ Fac-simile C. *śāṅkha*.

¹⁵ The stone is so injured here that the first syllable of this word is very doubtful. The phrase, separate in the

(3) *chi*¹⁷ *jīvañ ārabhitā prajāhitaṣṭhā*¹⁸

(4) *na cha samājo*¹⁹ *katavyo* [...] *bahukaṁ hi dosaṁ*

(5) *samājamhi pasati devānāmpriyo Priyadasirājā* [...]

(6) *asti pi ta ekachā samajā sādhumatā devānaṁ*

(7) *priyasa*²⁰ *Priyadasino rāño purā mahānaso jamā*²¹

(8) *devānāmpriyasa*²² *Priyadasino rāño anudivasam*²³ *ba-*

(9) *hūni prāpasatasahasrāni*²⁴ *ārabhisa sūpāthāya* [...]

(10) *so aja yadā ayañ dhammalipi likhita ti eva prā-*

(11) *ṇa ārabhase sūpāthāya dve morā eko mago*²⁵ *so pi*

(12) *mago na dhuvo*²⁶ [...] *ete pi*²⁷ *ti prāpā pachā na ārabhisaṁre* [...].

Translation.

"This edict has been engraved by order of the king Piṇḍasi, beloved of the Dēvas (on Mount Khepīngala,—Dh. J.). It is disallowed here below to destroy [wilfully] any life in slaughter, and also to make convivial assemblies (*festins*?). For the king Piṇḍasi, beloved of the Dēvas, sees much evil in convivial assemblies (?) There have indeed been, approved [by him], more than one convivial assembly (?) formerly in the kitchens of the king Piṇḍasi, beloved of the Dēvas, when (the word for 'when' occurs only in G.), for the table of the king Piṇḍasi, beloved of the Dēvas, were slain daily hundreds of thousands of living creatures. But at the time when this edict is engraved, three animals only are slain for his table, two peacocks and a deer, and even the deer not regularly. These three animals even will no more be killed henceforth." (p. 347).

Second Edict.²⁸

- (1) Sarvata vijitamhi devānāmpriyasa piyadasino²⁹ rāño.

other versions, is here joined with the following by the conjunction *yañ* for *jāna* or *jāna* = *yāna* (Hemachandra, ed. Pischel, iv, 406), 'when' (p. 337).

¹⁷ Fac-simile C. *śāṅkha*.

¹⁸ Fac-simile C. *śāṅkha*.

¹⁹ Fac-simile C. *śāṅkha*.

²⁰ Fac-simile C. *śāṅkha*.

²¹ C. *śāṅkha*.

²² C. *śāṅkha*.

²³ C. *śāṅkha*.

²⁴ C. *śāṅkha*.

²⁵ This and the Third edict from M. Senart's second article in tom. XV, pp. 479-509. On the Second edict, see

Prinsep, u. s. p. 158 f.; Wilson, u. s. p. 163 f.; Kern, *Jour. Asiat.* d. *suppl.* *Buddh.* p. 99, f.

²⁶ C. *śāṅkha* de *prāpā*.

(2) *evamapi*³⁰ *prāchamtesu*³¹ *yathā* Choḍā
Pādā Satiyaputo Ketalaputo ā³² Tamba-

(3) *paṇṇi* Aṁṭiyako Yonarūjā *ye vāpi* tsa
Aṁṭiyakasa sāmipam³³

(4) *rājāno sarvatra*³⁴ *devānāmpriyasa* Priya-
dasino rāho dve chikicchā katā

(5) *manusschikicchā*³⁵ *cha pasuchikicchā*
cha [...] *osudhāni* *cha yāni* *manusopagāni* *cha*

(6) *pasopagāni*³⁶ *cha yata yata nāsti sarvatā*³⁷
hārāpitāni *cha ropāpitāni* *cha* [...]

(7) *mūlāni* *cha phalāni* *cha yata yatra nāsti*
*sarvatā*³⁸ *hārāpitāni* *cha ropāpitāni* *cha* [...]

(8) *paṁṭhesu* *kūpā* *cha khānāpitā* *vrachā* *cha*
ropāpitā *paribhogāya* *pasumanusanāni* [...]

Translation.

"Everywhere in the territory of the king Piyadasi, beloved of the Dēvas, and also of the peoples who are on his borders, such as the Choḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, the country of Satiyaputra, of Ketalaputra as far as (K. and Kh. omit this word) Tambapaṇṇi, [in the territory of] Antiochus, king of the Greeks, and also of the kings who are near to him (K. Kh. : in Ariana), everywhere the king Piyadasi, beloved of the Dēvas, has distributed remedies of two sorts, remedies for men, remedies for animals. Everywhere, where useful plants are wanting, whether for men, whether for animals, they have been imported and planted (K. : everywhere they have been imported, and the same of trees). Wherever there was a want of (Kh. : all the) roots or fruits, they have been imported and planted (the phrase is wanting in K.). And upon the roads (upon the roads is wanting in K.), wells have been dug (Kh. : in the ground) for the use of animals and of men" (p. 491).

³⁰ E has been cut away by the lithographer in fac-simile B.

³¹ Fac-simile B. "pracham."

³² Fac-simile C. "pudā a ta."

³³ C. *chamāno* ed.

³⁴ C. "rājāno sarvatra."

³⁵ C. "sachāḍḍi."

³⁶ Fac-simile C. "sopagāni."

³⁷ C. "sarvā."

³⁸ C. "sarvā hā."

³⁹ Prinsep *Jour. A. S. Beng.* vol. VII., (1838), p. 250; Wilson, *J. R. A. S.* vol. XII., p. 170ff.; Burnouf, on the two last sentences, *Lotus*, pp. 721, 737ff.; Lassen, *Ind. Alt. Bd.* vol. II (1st ed.) p. 228, 229 notes.

⁴⁰ Fac-simile C. "pripada" jō.

⁴¹ Fac-simile C. "sarvā."

⁴² Fac-simile C. "maya i āpā."

⁴³ C. "sarvā."

Third Edict.⁴⁴

(1) *Devānāmpiyō Piyadasi*⁴⁵ *rāja evam* āha[...] *dvādasavāsābhisitena*⁴⁶ *mayā* *idam* ālāpitaṁ⁴⁷ [...]

(2) *Sarvata*⁴⁸ *vijite* *mama yutā*⁴⁹ *cha rājāke* *cha prādesiko*⁵⁰ *cha pañchasa pañchasa vāsesu* *anusaṁ*.

(3) *yānam*⁵¹ *niyāta* *etāye* *va athāya* *imāya* *dhammānussatiya* *yathā* *ānā*.

(4) *ya pi*⁵² *kammāya* [...] *sādhū*⁵³ *mātari* *cha* *pitari* *cha sasūsa*⁵⁴ *mitāsamstatahātinaṁ*⁵⁵ *bamhaṇa*

(5) *samañānaṁ* *sādhū* *dānaṁ* *prāṇānaṁ* *sādhū* *anārambho*⁵⁶ *apavyayatā* *apabhimḍatā* *sādhū* [...]

(6) *parisā* *pi yato*⁵⁷ *āṇapayisati* *gaṇanāyāni* *hotato* *cha vyamjanato*⁵⁸ *cha* [...]

Translation.

"Thus saith the king Piyadasi, beloved of the Dēvas: in the third year of my consecration, I have ordained as follows. That everywhere in my empire, the faithful, the Rājaka and the district governor repair every five years to the assembly [called *anussangāyāna*] as to their other duties (K. : besides their other duties) in order there to make known the following religious precepts:—'It is good to manifest docility to one's father and mother, to friends, acquaintances and relations; it is good to give alms to Brāhmanas and Śramanas, good to respect the life of living beings, good to shun prodigality and violence of language.' It is for the clergy further to instruct the faithful in detail as to principles and in the terms"⁵⁹ (dans le fond et dans les termes) (p. 500).

(To be continued.)

⁴⁴ See Burnouf, p. 738; *yato* here and elsewhere means 'the faithful'; *prādesiko* is applied to employés or rather local or provincial governors; *anussangāyāna*, is a *renouveau* or assembly (pp. 446-497.)

⁴⁵ Fac-simile C. "prade."

⁴⁶ Fac-simile C. "sādhūna ni."

⁴⁷ Fac-simile C. "āya si ha."

⁴⁸ Fac-simile C. "sarvāna sādāraṇa."

⁴⁹ Fac-simile C. "sudarāṇa."

⁵⁰ Fac-simile C. "sarvāna sādāraṇa id."

⁵¹ Fac-simile C. "sādāraṇa."

⁵² See Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 721ff (p. 500).

⁵³ Fac-simile C. "pārisāpi yato āṇapa."

⁵⁴ Conf. Oblenberg, *Mahāvagga*, 40, l. 24 (p. 502).

⁵⁵ This may be expressed with a slight paraphrase thus:—"To the clergy (if falls) then to teach in detail the basis (of morality, its various rules), and the form i.e. according to the formulas, and in the appointed order."

MISCELLANEA.

DIVISION OF THE BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES.¹

I

Lordship Lodge, Wood Green, Aug. 12th, 1880.

In the *Sassanigala Vāṇīnī* (the *offhakatū* or commentary on the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the long collection of the *sutta pitaka*) Buddhagosa (A. D. 450) mentions the division of the Buddhist scriptures into nine classes (*angulā*). This nine-fold classification was known at least a century earlier, and is alluded to in the *Dīpanīssā* (IV. 14, 15, ed. Oldenberg) as the division of the Theravāda—the sacred text as opposed to the *offhakatū*, it is mentioned, too, in the *Mūlāḍḍhapaṇṇāsa* (p. 263).

Mr. Rhys Davids (*Buddhism*, p. 215) thinks that Buddhagosa is not very successful in his endeavours to bring all the *pitaka* books under these sub-divisions. That, however, is a question that cannot be settled off-hand, but can only be solved when all the *pitakas* have been thoroughly examined by competent scholars.

This classification was not unknown to the northern Buddhists. *Le Lotus de la bonne Loi* (tom. II. p. 48) speaks of "cette loi formée de neuf parties," &c. Bournouf, commenting on this passage, says:—"Les neuf parties . . . sont d'après les Buddhistes de Ceylan, les neuf divisions dont se compose l'ensemble des écritures sacrées attribuées à Śākyā."

In the *Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme*, (2nd ed., pp. 45–60) Bournouf treats of this matter more at large, and shows that the northern Buddhists recognised a twelve-fold division, made up of the older nine *angas* (*Sutta, Geyya, Veyyākaraṇa, Gīthā, Uddāsa, Itivuttaka, Jātaka, Abhaya, Vāṇīnī*), to which they had added, at a later period, *Niddāsa, Avadāsa*, and *Upadāsa*.

Of course these points are familiar to Pāli scholars, but it is not perhaps known that we have earlier authorities for this *anga*-division than those already mentioned. Curiously enough, the *Pitakas* themselves refer to this classification! In the third section of the *Anguttara Nikāya* (a huge collection of 9,757 *suttas*) we find a chapter entitled *Puggala vaggā*, in the first part of which men are compared to four kinds of clouds:—

1. Thunder-clouds and rainless.
2. Rain-clouds and thunderless.
3. Rainless and thunderless clouds.
4. Thunder and rain clouds.

Each of these four classes is treated separately, but it will suffice to say that the first kind represent "great talkers and little doers" (*Idha, Uḍḍhāra, ekaṅkha puggalo bhāsitaṁ kotī na kattaṁ*).

The writer goes on to ask how a man is a thun-

derer and not a rainer, and his answer to the question contains a list of the sacred books which exactly corresponds to that given by Buddhagosa and the author of the *Dīpanīssā*.

The thunderer, or man of words, has learnt the *āṅgama*, and can repeat glibly enough the contents of the nine parts of his holy books, but he is no doer, for he has not taken the first step in the eightfold noble path, and has, therefore, no right views as to the origin of sorrow, its extinction, or the steps leading to its extinction.

But not only does the *Sutta-pitaka* recognise this classification, but also the *Abhidhamma-pitaka*. On turning to the *maṭṭhi* or contents of the *Puggala-peṭṭhi*, one of the *Abhidhamma* or metaphysical books as yet unedited, we find the words "chattaro sūddhā'upadā Puggalaṁ," which bears a striking resemblance to the *chattaro puggalaṁ* in the *Puggala vaggā* of the *Anguttara*. On a further examination of the *chattaro puggalaṁ* section of the *Puggala-peṭṭhi*, we find the very words of the *Puggala vaggā* with respect to the "cloud-resembling men," together with the nine divisions of the sacred books.

It would be difficult, from any internal evidence, to say whether the *Puggala-peṭṭhi* is based on the *Puggala vaggā* or vice versa. The *Puggala-peṭṭhi* is not, as Mr. Davids describes it, a book of "regulations for those who have entered the path," for it contains no regulations whatever, but is a declaration or designation of the different kinds of persons spoken of in the Buddhist scriptures (cf. *Khuddaka-peṭṭhi*, *Āyatana-peṭṭhi*, p. 12 of Dr. Trenckner's excellent edition of the *Mūlāḍḍhapaṇṇāsa*, just published; see also p. 27, l. 30).

The *chattaro puggalaṁ* section of the *Puggala-peṭṭhi* according to the *maṭṭhi* begins thus:—*Asappurisa, asappurisaṇa asappurisaṇa, sappurisa, sappurisaṇa sappurisaṇa*. These words occur as parts of a question in the *Anguttara Nikāya*, and they are also found in the third *vaggā* of the second part of the *Saṃgutta Nikāya*:—"Asappurisaṇa vo . . . denissāsi asappurisaṇa asappurisaṇa cho," &c. Taking into account the fact that the *Puggala-peṭṭhi* deals with the explanation of well known Buddhist terms, it must, I think, be considered as much later than the *Sutta-pitaka*, and is, perhaps, the latest of the *Abhidhamma* books.

It must be evident too, that the *suttas* and treatises that contain a list of the Buddhist books must have found their way among the sacred writings after their order had been finally settled. Strictly speaking, they cannot claim a right to be considered as a part of the Buddhist scriptures.

¹ From *The Academy*, Aug. 21, 1880, p. 136.

The *Sutta-pitaka* books need a thorough examination; many of the longer *suttas* are, comparatively, of late origin. I have elsewhere pointed out the *Mahāparinibbāna* and *Mahāsatipatthāna suttas*.

RICHARD MORRIS.

II.*

Oxford: Aug. 23rd, 1880.

The division of the sacred literature of the Southern and Northern Buddhists according to the *Angas*, on which Dr Morris has given some important information in the last number of the *Academy*, has always reminded me of a singular division applied by the Brāhmanas to their own sacred literature. That division may be found in my *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 40, and it is fully discussed by Sāyana in the Introduction to his commentary on the *Rig-Veda*, vol. I, p. 23. One of the divisions, the *Gāthās*, is actually the same in Vedic and Buddhist literature; another, the Brahmanic *Nidāna*, is very like the Buddhist *Itivuttaka*, *Ityukta* *Itivuttaka*. But, as Sāyana has shown that these titles, such as *Brāhmanya Nidāna* *Parāṇa*, &c., express subjects treated here and there in the *Mantras* and *Brāhmaṇas* rather than separate works or divisions of works, so in the Buddhist literature, too, these titles refer to subjects treated here and there in the *Tripiṭaka* rather than to separate books. Thus it is said by Buddhagoṣa that *Sutta*, for instance, comprehends *Itivuttaka*, but not *vice versa*; that *gāthās* may contain *geya*; while *geya*, again, is defined as a prose *sutta* mixed with *gāthā*, or verse.

This being the case, we need not be surprised to find this classification mentioned in the sacred canon itself to which it applies, as there can be no doubt that, like the Vedic literature, the sacred literature of the Buddhists also arose and was preserved for a long time by means of oral tradition, we can perfectly understand that allusions to the principal subjects treated in the *Mantras* and *Brāhmaṇas* should be found in these works themselves, and that even so elaborate a classification of the Dharma and Vinaya as that into nine or twelve *angas* should occur in the *Tripiṭaka* itself. Dr. Morris has rendered good service by pointing out the passages in the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* (*Puggala-paṭṭāṇi*), and even in the *sutta-pitaka* (*anguttara-nikāya*), where the classification of the Pāli sacred books into nine *angas* occurs. We may in future consider it as older at all events than Buddhagoṣa and the *Dīpaṇṣin*. The classification under twelve categories, adopted by the Mahāyāna, may likewise be traced in one of the recognised books of that school; the *Geṣa-karaṇḍa-vyākha*, and need

not be looked upon as a late importation from the south. In a MS. of that work (MS. E. I. H. 22 E. p. 95, b) we find the following list:—(1) *Sūtra*; (2) *Geya*; (3) *Vyākaraṇa*; (4) *Gāthā*; (5) *Udāna*; (6) *Nidāna*; (7) *Avadāna*; (8) *Itivuttaka*; (9) *Gāthaka*; (10) *Vaipulya*; (11) *Adbhuta*; (12) *Upadeśa*.

The meaning of these twelve classes has been fully discussed by Burnouf in his *Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme*, pp. 51 et seqq. Whether this division was first started by the followers of the Hinayāna and then adopted and amplified by the followers of the Mahāyāna is a question which I should like to see answered by more competent judges. Wassiljev's remarks on the subject (*Buddhisme*, p. 118, note) do not help us much, nor Vasubandha's commentary on the *Gāthāśāstra* (*Mé. As.* vol. VIII, p. 570). *Itivuttaka*, however, looks suspiciously like a false translation of *Itivuttaka*. The *Itivuttaka* refers in Pāli to 110 *Suttas*, beginning with an appeal to Buddha's words (*suttasā h'etassa Bhagavato*). In *Itivuttaka*, on the contrary, it seems as if the euphonic *v* of *Itivuttaka* had suggested the Sanskrit *Itivuttaka*.

When looking at Burnouf's *Introduction* for his opinion on the division of the Buddhist canon, my eye was arrested by some remarks of his on the absence of the name of Kṛishṇa, as a god known to the Buddhists, which have never been corrected. On the contrary, the remarks which he made "under all reserves" have been repeated without any reserve, and the conclusions which he based on them conditionally have been accepted unconditionally. Burnouf was quite right in saying that if the name of Kṛishṇa should really prove to be altogether absent from the early Buddhist books, while the names of other Brahmanic deities are frequently mentioned, it would follow either that the Buddhists had some reason for intentionally ignoring it, or that their books were anterior to the rise of the worship of Kṛishṇa as a god. M. Foucaux, in his translation of the *Rigya Tek'or Rol Pa*, p. 127, had pointed out one passage in which Kṛishṇa must be taken as the name of a god, but he added the somewhat puzzling remark:—"M.E. Burnouf, dans son *Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme*, prouve que le culte de Kṛishṇa était nouveau dans l'Inde quand le Bouddhisme commença." This is hardly the case. Kṛishṇa occurs in Buddhist literature as a name of the black demon (*Lal. Vist.* p. 435, l. 10, and elsewhere), but no one would think of identifying this old, and even Vedic, Asura Kṛishṇa, with Kṛishṇa, the god, as little as from the fact that Buddha had very dark hair (*rasakḍlakasa*) we should look upon him as in any way connected

* *The Academy*, Aug. 28, 1880, p. 154.

with Krishna. But if we examine the original passage in the *Lalitavistara* to which M. Foucaux referred, we can hardly doubt that Krishna is there intended as a god, and as an equal of Vaisravana, Kavera, Indra, Chandra, Sūrya, Kāma, and Rudra. It occurs in a Gāthā (p. 149, l. 3.) which may be looked upon as older than the prose text; and though we might possibly argue that Krishna should be taken as an epithet of Rudra, it is quite clear that in the prose text, which may serve as the oldest commentary on the Gāthā, Krishna was taken as a separate deity by the side of Vaisravana, Māra, Mahoragendra, Indra, Rudra, Chandra, and Sūrya. He is called *Mahoteshā*, capable of great efforts, an epithet which agrees better with the hero of the *Mahābhārata* than with that of the *Gopījanavallabha*. The name of Krishna, as a god, should therefore no longer be treated as unknown to the authors of the nine *Dharmas*, nor should it be maintained that Sanskrit works in which Krishna appears as a god, such as the *Mahābhārata*, and particularly the *Bhagavadgītā*, must on that account be classed as post-Buddhist, or as later, at least, than the Third Council.

F. MAX MÜLLER.

FOLKLORE PARALLEL.

I find the following in Bernhard Schmidt's *Griechische Märchen, Sagen, und Volkslieder*, p. 36:—

"An old legend resembling the myths of Admetus and Alkestis is reproduced in a popular ballad of Trebizond. Jannis, so runs the story, the only son of his parents, is just making preparations for his wedding, when Charon appears at the door with threatening mien to bear away his soul. The young man proposes to him to have a wrestling match on a brazen threshing-floor; if Charon wins, he will surrender his soul, but if he remains conqueror, the wedding is to take place. But Charon will not agree to this proposal: he says that God has sent him to fetch souls, not to waste his time in games and wrestling matches. Then Jannis begs St. George to entreat God that his life may be lengthened. God makes him this promise that if his father, who has still 30 years of life before him, will give half of this time to his son, he shall live to celebrate his marriage. But his

father will not spare him even one day. Then again the saint intercedes for him, and God consents that if his mother will spare him the half of her 30 remaining years, he shall live. But even his mother refuses to give up one span of her allotted time. At last God permits Jannis to entreat the same favour from his betrothed, and she agrees with the greatest readiness to her lover's request, remarking that the years appointed to her are enough for them both. So Jannis' wedding takes place."

I should prefer to connect this story with that of Ruru in the *Ātharvaveda* *Sūtra*, which Bonfey compares with that of Yayāti and his son Ruru.

The story of Ruru runs as follows: "Once on a time a hermit's son of the name of Ruru, wandering about at will, saw a maiden of wonderful beauty, the daughter of a heavenly nymph named Menaka by a Vidyādharma, and brought up by a hermit of the name of Śhūlakṛṣṇa in his hermitage. That lady, whose name was Prihastvārā, so captivated the mind of that Ruru when he saw her, that he went and begged the hermit to give her to him in marriage. Śhūlakṛṣṇa betrothed the maiden to him, and when the wedding was nigh at hand, suddenly an adder bit her. Then the heart of Ruru was full of despair, but he heard this voice in the heaven: 'O Brahman, raise to life with the gift of half thy own life, this maiden whose allotted term is at an end.' When Ruru heard that, he gave her the half of his own life, as he had been directed; by means of that she revived, and Ruru married her."

The same agency as carried the story of Buddha to the west, and caused it to be reproduced in the romance of Barlaam and Josaphat, may very well have carried the story of Ruru to Trebizond.

C. H. T.

NOTE.

A Hindu idol, copper, representing a woman with four arms, has recently been unearthed near Orenburg. Archaeologists believe it to have been the prize, several centuries ago, of some of the Mongols who invaded India, and to have been conveyed in course of nomad wanderings to the spot where it was discovered in the Orenburg district.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE ZEND-AVESTA, PART I, THE VENDIDAD.—Translated by James Darmesteter. Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1880.

In this translation, which forms the fourth volume of the *Sacred Books of the East*, M.

Darmesteter has made great progress in clearing away the obscurities and inaccuracies which encumber all previous translations of these remains of the ancient Pārsi code of religious laws, and

¹ Compare also the story of Śhūlakṛṣṇa and Satyavati, *Mahābh.* iii, § 202 ff.—Ed.

thus presents the English reader, for the first time, with a really trustworthy version of the entire *Vendidad*, although the translation may not be quite so literal as might be wished by Avesta scholars.

It is hardly creditable to English Orientalists that it has been necessary to intrust this work to a foreigner, in consequence of no Englishman being capable of undertaking a translation of the *Avesta*; but the chief cause of their neglect of so important a branch of Oriental studies is not far to seek. When the *Avesta* was first introduced to the learned world, in a French translation, by Anquetil Duperron in 1771, its authenticity was violently attacked by a young English scholar, who afterwards became the celebrated Orientalist, Sir William Jones. This attack was unscientific and dogmatic in the extreme, but, backed by the subsequent fame of its author, and by the national prejudices afterwards excited by the Napoleonic wars, it has hitherto succeeded in deterring Englishmen from examining the *Avesta* for themselves. Time, however, has now brought about its revenge, and little more than a century after Sir W. Jones's endeavour to discredit a Frenchman's account of the *Avesta*, and chiefly owing to his endeavour, his own University has found it necessary to apply to a French scholar for an English translation of the same Oriental texts.

The method adopted by M. Darmesteter, in translating the difficult and doubtful passages which abound in the *Vendidad*, is to accept the traditional interpretation wherever it is not at variance with the results of comparative philology and mythology. There can be no doubt that this method is, theoretically, the best that can be adopted, but it is frequently attended with practical difficulties. The only tradition of any value, as regards anything beyond religious practices in daily use, is contained in the Pahlavi translations and commentaries, which seem to have originated at a time when the Avesta language, though already dead, was still nearly as well understood by the Pârsî priesthood as the language of the ancient Greeks was by Christian divines two centuries ago. But the Pahlavi version of the *Vendidad* has not yet been fully translated, and abounds with passages that can be easily misunderstood, so that it is often difficult to ascertain its meaning with certainty. And to this practical difficulty must be added the further difficulty of forming a correct opinion when testing this tradition by the less definite results of comparative philology and mythology.

As an illustration of the possible effect of the first kind of difficulty, arising from the want of trustworthy translations of Pahlavi texts, may be

taken the mode of identifying the "good river Dâitya" (*Vend.* I, 3) with the Araxes, by reading "it flows through the mountains of Gôrjastân (Georgin)," instead of "it goes out through the hill-country," in *Bundahish*, XX, 13. The original name in this passage is Gopastân, a reasonable Pâzand reading of the Pahlavi word *gôrjastân*, "hill-country," but a very unlikely reading of *Gôrjastân*. The adoption of this doubtful emendation is to be regretted, as it is hardly requisite for the identification proposed.

An instance of the second practical difficulty occurs with regard to the title Spîtama, usually applied to Zarathushtra, and which it is safest to leave untranslated, as Darmesteter generally does; but he evidently considers it a mere epithet, and translates it by "holy" in *Vend.* II, 42. This is a departure from tradition, for this title is always expressed by the patronymical form *Spîtdmna*, "the Spîtaman," in Pahlavi, and is supposed to refer to an ancestor of Zarathushtra in the ninth generation, whose name was Spîtama according to a genealogy given in several Pahlavi works. If the title Spîtama be a mere epithet, and not a family name, it is very singular that it should be applied, in the *Avesta*, only to Zarathushtra and two or three of his relations, male and female. As Darmesteter, however, considers Zarathushtra merely as a mythological being, void of historical reality, he can hardly admit the reality of his ancestry, without weakening the arguments in favour of his mythological origin.

In a very able introduction the translator first treats of the discovery of the *Avesta*, dwelling specially upon the details of the old dispute as to its authenticity, already referred to. He then deals with its interpretation, merely alluding to the labours of the generation of Avesta scholars now passing away, without describing them. But he dwells longer upon the formation of the *Avesta* and the origin of the religion it teaches, before concluding with a brief and appropriate analysis of the contents of the *Vendidad*.

His view of the origin of the Avesta religion rejects the hypothesis of former scholars that it was a reform of the old Indo-Iranian faith, arising at a time when the latter was lapsing into a more materialistic system of idolatry, and indicative of an ancient schism which led eventually to the widely divergent principles of Zoroastrianism and Hinduism. In place of this hypothesis he supposes that these two religions are merely two separate developments of Indo-Iranianism, not originating in any schism, but in the gradual effect of different circumstances upon dissimilar minds. And, as this supposition is inconsistent with the idea of the Avesta religion originating in

the personal influence of any individual reformer, he dispenses with the historical reality of Zarathustra, and converts him into a mere mythological conception, a view which has also been advocated by Professor Kern.

The essential difference between this hypothesis and the old one does not lie in the idea of development, which is an indispensable element in the history of every religious system, but in the rejection of all idea of a schism or sudden reform. No doubt the advocates of the schism hypothesis have been inclined to lay rather too much stress on the arguments in its favour, and have put aside all difficulties for future elucidation; but it may well be questioned whether the new hypothesis is not being discussed in the same one-sided manner. It is difficult for a cautious reader to peruse Darmesteter's arguments, especially as more fully detailed in his previous work *Ormand et Ahurman* (Paris, 1877), without an uneasy feeling that the same amount of learning and ingenuity could easily find much to say, both for the reformation hypothesis, and for the historical reality of Zarathustra himself, apart from the unhistorical legends which have gathered about his memory. Until some such well-considered attempt be made to defend the old hypothesis, it will be safest for most readers to suspend their judgment about matters so difficult to prove. In the meantime they will find much of novelty and interest in this new translation of the *Vendidad*, which may be accepted with far greater confidence than mere speculative theories.

E. W. WEST.

DAS ALTINDISCHE NEU-UND VOLLMONDOPFER IN SEINER EINFACHSTEN FORM; von A. Hillebrandt, Dr. P. 8vo. pp. xvii, 199. Jena, 1880.

Dr. Hillebrandt is already favourably known to Sanskritists by his *Essays on Vedic mythology*; he now has taken up a new line—the elucidation of the sacrifices of the Vedic religion, and with no less success; in fact, this work constitutes (as Germans would say) a new epoch in Sanskrit studies in Europe.

The existence of *sūtras* treating of the sacrifices

¹ Prof. Weber, in his *Indische Studien*, vols. X, and XIII, also gave a useful general view of the various kinds of Vaidik sacrifices.—E.

² We mention a few slips noticed during a superficial perusal of the book. The form *urivats* is twice (pp. 17, 90) translated by 'be choosers,' instead of by 'they choose.' In the formula *śukē dvidhāhavya, ud atar tishthāhavya* *śukēne sūta ye 'sant pākatvāh* (Kāty. II., 1, 22) Dr. H. separates *tishthāhavya* and translates (pp. 17, 91) "O Ahī dāidhāhavya [he is taken as an interjection by the St. Petersburg Dict.] I will step up (or get up) from here; sit down on the seat of him who is siller than we!" Should we not rather separate *tishthāhavya* as "O D., get up from here and sit down on the seat of some one else who is less wise than we!"—At p. 38 for 'atv-winning,' read 'khatv-winning' and add 'kinman-winning' (*ajādhavani*).—P. 38

had long been known, but it was only about 25 years ago that Prof. A. Weber¹ first made possible the study of one of these works by his splendid edition of that which passes under the name of *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*. Much, however, necessarily remained obscure in the details of the rites, and it was not till the late Prof. M. Haug got some of the sacrifices performed in his presence at Poona, and that he printed some of the information thus gained in the notes to his translation of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, that further progress was possible. But Haug did not anywhere give a full description of any of the numerous Vedic sacrifices, he merely elucidated some obscure points, and Prof. Thibaut's excellent labours refer to the construction of altars; thus, the present work is, strictly speaking, the first of its kind.

Dr. Hillebrandt has based his work on MSS. of the different *Śrauta sūtras* as well as of *Pragūhas*, and for these he has had recourse to the India-Office and Munich Libraries.

The body of the work consists of two parts: (I), introductory ceremonies, and (II), the details of the sacrifice.

The fullest possible information on these matters is given; and any one could, with this book in hand, perform the rites of which it treats. These rites are childish and silly, but are, unlike many of the *Śrauta* rites, quite unobjectionable in themselves. We find here none of the detestable acts, which, e.g., forms part of the horse-sacrifice, and which are such an appalling feature of the Vedic religious system, to which even human sacrifices were well-known.

To understand the past of India, it is necessary to understand these complicated rites, and it is to be hoped that the learned author will aid students by treatises on one or two more of the more important sacrifices. Such labours will be valuable in many ways, and will, e.g., help us to understand much in the *Vedas* which, as they now exist, are entirely arranged for sacrificial purposes.

Dr. Hillebrandt is to be congratulated on having discovered not only a new line of research, but also on having, adequately, occupied it.*

A. B.

for "he gives it (the *veda*) the shape of a plaited basket (*śūta*)," translate "he makes it by plaiting in the same way as basket-work (*śūta*)."—P. 40 for "on the conclusion of this mantra the Agnidhva pours out," translate "the A. pours out the water so as to finish with the conclusion of the mantra."—P. 43, instead of "do not split! do not break down!" (*ma bhāra mā mūrvāchā!* Vāg. S. I. 23) translate: "do not be afraid! do not shrink!"—*śukēne* is not "niedergeboren" (born down) but "burnt out" (p. 57). Before "alle Schätze enthaltende" (p. 28) *devayajusa* has been left out. At p. 120 *śukēne* is translated by 'Gomose (companion)'; should it not be 'Gomose (delight in food)'? and at the same page *brāhmadēvākrīṣṇa*, which Dr. H. does not know how to explain, should be separated between *devākrīṣṇa*, see *Itiv.* VII, 27, 3; *Yajur. S. II.* 6, 7, 4.—E.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.A. C.S., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from p. 135.)

No. LXXX.

THE present inscription is from the original plates, which belong to 'Nawaji Walad Ukhaji Jiri' of Pimpalner in the Pimpalner Taluka of the Khândesh District. They were produced by him before the authorities to substantiate his claim to a Pāṇi's Watan!

The plates are five in number; the size of them is somewhat irregular, the largest being about 8½" long by 3½" broad. Here and there the edges are slightly raised, as if to protect the writing; but this is probably accidental, and owing to the thinness of the plates and their consequent liability to be bent up. The plates themselves weigh 1 lb. 10½ oz.; and the two rings and the seal, 7½ oz. The ring on which they are strung is a plain copper ring about ½" thick and 2½" in diameter; it had been cut before the grant came into my hands. On this ring there fits very tightly another ring about ¼" thick and ½" in diameter; the seal on this smaller ring is circular, about two inches in diameter, and has, in high relief on a counter-sunk surface,—a standing figure of the god Hanumān, facing to the proper right, and balancing a peak of the mountain Gandhamādana on his left arm; in the lower part, behind him, a *chakra*; and in front of him, a sword or lamp-stand, with a *śaṅkha*-shell below it.

The writing is very thin and shallow, and the component parts of the letters are frequently very much detached; it is, therefore, occasionally very difficult to decipher it with certainty. On the whole, however, it is fairly well preserved and is legible enough. On the second side of the third plate there is the figure 3, between the edge of the plate and the ring-hole; the other plates are not numbered. The ring-holes were made after the inscription was engraved, as some of the letters have been destroyed in making them. It was probably intended originally to make these holes at the top and bottom of each plate in succession, instead of at the sides; for, here and there, there are blank spaces in the writing, which can only have been left with this object.

The inscription purports to record that, in Śaka 310 (A.D. 388-9), the king Satyāśraya

bestowed the village of Pippalanagara upon Nāgasvāmidikshita and other Brāhmanas.

With the exception that Satyāśraya is said to be of the lineage of the god Viṣṇu and to belong to those who were of the Mānavya *gṛha*, there is nothing in this inscription to specify precisely who he was. But there can be no doubt that the person intended is the Western Chalukya king Satyāśraya I, or Pulikēśi II, and that the word omitted in line 8 after *pavitrakṛpita-śrasān* was *Chalukya-nām*, followed by some such expression as *avayajātāh*, or *kalasa-alambakarishyaḥ*.

The grant is of course a forgery, for the following reasons:—1, If it is admitted that the king intended is Pulikēśi II, the date given is earlier by more than two hundred years than his real date.—2, Whether this be admitted or not, it cannot be disputed that this grant purports to be a Chalukya grant; and no member of that dynasty, anterior to Pulikēśi II, had the title of Satyāśraya.—3, The characters are so totally unlike in detail those of the Western Chalukya alphabet or of the Old-Canarese alphabet, that I cannot place them, even as a corrupt specimen, in the same class with either of those two alphabets. I am not quite certain how to classify them; but I am inclined to concur in an opinion expressed to me by Mr. Venkaṭ Raṅgō Kāṭṭi, that they are a mediæval form of some Beṅgālī alphabet, which must have been derived originally from the same source as the Chalukya alphabet.—4, In all the early inscriptions which follow the regular established style, the date comes at the end of the genealogy and immediately after the words introducing the details of the grant, and is expressed by *śatēśu Śaka-varshēśhe-atitēśu*. There are a few special exceptions to the use of these particular words, which it is not necessary to give here. But the earliest instance in which the date is expressed by *Śaka-aripa-kāl-ātita-samvatsara-śata*, (as is here the case, in the first line); or by *Śaka-aripa-kāl-ātita-samvatsara*, (the word *śata* being omitted as superfluous), are respectively the Rāshṭrakūṭa tablet at Nandwāḍige dated Śaka 722, and the Rāshṭrakūṭa grant of Gōvinda III. dated Śaka

726, both of which I have had occasion to notice for another purpose at *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII, p. 210.—5, Though the text runs in line 2 as if the month, the bright or dark fortnight, the lunar *tithi*, and the day of the week, were specified, yet these details are not mentioned, but only the year is given.—6, The figure 3, as given on the third plate, is not made up of three lines one above the other, as it would be if it were a genuine early numeral; but it is the modern form of 3, which cannot have been introduced earlier than the eleventh or twelfth century A.D.—7, None of the Chalukya grants repeat the king's name at the end, by way of a signature, as is done in

the last line of this grant.—8, The emblems on the seal are not the Chalukya emblems, and they occur on the seal of no Chalukya grant.—And finally, 9, No early grant that I know of has, as this grant has, the seal sliding by a small ring of its own on the large ring on which the plates are strung. The only other instances of this known to me are some comparatively very modern Vijayanagara grants in Sir Walter Elliot's possession. In all the early grants, of whatever dynasty, "these seals," as Dr. Barnell writes¹, "are cast on the ring by which the plates are held together, and which thus has the form of a huge signet ring."

Transcription.

First plate.

[¹] Svasti	Śaka-sṛipa-kāl-ātita-samvatsara-śatēshu	tri(tri)shu	śaś-ōttarē
[²] shv-asyā[m*]	samvatsara-māsa-paksha-divasa-pūrvvāyān*-tithau		paramabha-
[³] tāraka-mahārīj-ādhirāja-paramēśvara-Vishṇava[m*]śōdbhava-pa-			
[⁴] [rma*]bhāgavata-paramabrahmaṇya(ṇyō)			Mān aya-sagōtrāpām
[⁵] Mātrī-gaṇ-ādhishtitānā[m*]			Sahāṣaka-sa-mara-samā(ma)rji-
[⁶] ta-yaśō-rāśi-sampiddhānā[m*]			rājasūy-āśv amēdha-paunḍari-
[⁷] ka-bahusuvārṇa-vājapēy-ādi-mahākṛta-maun-āva-			

Second plate; first side.

[⁸] bhṛitha-pavitri(tri)krīta-śira'sām*				Nṛiga-Nahusha-Di.
[⁹] lpa-Sagara-Bhagīrāth-ādi-chirantana-bhūbhṛich-chari-				
[¹⁰] t-ānukṛiti-prakāśit-śāśa-viśva[m*]bhārā-bhār-ōdvahana-				
[¹¹] sa ¹⁰ martha)		Tēn-śārstarām	vilōkya	sakalām
[¹²] ra-chakra-sthitām	.	jamtu(tū)nām	kari-karṇa-tāla-chapalā(lā)m-a(ā)-	
[¹³] lā(lō)ka(kya)	bhākshy-āyushām		sūktāni	gru(śru)ti-sambhavanī

Second plate; second side.

[¹⁴] cha vachāday-ākārṇa(rṇya)	lōka ¹¹ -dvayē		dharṇmē	dāna-pha-
[¹⁵] la[m*] cha śāśvatam-ih-ōty-ō(ō)varā	krītō	nischayaḥ		Yathā kada-
[¹⁶] li-prakāṇḍa-vad-a-sārāḥ	sa[m*]sārāḥ		sarī-tir-a(ā)vnathita-taru(ru)-	
[¹⁷] [dha ¹²]rmamāṇi	śarīrāṇi		kusuma-ramaṇyāni	yaṇva-
[¹⁸] nāni	taḍit-taralāḥ	saṃpadāḥ(dah)		daṃd(d)-ō(ā)hata-bhūjaṅga-
[¹⁹] bhāṅgi-kuṣilāḥ	khaṇu	vidhi-vyāpārāḥ(rah)		Tathā cha

¹ South-Indian Palaeography, Second Edition, p. 107.

² The māsa, paksha, divasa, and tithi, however, are not specified.

³ These two letters, vasis, were completely cut out in making the ring-hole.

⁴ Here, and in some other places, the Anusvara is a clearly made circle. In śāśvā, l. 8, and other places, it is denoted sometimes by a round dot, and sometimes by an elongated dot.

⁵ The upper parts of these two letters, mātṛi, were cut out in making the ring-hole.

⁶ These plates have also been examined by Pandit Bhagvanlāl Indrajit. His reading here is Sahāṣaka-samara-samā(ma)rji-rājasūy-āśv amēdha-paunḍari; but he only suggests the letters vāpā as 'probable', the passage being very indistinct. I think the original really has samarjita, for samarjita, though

the word is not a common one.

⁷ A blank space, equal to three letters, intervenes between ra and śāś.

⁸ The context is imperfect, through the omission of the name of the dynasty. We must supply Chalukya, followed by any of jāta, or bhānu-bhānuśāśvā, or some such expression,—or vāśāś śāśvāśāś, as the Pandit suggests.

⁹ The lower part of this letter, tā, was cut out in making the ring-hole.

¹⁰ The upper part of this letter, sa, was cut out at the same time.

¹¹ A blank space, equal to two letters, intervenes between ka and dā.

¹² This letter, dā, was almost entirely cut out in making the ring-hole.

Third plate; first side.

[⁸⁰] Śātmali-tūla-vipāka ¹³ -kalpāḥ						paramārtha-vi-
[⁸¹] rasi[h*] prā(pri)-ti-dharmē(rmāḥ)	Ēvaṁ	sarvvaṁ=ani(bhi)samākalayya				
[⁸²] ma ¹⁴ hārāj-ādhirāja-śrīmat-Satyāśraya-dēvaḥ						satvari(ram=ā)-
[⁸³] h=ai ¹⁵ va	sāmanta-vishaya-patikān=astu	vidita[m*]	yathā			
[⁸⁴] Āyāsa-śa[ta*]-labdhasya	prāṇēbhyō=pi	gari(rī)yasah				gati-
[⁸⁵] r=ek=aiṣa	vittasya	dānam=anyā	vipattayaḥ	Atō	mayā	

Third plate; second side.

[⁸⁶] nija-bhuj-ārjitaṁ	chata ¹⁶ r-āghātā(ta)-viśuddhaṁ					yajana-yā-
[⁸⁷] jan-ādi-śat-karma-niratā[y=ā*]gnihōra(tra)-chara-purōdās-āti-						
[⁸⁸] thi-pūjāya	vēda-vēdānga-pāragāya					Yajuh-śākhinō
[⁸⁹] [ya ¹⁷]sya	Valabhi-mahāsthānē					Brahm-ā-
[⁹⁰] thō(rthō)	labdhah		tōna			mah-ūtmān=ātiśayita-sarvva-
[⁹¹] janēna	An ¹⁸ ūchā ¹⁹ n-ānvayēna		dvi-jātinā			

Fourth plate; first side.

[⁹²] Kātyāyana-gōtrāya	Nāga[svā*]mi ²⁰ -dīkshī(śhi)ta		Śrīdhara-dī(dī)kshī-
[⁹³] ta	Vāmanasvāmī ²¹	Nārīyaya	Dēvārya(?) () Gōvi-
[⁹⁴] ndasvāmī	ē(?)tā(tēbhyō)	Durīyābhajyā ²²	²³ -Payōbhaj-āṅgamō
[⁹⁵] sū ²⁴ rya-grahaṇa-parvvaṇi		svaya[th*]	pāḍau prakshā-
[⁹⁶] lya	satilōdakēna	vidhinā	Pippala-nagaraṁ
[⁹⁷] ā-chamdr-ārka[th*]	yāvat-pratīpādī[m*]		Ma(ya)sy=āghātāḥ

Fourth plate; second side.

[⁹⁸]	Pūrvvataḥ	Kapilakunḍa(?)	Bhīmādī-sandhi ²⁵ (ndhi)-vātaḥ		Dakṣiṇstō(taḥ)
[⁹⁹]	Kattarā-parvataḥ	Sētuladī-nadī		Sa(?)ksha(?)rā-dī(vā)taḥ	[*] Paśchi-
[¹⁰⁰]	matō Gaḍḍāda ²⁶ -hra(?)dāh(?)		Va(?)yāśchchhi(?)	sadhīna(sandhi=cha ?)	Uttaratō
[¹⁰¹]	Dha(?) ²⁷ chchha(chchha)vābhā-parvataḥ		Jagya(?)bhā)khōdī-nadī(dī)		Su(?)gōhalā-
[¹⁰²]	taḍḍānā		Tath=āsy-ānyayō	Lōhanagar-ādi(di)ni	sthānā-
[¹⁰³]	nā ²⁸ ni	shaḍ-vim(?)śatā(tī)		tath=āgrahārāṇi	chatur-ā(n)śti prada-
[¹⁰⁴]	tau(tā)ni		Atō	mad-vya(vān)śyair-ānyair-vvā	pratīpālaniyāni [*]

Fifth plate.

[¹⁰⁵] Mā(ā)gāmi-rāja-dāyō=shṭa-śataṁ ²⁹	nīyū(?) ³⁰ pakūṇam	matōnyasāhi-
[¹⁰⁶] ya ³¹ bal-mathana-tā(?)pya(?)	Tath=ātra bal-āyatani(nō?)	Vasantādityaḥ tath=ā-
[¹⁰⁷] dha(dhi)kṛita-Vi(vi)rēśvarī(rah) pratīpālaniya	Vyāśāś=[ch]-āt[r]a	Vi(vim)dhy-

āṇavi(vi)-

¹³ A blank space, equal to two letters, intervenes between this ā and the ā of kalpāḥ.

¹⁴ The lower part of this letter, ma, was cut out in making the ring-hole.

¹⁵ The upper part of this letter, hā, was cut out at the same time.

¹⁶ This letter, ta, was at first omitted, and then was inserted above the line; it is very small and faint.

¹⁷ This letter, ya, was entirely cut out in making the ring-hole.

¹⁸ The Pandit considers that the reading may be either Anagāhā or Jhāngāhā. The first letter is so nondescript that it may be anything whatever. The second letter is certainly ād. The third syllable, chā, is a mistake for cā, if the first letter is a.

¹⁹ A blank space, equal to two letters, intervenes between chā and ād.

²⁰ The Pandit reads Nāgavira, but I do not agree with him here. There is a blank space, apparently from a flaw in the copper, between ga and mi, where I supply sū.

²¹ The Pandit reads Rāmāśvāmī.

²² The yā is clear; but the upper part of the letter is partially effaced and is very doubtful. The Pandit reads Dēvāśyā.

²³ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

²⁴ Part of the s was cut out in making the ring-hole.

²⁵ This letter, which I read as ndhi for ndhi, is a very nondescript one. The Pandit suggests either Rāmādī, ādī, or Nāgādī.

²⁶ The Pandit reads Gaḍḍāda.

²⁷ Part of this letter, dha, and perhaps the whole of another letter before it, was cut out in making the ring-hole. The Pandit reads Va (?) chchhaśchchha-parvataḥ.

²⁸ This repetition of the letter ād is superfluous.

²⁹ A blank space, equal to one letter, intervenes between tath and ā.

³⁰ The Pandit reads nyū, or vūl. But there is no v over the letter, and it certainly is not vūl.

³¹ This word is unintelligible; but I cannot suggest anything else.

³² This mark of punctuation should be before tathā.

- [48] shv-a³³-tōyīsu śushka-kōṭara-vāsinaḥ | Kṛishṇa-sarppā hi(?) jāyantē bhū-
 [49] [mī³⁴]-dān-āpahārakāḥ | (I) ³⁵ yatnād-ruksha-
 Yudhishṭhi-
 [50] ru | mahi[m³⁶] mahimatāḥ śrēṣṭhā dānā(nāch-) śrē(=chhrē)yō-nupālana[m³⁷] || Lākhi-
 [51] tam-ētan-mayā sādhibivagrāhika-pa(?)mā³⁸ . . . d-Divākara-sutō-
 [52] na Nāgēśvarā-ēti || Śrī-Satyāśrayadēvaya ||

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S.

(Continued from p. 153.)

No. XXVI.—*Irdhi-Pāda*.

It is not uncommon in Sanskrit literature, especially when the lives and virtues of renowned sages or ascetics are recounted, to find it told of such personages that they could transport themselves from place to place in some mysterious magical way in a moment. That large section of Hindu literature which deals with magic and the occult arts, such as the *Tantras*, the *Black Yoda*, &c., too much neglected by European scholars, often refers to this secret power. The *Kalai-jōśna* system for example is copious on the subject.¹ The vastly complicated scheme of Buddhist rites and asceticism holds forth this power as the crown and goal possibly arrived at by the continuous observance of prescribed ceremonies and an inflexibly followed course of moral action. The entrance to this course was through the rite called *kasiṇa*, of which there were ten kinds,² consisting principally of modes of persisting in rigid unbroken meditation till the state called *samādhi* was attained. *Samādhi* is described as that which keeps the thoughts together, like the moisture which causes grains of sand to adhere and form a ball; through this the illumination termed *sīmīta* could be reached; fourteen excessively complicated modes of exercising the ten *kasiṇas* with this end are specified, and after all had been successfully accomplished, the power of *Irdhi* might be acquired, though not infallibly. *Irdhi*³ is a miraculous power distinguishing a Rāhāt, one who has passed the Four Paths, and will

at death attain *Nirvāṇa*. Its special characteristic is the power of instant locomotion and flight through the air from place to place, hence it is called *Irdhi-pāda*, i. e. the Divine Foot, on account of the assistance it renders to those possessing it. Both Brahmanical and Buddhist books, when alluding to this power, always speak of it as something familiar and well-known. Fah-Hian, the Chinese pilgrim to India in the 4th century, observes in a matter-of-course way as though it were nothing unusual that "Rahāts continually fly," and again, "the men of that country frequently see persons come flying to the temple, (some rock-temple,) the religious men occupying the upper chambers are constantly on the wing."—(Beal's *Travels of Fah Hian*.) People to-day are staggered at the accounts of "mediums" floating out of windows or being transported in a moment from one quarter of London to another, but flights of holy men fluttering, like pigeons, about the high chamber-cells of rock-temple would make even a sturdy spiritualist pause. Cells high up on sheer rocky faces have provoked speculation as to how they were tenanted. Fah Hian's statement may suggest some hint. The same pilgrim at Dardū in Northern India saw an image of wood, 94 feet high, representing Maitreya Bodhisattwa, "the Buddha that is yet to be," to obtain the size and appearance of which a sculptor was "by the power of *Irdhi*," three times transported up to the Tushita heaven, the Fourth Sphere, wherein rest all births yet to come; a strange and weird idea!

³³ The lower part of this letter, shva, was cut out in making the ring-hole.

³⁴ This letter, mī, was entirely cut out at the same time.

³⁵ It is almost impossible to say what these eight letters are. The Panjiri suggests dvi/śāṣṭhi dśatīśāṣṭhi cha. The usual reading is aṣṭa-dśatīśāṣṭhi dśatīśāṣṭhi.

³⁶ One letter is altogether unintelligible here. The Panjiri reads "vigrāhikā-dśatīśāṣṭhi (?) Dśatīśāṣṭhi".

¹ "Flying through the air" is expressly enumerated

amongst the wonderful acts which could be performed by means of dāṇḍa, or occult Indian charms. It was also one of the sorceries ascribed to Simon Magnus.

² See Spence Hardy's *East. Monach.* pp. 252 fig.

³ "Irdhi (or Irdhi), prosperity, power, majesty, supernatural power, miraculous faculty. There are 10 *irdhis*, such as the power of passing through the air, of taking any form, of creating or causing to appear anything required. *Irdhi* is the peculiar attribute of the Arhats." Prof. Childers's *Pali Dictionary*.

Buddhist books describe the power of *Irddhi** as a miraculous energy of the purified will gradually prepared by the long and difficult processes previously mentioned, as the potter gradually prepares and tempers his clay for any vessel he designs. Even after the exercise of all the *kāśinas* it was exceedingly difficult to acquire, unless they had been also practised in former times. "To him who has not exercised *kāśina* in former ages its accomplishment is most difficult. Amongst those who have not so exercised it scarcely one out of a hundred or a thousand succeeds in its acquisition. Even after accomplishing the exercises and attaining the *nimitta*-illumination, it is most difficult to acquire the power of *irddhi*."† When at last reached, it could be used by a simple energy of the will, as is thus explicitly set forth in the *Milindaprasna*, where Milinda, the king of Sāgal, asks the great Buddhist sage Nāgasena‡:—

"Can any one who has the fleshly body of a man pass instantly to other continents, or to the Uṭurukura, or to the Dēwa and Brahmā-lōkas?"

Nāgasena: "It is possible for one who has a body composed of the four elements to visit the places you have named."

Milinda: "In what way can this be done?"

Nāgasena: "Can you, at your will, leap from the ground, say, to the height of a span or a cubit?"

Milinda: "With ease I can leap eight cubits high."

Nāgasena: "How do you do this?"

Milinda: "I determine to leap; through this determination my body becomes as it were buoyant, and I rise from the ground."

Nāgasena: "Just so the priest who has the power of *Irddhi* determines to go to such a place; by the determination of his mind, his body becomes as it were imponderous, and he is enabled thereby to pass through the air."

Other ascetics possessed similar powers. Old Ibn Batūta of Fez, who travelled from Morocco to China in A. D. 1324-54, relates: "I was once in the presence of the Emperor of Hindustan where two Jogees wrapped up in a cloak, with their heads covered (for they take out all their hair

with powder) came in. The Emperor caressed them, and said, pointing to me, 'This is a stranger: show him what he has never seen.' They said, 'We will.' One of them then assumed the form of a cube, and arose from the earth, and in this (cubic) shape he occupied a place in the air over our heads. I was so much astonished and terrified at this that I fainted and fell to the earth. The Emperor then ordered me some medicine, on tasting which I recovered and sat up, the cubic figure still remaining in the air, just as it had been." (Lee's *Translation*, p. 161.) Ibn Batūta, a learned and devout Moslem, would have had no object in inventing such an account, especially when the power belonged to a hostile faith. These were Jogis, a class always distinguished for magical power. Apollonius of Tyana and his companion Damis, who took notes of his travels, affirm that at the Hill of the Wise Men,† they saw Brahmins who walked in the air, not to excite wonder, for they hated ostentation, but in imitation of, and in service to, the sun. (Philostratus, *Vit. Apol. Tyana*, III. 15.)

But Moslem asceticism, no less than Hindu, is no stranger to this mystic faculty. Muhammad was caught up into Paradise; and it is recorded by a contemporary of the famous Jellāla'd-dīn,‡ the founder of the order of Whirling Dervishes, born A. D. 1207, that when a boy and playing with other children, when they proposed to jump from one house-top to another, he replied that such sport was only fit for cats, but that human beings, if they felt any power in their souls, ought to fly heavenwards with him. Saying so he disappeared from their sight, and on their raising a lamentation he shortly re-appeared with the hue of his countenance changed and his eyes altered, and said, "As I spoke I was suddenly taken up and shown the miracles of the upper world, but when your wailings ascended I was again deposited here." The whirling dance of the ecstatic Dervish is an inferior sort of *Irddhi*, strong enough to burst the bounds of sense and perception, but unable to dissolve the resistance of matter; differences and degrees fade and expire, and the Universal

* The Buddhist references to *Irddhi* are taken from the works of the Rev. S. Beal and Spencer Hardy.

† Sp. Hardy, *East. Monach.* p. 202.

‡ Id. p. 255.

* Ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐς πύξεις δέο—two cubits from the ground, no great height, but—ce n'est que le premier pouce qui coûte.—Perrault's *Apollonius*, p. 83.

† See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV, p. 294.

Love becomes apparent as he whirls and sings the song of Sayyid Nisat-ullah of Kuhlân:—

"Spin the ball! I reel, I burn,
Nor head from foot can I discern,
Nor my heart from love of mine,
Nor the wine-cup from the wine.
All my doing, all my leaving,
Reaches not to my perceiving,
I'm all-knowing, yet unknowing,
Stand not, pause not, in my going!
Ask me not, as Muftis can,
Still to ponder the Korân.
Well I love the meaning sweet—
I tread the book beneath my feet.
Higher blaze and yet more high
Till all differences die!
What are Moslems? What are Giasurs?
All are Love's and all are ours.
Firm to Heaven my bosom clings,
Heedless of inferior things:
Down on earth there underfoot
What men chatter know I not."

It is not only in the East, however, that holy men and founders of religious orders have claimed to show that spiritual exaltation can dissolve the inertia and resistance of matter. The annals of the Roman Catholic Church contain the evidence of eye-witnesses that SS. Philip Neri, Ignatius Loyola, Dominic, Teresa, and several others, when in prayer and ecstatic adoration, were at times lifted up from the ground and suspended in air without support for longer or shorter periods. Protestants at once laugh such accounts to scorn, or satisfy themselves with suggesting explanations more or less ingenious, but others declare that there is the same evidence for them as that which is ordinarily held sufficient for occurrences in the lives of historical personages generally.* This *irdhi* power, on which we have been discoursing, is not confined to the civilized nations of the East or West. Forms of it are reported to exist amongst widely separated barbarous tribes. The Abbé Morillot affirms of the Esquimaux in Greenland that their *angâkoks*, or priests, sometimes rise from the ground and pass through the roofs above them. Similar powers are reported of the *Tokunga*, or New Zealand priests, and said to exist in the Sandwich Islands and amongst the natives in Australia. I have

also heard of forms of it in South Canara. What is to be thought of this strange belief so contrary to the laws of inertia and gravity, and scientifically so incomprehensible and, abstractedly, impossible, but which is yet said to have prevailed so widely in countries far separated in space and time? The only reply can be that people have related what they believed to be facts. Even now in this most practical and sceptical age, in London, Paris, and New York, men have been startled to hear in spiritualist circles assertions of "levitation," or an *irdhi*-power, by which certain persons are floated up to ceilings, or even transported instantaneously from one room to another in a distant quarter of the town. Persons who assert they have witnessed such things are pelted with outcries of 'trickery,' 'imposture,' 'incapacity to observe,' victims of 'unconscious cerebration,' and the like, and leaders of science and people of enlightened minds do not conceal their contempt. Into this contest we do not desire to enter.

In connection with the foregoing subject a few closing remarks may perhaps be ventured here. Immense advances have been made in the study and knowledge of ancient and modern Hindu literature. We know more of the mythologies, religions, histories, genealogies, arts, and architecture of India than the natives themselves. Languages long obsolete, and inscriptions graven in forgotten characters, have been unlocked. But there is one wide region of Hindu thought and literature in which we have hardly set foot, and that is their astrological and occult sciences and rites. We complain that we are out of sympathy with the Hindu mind, that we know it only officially and externally, and cannot reach the inner life and thought of the people. One reason is the supercilious contempt with which the English, more than others, regard that astrological and mystical lore before which the entire native mind, throughout the length and breadth of India, crouches in absolute subjection. The educated official, versed in Mill and Macanlay, no less than the simple ryot; but the former whilst perhaps discussing questions of European science and philosophy with his English Master, will never allude to those beliefs and practices by which

* One of the lately recovered fragments of the apocryphal Gospel according to the Hebrews runs, "just now my

mother the Holy Spirit took me by one of my hairs and bore me up on to the great mountain Taber."

his daily life is regulated, for he instinctively feels that he would meet with nothing but derision for such follies and absurdities. None the less his everyday conduct and domestic concerns are directed by the astrological Brahman, without whose permission he dares take no step or undertake anything of moment. It is unfortunate that the prepossessions of Englishmen in general so completely deter them from seeking any acquaintance with the occult sciences and customs of the Hindus,

for in them rests one of the keys which unlock the popular mind and disclose its controlling influences. These are so despotic, varied, and intricate, so entwined with every act and relation of life, that some adequate knowledge of and insight into them are most needful alike for legislators and administrators, teachers and missionaries, who too often work in the dark without suspecting the hidden cause of much of their difficulties and want of success.¹⁰

THE EIGHTEEN SCHOOLS OF BUDDHISM.

BY REV. S. BEAL, B.A.

One of the most interesting but intricate questions that can occupy the attention of the Buddhist student is the history of the eighteen sects into which the Buddhist Church was at an early date separated. A clear account of the causes that led to the schisms and the several tenets held by the separatists was, in the opinion of the late Mr. Spence Hardy, one of the great desiderata in the history of this religion. The Chinese and Tibetan books contain much valuable information on these points. Among other works in the northern copy of the *Tripitaka*, common in the monasteries of China and Japan, is one which contains three translations from Sanskrit of the treatise, written by Vasumitra, on the eighteen schools. This Vasumitra¹ was one of the Buddhist patriarchs who lived probably about the time of Kanishka, that is, as far as we know at present with any certainty, about 42 A.D.² His aim was evidently to reconcile the differences that existed in traditions, customs, and acknowledged scriptures; and it was probably under his auspices, or by his influence, that the Great Council was held that rearranged and revised the Buddhist Canon as it is known in the North. There are three translations of this treatise into Chinese; the first is anonymous, and is most obscure. The second is by Chin-ti, of the Tsin dynasty. The third is by Hiuwen Tsiang, of the Tang dynasty. It would be rash to attempt a translation

of these tracts into English without aid or direction—nor would the present writer have undertaken such a task—but, unfortunately, there is a parallel translation from the Tibetan in Vassilief's *History of Buddhism* (Second Supplement, p. 222). This translation by the learned writer named above was prepared after careful comparison of the Tibetan text with the three Chinese versions. The result is no doubt an accurate, though most obscure, reproduction of the work by Vasumitra. It may perhaps be useful to attempt an independent version of the three Chinese translations. Not that we can hope to render all plain, but with the purpose of inducing scholars in China to look into this matter, and endeavour to throw some light on the subject by comparing these translations and working independently in the production of others. The matter may appear of little consequence to some, and needless labour to others, but in the presence of facts, which are daily coming to our knowledge, it becomes almost the duty of those who are interested in the religious development of the Eastern mind, not only in India, but in other countries more or less affected by Indian speculations, to search out the causes and the character of that development, and so connect it with the religious movements which occurred elsewhere about the same time. We proceed to give part of the translation by the anonymous Chinese writer, and which stands first in the Buddhist Canon.³

¹⁰ I have reason to think that the late Prof. H. H. Wilson, a scholar of profound learning, and also of great caution and reserve, had gone deeper into these subjects than perhaps any other European Orientalist.

¹ *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV, p. 363.

² By some he is placed rather later:—*En. I. A.*

³ This translation is denoted as C by Vassilief.

An Account of the Eighteen Principal Schools of Buddhism, from the original Treatise of Vasumitra, translated into Chinese by three separate authors.

1. A treatise on the eighteen schools (translator's name unknown).

In the 15th section of the latter volume of the work known as the *Queries of Manjuśrī* (*Manjuśrīpariṣekkhā*), the subject being "The division into schools." [It is thus written:]

At this time Manjuśrī questioned Buddha thus: "World-honoured! Explain, I pray you, what will be the different schools into which your followers will be separated in the future after your *Nirvāṇa*, and from what original division these schools will be formed?"

Buddha answered Manjuśrī thus: "There will be twelve schools among my followers hereafter, in which (the separate interpretation of) my law will be preserved in the world. These schools will be the repositories of the diversified fruits of my Scriptures (*pīṭakas*)—without priority or inferiority—just as the taste of sea-water is everywhere the same—or as the twelve sons of one man all honest and true, so will be the exposition of my doctrine advocated by these schools. Manjuśrī! the two original germs of these separate schools will be found in the rendering of my doctrine by the *Mahāyāna* and the *Prajñāpāramitā* systems. The *Śrāvakas*, *Pratyeka Buddhas*, and different *Buddhas* (i.e., the doctrine which teaches these three degrees of religious advancement) will come from the *Prajñāpāramitā*. Manjuśrī! as earth, water, fire, wind and space compose the material and visible universe, so the *Mahāyāna* and the *Prajñāpāramitā* compose the material of the system in which these different degrees of *Śrāvakas*, *Pratyeka-Buddhas*, and *Buddhas* are entertained."

Manjuśrī asked Buddha this question:

"World-honoured! and by what names will these schools be known?"

Buddha replied: "The two schools first formed will be the *Mahāsāṅghika*s* and the *Pi-li*† (Sthaviras). Within a hundred years after my *Nirvāṇa* a school will be formed called 'Yeh-wu-in'‡ [*Ekabhyohārikhās* (Barnonf, tom. I, p. 357), or *Ekavyavahārikās* (according to Vassilief's *Buddhism*, p. 227, n.)]. Again, within a hundred years from the formation of this school, another will be formed called 'Ko-kin-li'§ [*Kukkuṭikās*]. Within a hundred years from this another school will arise called 'To-mau'¶ (*Bāhuṛtiyas*). Within a hundred years from this there will be another school formed, called 'Che-tai-ho'‡ [*Chaitiyavādās*]. Within another hundred years a school will arise called 'Eastern Mountain'‡ [*Pūrvāsailās*]. Within a hundred years another school will arise from this called 'Northern Mountain'‡ [*Uttarāsailās*]. These seven schools come from the *Mahāsāṅghika*s, and including the original *Saṅgha*, or congregation, they are classified as eight schools.

"From the *Sthaviras* were formed eleven schools. Within a hundred years from the origin of the above school, there arose another, called 'Yeh-tsai-wu-in'‡ (*Sarvāstivādās*). Within a hundred years from this school proceeded another, called 'Yun-shan'‡ (*Haimavatās*). Within a hundred years from this school another will arise, called 'Vātsīputriyas'‡ (sons of the calf). Within a hundred years after this another school called 'Dharmottariyas'‡. Within a hundred years from this another called 'Bhadrāyanīyas'‡. Within a hundred years from this school will come another called 'Yih-tsai-sho-kwei'‡ (*Sammattīyas*). Within a hundred years another school will arise from this, called 'Jing-shan'‡ (*Jungle-hill*, i.e., *Śāṅgaparīka*). Within a hundred years after this arose another school called 'Tai-puh-ho-ki'‡

* This word means the great congregation, composed of young and old alike, the same as the school of "various and miscellaneous Moral Rules."—[Ch. Ed.]

† This word means the congregation of old men only. It is the same as that which acknowledges the authority of the (original) *Pīṭakas* only.

‡ So called because they agreed in the main with the *Mahāsāṅghikas*.—[Ch. Ed.]

§ From the name of the master who formed it.—[Ch. Ed.]

¶ So called from the "famous wisdom" of its founder.—[Ch. Ed.]

‡ So called from the locality in which the founder lived.

‡ So called from the locality in which the founder lived.

‡ Likewise from the abode of the founder.

‡ So called because the founder of the school held the

positive existence of all things in the three worlds.—[Ch. Ed.]

‡ So called from the abode of the founder.

‡ From the name of the founder.

‡ From the name of the founder.

‡ From the name of the founder.

‡ So called from the great esteem in which the master

was held among men.

‡ So called from the character of the place where the

founder lived. The name in Sanskrit however means

"of six towns," and so in Tibetan; see Vassilief, p. 251.—

J. B.

‡ So called because the founder of this school was,

when a child, cast into a well by his mother, and when his

father sent to recover his body he was found uninjured.

(Mahīśāsakas). Within a hundred years from this arose the school called 'Fau'²⁰ (Dharmaguptās). Within a hundred years another school arose called 'Ka-hi-pi'²¹ (Kāśyapiyas). Within a hundred years from this another school arose named 'Sieñ-to-lo-ku'²² (Sāṃkanti-kās or Sautāntikās). The above are the eleven schools derived from the Sthaviras, and including their mother-school, comprise twelve distinct branches."

Buddha spoke the following *gāthas* :—

"The school of the Mahāsāṃghikas
Will divide into seven parts,
The Sthavirās into eleven,
This is what we term the twelve schools,²³
The eighteen including the two original,
All these will arise from the Mahāyāna,
Which admits of neither affirmation or contra-
diction.

Now I say that in future time will appear,
The miscellaneous writings of the Master Kumā-
rajīva

After the cessation (*nirvāṇa*) of the true Law,
Just one hundred years;

And by these various productions
The true Law will be gradually destroyed,
Everyone forming his own views,
Founding their opinions on heterodox sects,
Despising that which ought to be honoured.
A rebellious and discontented tone will arise
But now the *Sūtras* alone are the ground
On which to build the doctrine of Buddha,
Relying on the former truths.
Seeking a foundation on this solid basis,
Is like in the multitude of sand particles
Seeking for the true gold.

Thus have I heard former ages,
Who appear like suns among men."

"One hundred and sixteen years after the *Nirvāṇa* of Buddha (*in a*) city called 'I-ta-fuh,' (*I* for *Pa*, therefore equivalent to *Pā-ta-fuh*, i.e., *Pāṭaliputra*) there shall be a king called 'A-ya' (*Aśoka*) who shall gather (us) in a square) the whole of *Jambudvīpa* as his empire. In his time the division of the great congregation into schools shall begin. There shall arise a *Bhikṣu* called 'Neng' (able), and another called 'Yin-an' (*Nidāna*), and another called 'To-man' (*Bhikṣurūtiya*?)—these shall assert the necessity

of teaching five propositions as a basis for religious instruction. The five points are these:—

- Profit and increase from others.
- Ignorance.
- Doubt.
- Words according to the religious formula.
- To obtain reason.

"It was from a consideration of these questions that the first two schools arose, to wit, the Mahāsāṃghikās and the Sthavirās."

"In the middle of the century (*following*) the Mahāsāṃghikās other schools arose as follows:—(1) 'Yih-shwo' [*Ekavyavahārikās*], (2) 'Chu-shai-kan-shwo' [*Lokottaravādins*], (3) 'Kiu-ku' [*Gokulikas* or *Kukkuṭikas*]. Again, in the middle of a century or so after the Mahāsāṃghikās will originate other schools, called 'Shi-chi-lun.'"

"Again, in the middle of the two hundred years, the heretical followers of the Mahādēva, taking on themselves the vows of religious ascetics, fixed their abode in Mount Chaitiya. Again, from the Mahāsāṃghikās arose three other schools, viz. Che-tika, 'Huh-pi-lo' (*Apara*), and Uttaraśāila. Thus from the Mahāsāṃghikās arose nine schools, viz. (1) Mahāsāṃghikās, (2) *Ekavyavahārikās*, (3) *Lokottaravādin*, (4) *Gokulika*, (5) *Bhikṣurūtiya*, (6) *Shi-chi*, (7) *Yan-ku*, (8) *Ho-lo*, (9) *Uttaraśāila*.

"In the middle of the three hundred years from the Sthavira school, arose from controversies connected with the Canon of the *Aśokadharmas*, different schools, as follows: (1) *Sarvāstivādin*, also called *Hetavāda*, (2) *Haimavatas*. In the middle of the three hundred years again there arose another school called *Vātsīputriyāśa*, from this school sprung another, called *Dharmagupta* (or *Dharmaturiyas*), another called *Bhadraśāyānīyas*, and again, another called *Mi-lī* (where *li* is evidently a mistake for *ti*), otherwise named *Saṃmī-ti* (*Saṃmatīyas*), another school called the school of the six cities (*Shannagarikas*). Again, in the three hundredth year, the *Sarvāstivādins* produced another school, viz., *Mahīśāsakas*, from which sprang the *Dharmaguptas* (so called from the Master of the school, whose name

²⁰ The founder's name.

²¹ The founder's name.

²² The founder rested his deductions on the *Sūtras*.

²³ That is the twelve schools that sprang from the Mahāstāvira.

²⁴ In Chinese, "high-seat."

²⁵ I cannot explain this title at present.—S. B.

was In-ehi-lin).²² Again, in this three hundredth year, another school sprang from the Sarvāstivādins, called Yan-li-sha (Varsha), likewise named Kāśyapīyas. In the four hundredth year from the Sarvāstivādins sprang another school called Seng-kai-lin-to (Saṃkrānti), so called from the name of its founder Yeon-to-lo (Uttara), this school was also known as Sautrāntika.

"Thus, from the school of the Mahāsthavira branched off twelve schools, viz. (1) Mahāsthavira, (2) Haimavata, (3) Sarvāstivādina, (4) Vātsīputrīyās, (5) Dharmottariyas, (6) Bhadrāyanīyas, (7) Sammatīyas, (8) The school of six Cities, (9) Mahāśāsikas, (10) Dharmaguptas, (11) Kāśyapīyas; (12) Sautrāntikas."

We will now proceed to speak of the distinguishing tenets of these various schools, both to their radical differences and also those held²⁷ in common.

The following schools, Mahāśāghikas, Ekavyāvāhārikas, Lokottarās, Kukkuṭikas, hold the views we are about to mention. They all say that the traditions respecting the Buddhas having been born into the world (*as men*) are incorrect—that the law is Tathāgata, and the only one in the world. They all say that the (*system of religion known as*) 'turning the Wheel of the Law' is at an end. They say that "things exist," "relationships exist," "truth exists." They say that Tathāgata is infinitely extended, immeasurably glorious, eternal in duration, that to his power of recollection (*vin, smṛiti*), his power of faith (*śraddhabala*), his experience of joy, and his life, there is no end; he sleeps not, he speaks, asks, reflects not; they say that his existence is ever one and uniform (*one heart*), that all things born may obtain deliverance by having his instruction, that in his essential existence (*one heart, ekachitta*) Tathāgata comprehends all subjects (*laws*) in a moment by his own wisdom.

FOLKLORE IN THE PANJAB.

NOTES COLLECTED BY MRS. F. A. STEEL. WITH ANNOTATIONS BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

(Continued from p. 282.)

NO. 5.—Folk-Tale.

Baingan Bādekāhādī.—Princess Aubergine.¹

Once upon a time there lived a poor Brahman and his wife, so poor that they very often did not know where to turn for a meal.

One day in the jangul he saw a Baingan plant. He dug it up, planted it by his cottage door, and watered it. It grew wonderfully, and by and by bore one large baingan fruit.

At last a day came when there was absolutely nothing in the house to eat. So the Brahman said—Wife, pick the baingan, and get it ready for dinner. Then the Brāhmaṇī took a knife and cut the baingan fruit off: as she did so she thought she heard a sort of moan come from the tree. However she sat down, and began to peel the baingan, when she heard a tiny voice, say quite distinctly "Take care please! oh do take care! peel more gently, or the knife will run into me." The Brāhmaṇī was terribly perplexed, but she peeled as gently as she could, and when she got through the

hind, lo! out stepped the most beautiful little princess you ever saw.

The poor couple had no children, so they were delighted, and cherished her as their own, giving her the name of Princess Aubergine.

Now a king lived close by who had a beautiful wife and seven young sons. By chance a slave girl from the palace went into the Brahman's hut to ask for fire, and saw the beautiful Aubergine. So she went home, and said to her mistress, "Oh, in a hovel yonder, lives a princess so beautiful that if my lord the king clapped eyes on her for a moment, you would soon be forgotten." This put the queen, who was a sorceress, into a fearful rage, and she set about in her mind, to lay a trap for the beautiful Princess Aubergine. If she could only get her into the palace, she felt sure she could manage to destroy her. So she sent a message to say she had heard much of Princess Aubergine's beauty, and would like to see it for herself.

Now the princess was vain of her beauty, so

²² Vide Vamśāś, p. 232 n. 5.

²⁷ So I would translate "Chung-kan."

¹ بینگن بادشاہزادی *Baingan Bādekāhādī*—Princess Aubergine. Baingan, also baigan and bēgan, and

Bhaṅgā is the egg-plant, in French *aubergine*: scientific name—*Solanum melongena*. It is usually called *Brijāl* by Europeans in India. This story abounds in various forms in the Panjāb; the version here given was taken from an old woman at Kasūr near Lāhōr, of Pūrbīā origin.—R. C. T.

she, nothing loth, went to the palace. The queen pretended to be wonder-struck, and said, "Now you must never leave me. You are only fit to live in a palace. You are my sister henceforth." So the Princess Aubergine, nothing loth, stayed, and they exchanged veils and became sisters.*

But the queen saw at a glance that Princess Aubergine was no human being[†] but a fairy. Therefore she laid strong spells upon her while she slept, and asked "Now tell me true, in what thing does your life lie?" Then the Princess, spell-bound, answered: "In the life of your eldest son. Kill him and I too will die." So the wicked queen went next day to where her young son was sleeping, and killed him with her own hand. Then she sent the slave girl to Princess Aubergine's apartments to see if she too were dead, but the girl returned, saying "She is alive and well, reading her *Kalām-ul-lāh*."[‡]

Then the wicked queen was greatly incensed, and laid stronger spells on the princess, asking her again—"Now tell me true, in what thing does your life lie?" And she answered, "In the life of your second son. Kill him, and I too shall die." So the queen next day killed her second son with her own hands, and sent the slave girl to see if Princess Aubergine was also dead. But the slave girl returned, saying "She is alive and well, reading her *Kalām-ul-lāh*." Then the queen was enraged and threw stronger spells on the poor princess, and this time when the queen asked, "Now tell me true, in what thing does your life lie?" she answered "In the life of your third son," and so it happened every day, till all the queen's seven young sons were killed.

Then the queen summoned up all her art, and laid such strong spells on the Princess Aubergine that she could no longer resist them, but when the queen asked, "Now tell me true in what thing does your life lie?" she sobbed and moaned—"In a river far from here, lives a fish red and green. Inside the fish you'll find a humble bee, inside the humble bee there is a

tiny box, and in that box is the 'nine lākh' necklace." Put it on and I shall die."

So when the king returned from hunting, and came to visit the queen, she began to sob and cry.

"What is the matter, my queen?" asked he.

"Oh my life is wasted. I had better die," sobbed she.

"Not so," answered he, "tell me what it is you want."

Then she told him her life was bitter to her unless she possessed the "nine-lākh necklace."

"But where is it to be found," said he.

So she said: "In a river far from here lives a fish. In the fish is a humble bee, in the bee a box, and inside the box the nine lākh necklace."

Now the king was kind to his wife, and grieved sincerely for the loss of his seven young sons, who, the queen said, had died suddenly of an infectious disease, and being anxious to comfort her, he ordered all the fishermen in the kingdom to fish for the queen's red fish. And when it was caught he had it opened, and sure enough inside was the humble bee, and inside the bee was the box, and inside the box the nine-lākh necklace. So the queen put it on and was happy.

Now when Princess Aubergine had told her secret, she knew her life was gone, so she returned sadly to the Brahman's hut. She told the kind old people she would soon die, and begged them not to burn or bury her body. "This is what you must do," she said, "dress me in my finest clothes, scatter flowers on my bed, and carry me to the wildest jangal. Place the bed on the ground, and build a mud wall round it so high that no one can see over. And leave me there."

So when she died (which she did at the very moment the wicked queen put on the nine-lākh necklace) the old Brahmins did what Princess Aubergine had told them. Then the queen sent the slave girl to the Brahman's house to see if Aubergine were really dead and buried. She returned saying "she is dead, but not burnt or buried; they have carried her out to the jangal, and built a mud wall round her bed

* Amongst the women of the Panjāb a formal exchange of veils and drinking milk together from one cup is the common way of swearing friendship.—P. A. S.

† آدم زاده *Adamzād*, descended from Adam (آدم) human.—R. C. T.

‡ کلام اللہ *kalam-ul-lāh*, that is God's word, the قرآن *qurān*. This is another proof of the mixture of Hinduism and Muhammadanism in the Panjāb among the lower

classes before noticed, for here we have a girl brought up in a Brahman's house reading the *Qurān*!—R. C. T.

نولکھار *Nau-lākhā* *lākh*, the nine lākh necklace, this fabulous necklace of nine lākhs of rupees appears to have no particular story attached to it, and is used in a vague way as we would use the "philosopher's stone." The necklace is well known in the Panjāb and occurs in many of the folk tales.—R. C. T.

and there she lies beautiful as the moon." The queen was not satisfied, but she could do no more.

Now the king grieved for his fine young sons, and every day to try and forget his grief he went out hunting. Then said the queen, "Oh my lord, hunt if it pleases you to the east, and to the west, and to the south, but towards the north do not hunt or evil may befall you." This she said for fear he should find the dead Princess Aubergine who lay towards the north. Now one day the king hunted to the east and the west and the south, but no game was to be found, so, without thinking of what the queen had said, he wandered alone to the northwards. Soon he saw a curious high enclosure with no door, and he wondered what it was; he climbed over, and lo! there on a bed decked with flowers lay the Princess Aubergine beautiful as the moon, or lovelier than any living woman. He could not believe she was dead, he became so enamoured of her beauty that he stayed beside her all day, praying and beseeching her to open her eyes. At night he returned to the palace, but with the dawning he took his bow, saying he was going out hunting alone, and ran to Aubergine. So he passed day after day kneeling by her bed, weeping and beseeching her to rise. Now after nine months had gone by, he one day found the most beautiful little boy imaginable lying by the side of the dead Aubergine. He was astonished, but taking the infant in his arms, he cared for it all day, and at night gave it back to its dead mother. After some time it began to talk, and one day the king said to it "Is your mother always dead?" Then the child answered "No! at night she is alive, and cares for me as you do in the day." Then the king bid the child ask his mother what made her die. The next day the boy answered "It is the nine-lukh necklace which the queen wears. At night she takes it off, and hangs it up beside her. Then my mother becomes alive again, but dies when the queen puts on the necklace next morning." At this the king was puzzled, and said, "Ask your mother to-night whose son you are."

Next day the boy answered "Mother bids

me say I am your son, sent to console you for the loss of the seven fair sons the queen foully murdered for the sake of Princess Aubergine." Then the king was very wroth, and said to the boy, "Ask your mother to-night how I am to recover the necklace from the wicked queen, and punish her."

Next day the boy said—"Mother says I am the person to take the necklace from the queen, only do you carry me to the palace to-night." So the king carried his little son back to the palace, and told all the courtiers that the child was his heir. Then the queen became mad with jealousy, especially when she thought of her own seven dead sons, and she determined to poison the child. So she prepared some beautiful poisoned sweetmeats, and caressed the boy, saying, "Here my son, eat these." But the child said "No, I will not eat them unless you let me play with that beautiful necklace you wear round your neck."

The queen was determined to poison the child, and seeing no other way of inducing him to eat the sweetmeats, she gave him the necklace; no sooner had he got it than he fled away so fast that no one could catch him. He ran to where the Princess Aubergine lay dead, and threw it round her neck; she immediately became alive again, lovelier than ever. Then the king came and asked her to go to the palace as his wife, but she said—"I will never come until the wicked queen is dead, she would only murder me and my son. This is what you must do. Dig a deep ditch on the threshold of the door, fill it with scorpions and snakes, fling the wicked queen into it, and bury her alive. Then I will walk over her grave and be your wife."

So the king had the ditch dug and filled with scorpions and snakes. Then he went to his wife, and said, "Come and see something wonderful;" but she suspecting a trick would not come. Then they seized and bound her and flung her into the ditch amongst the scorpions and snakes, and covered her over with earth. Then Princess Aubergine and her son walked over the grave, and lived happily ever after.

WESTERN CHALUKYA GRANT OF AMBERA.

At p. 96 of Vol. VIII is given a transcription and translation of a grant of Ambera. By an oversight the facsimiles of the plates were not

lithographed in time for that volume. They are now given in the accompanying plate for purposes of paleographic comparison. — Ed.

ಸುತೃಮಿಷಾಸತ್ರಾಸಾತ ಕುಷ್ಠಾಕುರತಿ ಪುನಿ ಕುಷ್ಠಾಸತ್ರಾಸಾ
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 ಕುಷ್ಠಾಸತ್ರಾಸಾತ ಕುಷ್ಠಾಕುರತಿ ಪುನಿ ಕುಷ್ಠಾಸತ್ರಾಸಾ
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ಸುತೃಮಿಷಾಸತ್ರಾಸಾತ ಕುಷ್ಠಾಕುರತಿ ಪುನಿ ಕುಷ್ಠಾಸತ್ರಾಸಾ
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 ಕುಷ್ಠಾಸತ್ರಾಸಾತ ಕುಷ್ಠಾಕುರತಿ ಪುನಿ ಕುಷ್ಠಾಸತ್ರಾಸಾ

THE KĀSIKĀ.¹

BY PROFESSOR F. MAX MÜLLER, OXFORD.

The publication of this ancient commentary² on Pāṇini's grammar has long formed a desideratum of Sanskrit scholarship, and it reflected great credit on the editors and publishers of the *Papit* that they resolved on bringing out this text in the numbers of their journal. We are surprised that their journal, which contained so many valuable articles and editions of principles of Sanskrit texts, should have met with so little support in India and Europe that it had to be discontinued. It may be said that the Sanskrit texts were not always edited according to the strictest rules of European criticism, and that some of them hardly deserved to be drawn from the shelves of native libraries. Nevertheless, the *Papit* was a truly useful journal, welcome to all Sanskrit scholars, and its discontinuance is deeply regretted by those who have the progress of Sanskrit scholarship at heart.

The text of the *Kāśikā* was one of the last works published in the *Papit*, and it has since been issued by itself in two volumes. There are few grammatical works which have been edited with greater care than has been bestowed on the *Kāśikā* by Pāṇit Bālaśāstrī; and he deserves the thanks of all scholars in India and Europe who look on a right understanding of Pāṇini as the only safe foundation of Sanskrit scholarship. Perhaps the best return we can make to him is a slight contribution towards fixing the date of this important grammar, the authors of which have been referred by different writers to dates varying from the seventh to the fourteenth centuries A.D.

Prof. Boettlingk, in the Introduction to his edition of Pāṇini's *Graṇtha* (p. liv.), referred the *Kāśikā Vṛtti* to about the eighth century, on the supposition that Vāmana, the author of the *Kāśikā*, could be proved to be the same as the Vāmana who is mentioned in the *Chronicle of Kaśmīra* (iv. 496). The evidence on which that careful scholar relied was as follows:—Kāṭhāna *Papit*, the author of the *Rājatarangīnī*, is evidently anxious to do full justice to Jayāpīṭha, who, after the battle of Pushkaletra, recovered the throne of his father, and became a patron of literature. He mentions, therefore, in full detail his exertions for the restoration of grammatical studies in Kaśmīra, and particularly the interest he took in a new edition, as we should call it, of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*. He then passes on to give the names of other learned men living at his Court, such as Kaśhīra (author of *Bhāṣataraṅgīnī*) according

to Bühler), Damodaraṅgupta, Maneratha, Śaṅkha-datta, Chātaka, Sandhianat, and Vāmana. This Vāmana was supposed to be the author of the *Kāśikā*. But if this Vāmana had been the author of the *Kāśikā Vṛtti*—that is to say, of a complete commentary on Pāṇini's *Grāṇtha*—would not Kāṭhāna have mentioned him as connected with the revival of grammatical learning in Kaśmīra, instead of putting his name casually at the end of a string of other names?

It ought to be stated that Prof. Boettlingk has himself surrendered this conjecture. There is no better foundation for another conjecture, first started by Wilson (*Asiat. Res.* vol. XV, p. 55), that the Vāmana here mentioned at the Court of Jayāpīṭha was the author of a set of poetical *Sūtras* and of a *Vṛtti* or gloss upon them. The untenability of that view has been fully shown by Dr. Cappeller in the Introduction to his edition of Vāmana's *Kāśikāśāstra-vṛtti* (Jena, 1875). Vāmana, the author both of the text and of the gloss of this work, quotes Śāṅkara, the author of the *Meikāśāstra*; Kālidāsa, the author of the *Sakuntalā*, *Urvashī*, *Mālavikā*, *Meghadūta*, *Kumārāśāstra*, and *Raghuvamśa*; Amaru, Bhavarbhūti, Māgha, the *Harjīvanāṭha*, the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Kāśikāśāstra*, *Vikāśikā*, and Kāvīrāja. Now if this Kāvīrāja is intended for the author of the *Raghuvamśa*, this would be sufficient to place Vāmana at least after 1000 A.D., while Jayāpīṭha, his supposed patron, died in 776 A.D.

After having assigned to Vāmana, the author of the *Kāśikāśāstra*, his date in the twelfth century, Dr. Cappeller proceeds to identify this Vāmana with Vāmana, the author of the *Kāśikā Vṛtti*. His arguments, however, are hardly convincing; he relies chiefly on a statement of Bālaśāstrī, in the Introduction to his edition of the *Kāśikā*, where that scholar speaks of a third Vāmana, a poet, who wrote the *Lokātārāṭha*, in Mahārāṣṭra, and places him in Śaka 1595, i.e., 1673 A.D., adding that the grammarian Vāmana lived 500 years earlier, i.e., 1173 A.D. If Prof. Weber states that Bālaśāstrī assigns the grammarian Vāmana to the thirteenth century (*Hist. of Sansk. Lit.* p. 226) this must refer to some other paper which has escaped my notice. Bālaśāstrī, however, gives no evidence in support of his statement, nor does he, so far as I am aware, ever hint at Vāmana, the grammarian, being the same as Vāmana, the rhetorician.

¹ This paper appeared in *The Academy* of Sept. 25, and Oct. 2, 1880, and is reproduced here as revised by the Author.—Ed.

² *Kāśikā*, a Commentary on Pāṇini's Grammatical

Aphorisms, by Pāṇit Vāmana and Jayāpīṭha. Edited by Pāṇit Bālaśāstrī, Professor of Hindu Law in the Sanskrit College, Benares. (Benares, 1876, 1878.)

Prof. Goldstücker, in a similar manner—that is, without producing sufficient evidence—referred Vāmana, the grammarian, to the same recent period as the *Siddhanta-Kaumudī*, Nāgoṣa, Puruṣottama, and other grammarians (Goldstücker, *Pāṇini*, p. 83)—therefore to a period later than the thirteenth century.

Before we try to fix the date of Vāmana, the author of the *Kāśikā Vyākhyā*, it will be necessary to determine, first, whether he was the only author of that book. Colebrooke, *Sanskrit Grammar*, p. ix, spoke of the *Kāśikā* as the work of Jayāditya, or Vāmana Jayāditya. Bālaśāstrin, the editor of the *Kāśikā*, thought likewise at first that Vāmana and Jayāditya, who are mentioned as the authors, were one and the same person (Pauṣṭi, June 1878, p. 20, l. 9). He found, however, afterwards that Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita, the author of the *Siddhanta-Kaumudī*, clearly distinguishes between the opinions of Jayāditya and Vāmana (*Sūtra* v. 4, 42; ed. Tarkavācāśpati, vol. I, p. 727); and he might have learnt the same from Prof. Aufrecht's excellent edition of the *Upādī Sūtras* (Pref. p. xv; *Sūtra* i. 52). Bālaśāstrin afterwards assigned the first, second, fifth, and sixth books to Jayāditya, the rest to Vāmana, while in an ancient MS. of the *Kāśikā*, discovered by Dr. Bühler in Kāśmīr (*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R. A. S.*, 1877, p. 72), the first four *adhyaṅgas* are ascribed to Jayāditya, the last four to Vāmana. (See also Kielhorn, *Kāśikāyana and Pāṇini*, p. 12, note.) The evidence is therefore decidedly in favour of Vāmana and Jayāditya being two different persons and joint authors of the *Kāśikā*. The next question is, can we determine their date, or at least the date of one of them?

In the Preface to the sixth volume of my edition of the *Rig-Veda* (p. xxix), I endeavoured to show that the statement made by Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita in the *Śabdakustakha*, and by the author of the *Manorand*, viz., that Vāmana, whose fame had been eclipsed by Vopadeva, had been brought forward again by Mādhava, was so far confirmed by the commentary on the *Rig-Veda*, that Vopadeva is nowhere quoted by Mādhava, while Vāmana is quoted at least once in the commentary on the *Rig-Veda*, and more frequently in Śāyana's *Dharmasūtra*. Bālaśāstrin concluded rightly from that verse that Vāmana must be older than Mādhava, 1350 A.D., and older than Vopadeva, twelfth century. I added that Śāyana quotes both Haradatta, the author of the *Padamāṇor*, an exposition of the *Kāśikā*, and Nyāṣakara, i.e., Jinendra, the author of the *Nyāsa* or *Kāśikā-vyākhyā-pāñjikā*. This last book is likewise quoted by the author of a commentary called the *Kāśikā-mālikā*, probably the work of Vopadeva,

so that the interval between the authors of the *Kāśikā* and those who could quote from commentaries on their works must be extended accordingly.

This was the state of uncertainty in which the date of the *Kāśikā* had to be left. "It must be earlier than the twelfth century" (Burnell, *Āindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians*, p. 92); "it is not a modern work" (Bühler, *loc. cit.*, p. 73). Such were the last utterances of two of the most competent judges.

One other argument in favour of the comparatively early date of Vāmana and Jayāditya should not be passed over. It was produced by Bālaśāstrin, who showed that both were evidently Jains, or, what is the same with him, Bauddhas. Like the *Amarakośa*, the *Kāśikā* begins without any invocation or exposition of the character of the book, a custom always observed by orthodox writers. Secondly, the authors of the *Kāśikā* actually alter the text of Pāṇini, which no orthodox Brāhman would venture to do. In *Sūtra* iv. 2, 43, they insert *śaḍḡa*, writing *grāmaṇyabandhuśaḍḡa* instead of Pāṇini's *grāmaṇyabandhuśaḍḡa*. Thirdly, they quote instances referring to Buddhist literature, which, again, no respectable writer would do. When giving an instance of the use of the verb *at*, in the *Ātmanepada*, meaning "to be honoured," they say, "Chārva is honoured in the Lokāyata school." This Chārva (Chārvaṅka ?) is said to be a name of Buddha, and means here a Buddhist teacher, who is honoured in the Lokāyata school. An orthodox writer would have quoted authorities from orthodox, never from nihilistic, schools. And Bālaśāstrin adds that there were other distinguished grammarians too at that time who were Jains—for instance, the author of the *Nyāsa*, Jinendra-buddhi—but that their works were afterwards eclipsed by those of orthodox grammarians, such as Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita, Haridīkṣita, Nāgeśabhaṭṭa, &c.

After thus having established two points—viz., that Vāmana and Jayāditya were joint authors of the *Kāśikā*, and that they were Jains or Bauddhas, we return to the question as to their probable age. Much light on Indian chronology has been received, as is well known, from Chinese writers, whether from translators of Sanskrit texts, or from travellers, such as Fa-Hian, Sung-yun, Hiuen-Tsang, and others. Meeting in Mr. Beal's *Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka* (p. 94) with the title of a work called *Nan-kao-ki-kwei-chosen*, being "Records concerning Visits and Returns to the Southern Sea," I consulted Mr. Kassawara on the contents of the work. He informed me that it was written by I-teing, one of the best-known Chinese pilgrims, who left Guanchau, in China, in the eleventh lunar month

of the year 671 A.D., arrived at Tāmralipti, in India, after a long voyage, in the second month of 673, and started from that place for Nālanda in the fifth month of the same year. After the lapse of some years, he returned to Tāmralipti, and sailed to Si-ri-fa-sai, in the Southern Sea countries.

It seems that he wrote his book, "The Accounts of Buddhist Practices sent, being entrusted to one who returns to China, from the Southern Sea Countries," in Si-ri-fa-sai, for he generally compares the practices of India with those of the Southern Sea countries. His work consists of two volumes, containing four books and forty chapters. Though he does not mention how long he was in India, yet, as he refers to the usurper Queen, Tsak-tin-mo-han, whose date is 690, we see that he must then have been absent from China twenty years, and have spent eighteen years in India. We may gather, in fact, from remarks occurring in his work that he was born about 635, that he left China in 671, arrived at Tāmralipti in 673, and was still absent in 690, at the time of the usurpation of Queen Tsak-tin-mo-han. That usurpation lasted till 705, when the Tang dynasty was restored. It is stated elsewhere that I-tsing died in 713, 79 years old, and that he had returned to China in 695.

In the thirty-fourth chapter of his work I-tsing treats of learning in the West, and chiefly of grammatical science, the *Śabdavidyā*, one of the five *vidyās* or sciences. He gives the name *Vyākaraṇa*, grammar, and then proceeds to speak of five works, generally called grammar in India.

I. The first is called elementary *siddhānta*, and begins with *siddhānta*. It was originally taught by Mahāśvara, and is learnt by heart by children when they are six years old. They learn it in six months.

Most likely this refers to the *Śiva Sātras*, granted by the favour of Mahāśvara. But, from the description given, this *siddhānta* must have contained much more than the fourteen *Śiva Sātras*. "There are forty-nine letters," I-tsing writes, "the compounds of which are divided into eighteen sections, and of which altogether more than 10,000 words are formed. These words are arranged in 300 ślokas, of thirty-two syllables each."

II. The second grammatical work is called *Sātra*, the foundation of all grammatical science. It is the work of Pāṇini, and contains 1,000 ślokas. He was inspired by Mahāśvara, and is said to have been endowed with three eyes. Children begin to learn it when they are eight years old, and learn it in eight months.

III. *Dhātva*. This consists of 1,000 ślokas,

and treats of grammatical roots. Evidently a *Dhātupāṭha*.

IV. Three so-called *Kāśikās*:—(1) *Aśṭādśatī*, consisting of 1,000 ślokas (on declension and conjugation); (2) *Man-ka*, consisting of 1,000 ślokas (on Kṛt suffixes?); (3) *Upādī*, consisting of 1,000 ślokas (on Unādi suffixes).

Boys of ten years learn these parts of grammar, and finish them after three years.

Without dwelling on some difficult questions connected with these *Kāśikās*—which are rightly rendered by "uncultivated pieces of land"—we proceed at once to No. V., which is called *Vṛtti Sātra*, a commentary on the foregoing *Sātra*. We are told that "it is the best among the many commentaries." It contains 18,000 ślokas, citing the words of the *Sātra*, and explaining intricate matters very clearly. It exposes the laws of the universe and the precepts of Heaven and man. Boys of fifteen begin to study this commentary, and understand it completely in five years. This commentary is the work of the learned Jayāditya, who was endowed with great ability. His literary talent was so excellent that he understood matters of literature hearing them once, and did not require to be told twice. He revered the three venerable ones, and performed all religious duties. Since his death it is nearly thirty years."

If we take the lowest date for I-tsing's work, viz., 690 A.D. (because he mentions the usurpation which took place in that year), he would have been four years, as he says, in Si-ri-fa-sai, and thirteen in India, when he wrote the thirty-fourth chapter of his work; and there is no reason why he should not have known, and, if he cared, have been able to ascertain the exact date, of the death of the author of one of the most famous grammars of that time, moreover a grammar which he recommends all true students, coming from China to India, to learn by heart. On the whole, his description of that grammar agrees well with the *Kāśikā Vṛtti*, and it is almost impossible to imagine that he should have fixed by accident or fraud on the real name of one of the authors of that grammar, Jayāditya. Unless the whole of I-tsing's work be shown to be a spurious compilation, we are justified in assuming that he knew a commentary on Pāṇini's *Sātras* by Jayāditya, and that he believed Jayāditya to have died not later than 680 A.D.

I do not wish to disguise some difficulties connected with I-tsing's accounts of grammatical literature in India. After having mentioned the five principal works on grammar, he mentions what he calls a commentary on the *Vṛtti Sātra*, in 24,000 ślokas. The title seems to be *Jamī* or *Chamī*, and the author's name Patañjali. This,

therefore, could only be Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, which may, in a certain sense, be called a commentary on the *Kāśikā Vṛtti*, because it is a fuller commentary on the same text. But why should it be called *Juṣi*? Is this possibly a name connected with Gonikā, the mother of Patañjali, who calls himself Gonikā-putra (Goldstücker, *Pāṇini*, p. 235), or with Gonarda, his supposed birth-place, from which he takes the name of Gonardiya? (Goldstücker, *loc. cit.*, pp. 235, 236).

Equally difficult is the next statement, viz., that he knew a commentary on the *Juṣi* by Bhartṛihari, in 25,000 ślokas. He calls it Bhartṛihari-discourse.* Is this meant for Bhartṛihari's *Kārikas*? It cannot be meant for the *Vākyapadīya*, because that is described afterwards. I-tsing speaks of Bhartṛihari as a Buddhist. After stating that this work of his in 25,000 ślokas treats of the principles of human affairs and of grammar, and also gives a history of the rise and decline of many families, he adds that Bhartṛihari "was familiarly acquainted with the principles of the doctrine of 'only mind,' and a student of logic. His name and virtues were very famous throughout the five divisions of India and every neighbouring country. He believed deeply in the Three Ratnas, and meditated on the Two Śūnyas. He was a follower of the excellent religion, and belonged to the priestly order. But overcome by worldly desires, he became seven times a priest, and seven times returned to the laity. He was a contemporary

of Dharmapāla, and forty years had elapsed since his death."

The next work mentioned is "the *Vākyadiscourse*, in seven hundred ślokas and seven thousand words, treating of observation and inference, according to the scriptures." As it is likewise a grammatical work, we can hardly be wrong in taking it to be Bhartṛihari's *Vākyapadīya*.

The last grammatical work defines, as yet, all identification. It is called *Pīṣa*, or *Pīṣa*, or *Pīṣa*, or *Pīṣa*. It contains three thousand ślokas by Bhartṛihari and fourteen thousand in prose by Dharmapāla. It fathoms the deep secrets of heaven and earth, and treats of the philosophy of man (Vinaya?).

This must suffice for the present, but I hope that the work of this Chinese traveller which has helped us to fix the date of the *Kāśikā* will soon be rendered generally accessible by a translation which is now being prepared by Mr. Kasawara, and which will throw an unexpected light, not only on the life of the Buddhists in the famous colleges of Nālanda and Balabhi, but likewise on Buddhism as established at that time in the "islands of the Southern Sea." It was in one of these islands that I-tsing spent a number of years and composed his works on the manners of the Buddhists on the continent and on the islands, and it is important to observe that those islands of the Southern Sea do not include the island of Ceylon.

MISCELLANEA.

SOLAR ECLIPSE OF FEB. 10, 780 A.D.

This eclipse, referred to ante p. 254, as possibly being that mentioned in the Morvi plate (vol. II, p. 268), has been computed by a correspondent with the following results. The eclipse was an annular one (the sun's semidiameter being 16' 9" and the moon's 14' 54"·7), and was central at noon in Arabia, a little to the south-west of the Persian Gulf, Lat. 24° 45' N. long. 49° 11' E.¹

	Greenwich mean time h. m. a.m.	Long.	Lat.
Partial beginning ...	5 33·1	9° 38' E.	4° 52' S.
Central eclipse began	6 49·6	6 27 W.	7 57 N.
„ middle	8 28·2	42 33 E.	17 22 N.
	8 58·2	48 52 E.	24 24 N.
	9 28·2	57 8 E.	33 21 N.
	9 58·2	75 1 E.	46 45 N.
„ ended	10 68 101	20 E.	56 32 N.
Partial ended	11 23·2	89 51 E.	44 42 N.

The line thus traced passes close to El Katif on

the Persian Gulf, Shiraz, Yazd, Meshed, Merv, and Bokhara, and the eclipse would be central in Arabia, Persia, and Turkistan, while it would be seen as a large partial eclipse in the Panjāb and Western India.

In long. 71° E. lat. 23° N. it began at 0h. 55m. p.m. (local time), the greatest obscuration was at 2h. 21m. p.m. when the magnitude was 0·509 of the sun's diameter, and the end of the partial eclipse was at 3h. 47m. p.m. J. B.

NATIVE HISTORIES OF INDIAN STATES.

Sir Salar Jung has furnished to the Government of India a list of 224 historical MSS.* of which copies are found at Haidarabad, and of which transcripts are procurable for Prof. Dowson's supplementary volumes to Sir H. M. Elliot's *Historians of India*, in which he is to give the history of the Musalman dynasties of the Dekhan.

* Dr. Bühler informs me that fragments of Bhartṛihari's commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya* exist in the Royal Library at Berlin and in the Dekhan.

¹ The statement in note 2 p. 254 is in error owing to

the ecliptic conjunction having been used by mistake for the conjunction in R. A.

* February 23, 1880; see Allen's *Indian Mail*, Oct. 20.

In doing so, Sir Salar Jung requests, in return, to be furnished with a list of all similar works obtained elsewhere by Prof. Dowson, and of all the Oriental historical works which are found in the libraries of the different Native States in India, and in European collections.

This is a step in the right direction to revive an interest in the past history and local annals of Native States, which we hope may be followed up by all of them. Much has been done by Government for the cataloguing and transcription of rare Sanskrit MSS., and the results have been important and valuable. May we not hope that an effort will also be made to catalogue the valuable libraries of Persian and Arabic works in India, and to secure copies of the most important and least known historical MSS.?

AN APPARITION SEEN BY THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF INDIA.

The Rev. Bouchier Wrey Savile has issued a second edition of his valuable and interesting book on "Apparitions," (published by Longmans and Co.) and in it he gives fresh instances of the seeing of spontaneous apparitions by persons not Spiritualists. In the preface he says:—

"I am indebted to the kindness of George Sparkes, Esq., of Bromley, Kent, for the following very singular incident connected with that eminent statesman, Warren Hastings, who together with Lord Clive and the recently deceased Lord Lawrence have done more than any other of our great men to found and preserve to our descendants the finest empire in British India, which the world has ever seen. Mr. Sparkes informs me that one evening, when his great-uncle, Joseph Cater, Esq., then secretary to Warren Hastings, was sitting with the Supreme Council of India in the Council Chamber of Calcutta, Mr. Shakespeare, one of the members, suddenly looked up, exclaiming, 'Good God, there is my father!' The whole Council then saw a figure of an unknown person glide through the chamber into another room which had no outlet, and disappear. What particularly attracted the attention of the Council was the fact that the figure appeared with a hat of unusual shape, commonly known in our day by the name of 'chimney-pot.' The Governor-General was so struck with the occurrence that he ordered a minute to be made of the matter, and placed in the record-chest; and where it may possibly still remain. In course of time a ship from England arrived, bringing the news of the death of Mr. Shakespeare's father; and likewise a cargo of 'chimney-pot hats,' the first ever brought to India.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

2. PROPER NAMES (*ante*, p. 229).—In addition to the Note on Proper Names by Mr. G. A. Grierson in the *Ind. Antiquary*, *ante* p. 141, I beg to state that the following names are given in the Canarese country of Maistr, to children born after the death of two or more immediately preceding, and if not already published, the information may be of interest:—

Tippā—*from* *tippē*, meaning dung-hill,—a coincidence with "Gebardhan" in vogue in similar cases in Bengal.

Giriappā—*from* *giri*, a mountain.

Gupjappā—*from* *gupja*, a rock.

Kallā—*from* *kallā*, a stone.

Kajjappā—*from* *kajjā*, wilderness, jungle, or forest.

Kāppā or Kappanna—*from* *kappā*, blackness.

Besides this, parents and relatives call children also by affectionate terms which in course of time are generally adopted instead of their proper names. Such terms are—

Chikā—*from* *chikā*, small.

Puttā or Puttā Rāo—*from* *puttā*, small.

Appannā or Appā Rāo—*from* *appā*, father.

Thammā—*from* *thammā*, younger brother.

Annā or Annappā—*from* *annā*, elder brother.

Sannappā—*from* *sannā*, small.

Doddappā or Doddannā—*from* *doddā*, large.

I may add that these names are also made use of by females, when their husbands go by the same names as the children, and which they are precluded from uttering.

7. CHOWKĪ.—For long my attention has been drawn to the custom of *Chowkī* so rigidly observed by the Hindustani or Northern Brāhmins and they thus explain its signification. In preparing his meals the Brāhmin cleans the ground (or gets it cleaned), draws lines to form an oblong or square figure wherein he must place every article of food to be cooked, including firewood, and when he bathes and has once got into the *Chowkī*, he is not to come out of it until he has finished his meals; but if he is compelled to come out, the food is given away to a *Sādā*, and everything is prepared afresh.

They say it is a custom corresponding with *Seayashpāka* in Sanskrit, but the Brāhmins in this country take this term to mean "to prepare his own meals," and *Chowkī* does not occur in their observances. I shall be glad if any up-country or Bengal Brāhmin will kindly enlighten me (one of them) as to the full object and observances of *Chowkī*.

M. R. TRIVIA.

Chikmaglur, 22nd July 1880.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. X, No. II.—Besides an interesting account, by Mr. J. H. Hall, of a collection of some thirty Cypriote inscriptions belonging to the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York, with facsimiles of these documents, this number contains two papers of considerable importance to Sanskrit scholars. Professor John Avery, of Iowa College, in his 'Contributions to the History of Verb-inflection in Sanskrit,' proposes to furnish a general view of the development of the system of verbal inflection in Sanskrit, based on a critical analysis and tabulated statement of the verbal forms of representative works of the three successive periods of Sanskrit literature, viz., the Vedic, the Brāhmaṇic, and the classical periods. The works selected for the purpose are the *Rigveda*, the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, and the *Nala* and *Bhagavadgītā*. The verbal forms quoted from these works include 18,216 from the *Rik*, 7,153 from the *Brāhmaṇa*, and 2716 from the two remaining works. The current arrangement of the present stems or 'special tenses' in ten classes has rightly been discarded and a more scientific one has been adopted; viz., I, Simple Root class (2nd Indian class); II, Reduplicating class (3rd Indian); III, Nasal classes (5th, 8th, 9th, and 7th Classes); and IV, the *a*-classes (1st, 6th and 4th Indian classes). The tenth Indian class has been thrown together with the causatives. The author also gives a list of the roots found in these works.

A still more elaborate paper is the one by Professor C. B. Lanman of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, which contains a 'Statistical Account of Noun-Inflection in the Veda.' The nominal forms (not including, however, the infinitives, the verbal absolutes, and the pronominal forms) of the *Rigveda* are here put together and scientifically classified in the most complete and exhaustive manner. The nominal bases or stems are grouped by the author in three classes, viz. 1, Stems whose suffixes end in vowels; 2, Suffixless stems (including however, for convenience sake, some bases formed with such suffixes as -*aj*, -*ij*, -*it*, -*ut*, -*vat*); and 3, stems whose suffixes end in -*i*, -*n* and -*s*. The nominal forms, brought together under these groups, and further classified according to the respective suffixes as well as to gender, number and case, amount to upwards of 96,000. In additional notes, interesting inferences are drawn from these results in regard to the relative ages of different Vedic texts and the different *Maṇḍalas* of the *Rigveda*, on the whole bearing out the views on these points prevalent among Sanskrit scholars. The authors of these papers deserve the heartiest thanks of all

Sanskrit and linguistic students for the able manner in which they have carried out their laborious researches.

The *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* No. 2, 1880, opens with a long paper by Dr. A. F. Rudolph Hoernle containing a collection of Hindi Roots with remarks on their derivation and classification. The collection was originally intended for the author's *Comparative Grammar of the Gandhian Languages*, and the introductory remarks to this paper give the substance of the chapter on 'Roots' (pp 159-179) of that work. The root of *dekḥ* has been a subject of controversy; in Kāśmīrī it is *deśus*, Gipsy *dikān*, and Singhalese *dikanaya*. Childers derived the Pali *daḍḍhā* from the Sanskrit *drakṣhyati* the future from the root *drīṣ*, of which the present is not in use; and he shewed that in earlier Pāli writings it is always used in a future tense, and only in later times as a present. Pischel supports the views of Childers; but Weber controverts them and derives *daḍḍh* from the desiderative *daḍḍakṣate*. P. and S. Goldschmidt explain it as a denominative from the past participle *drīṣṭa*. Dr. Hoernle agrees with Childers and Beames that the original form *daḥ* was, in course of time, changed to *dekḥ* in order to assimilate it to another very common root *pekḥ*, also meaning "see." From the transitive pair of roots *pekḥ* and *dekḥ*, another similarly assimilated pair *pakḥ* and *dikḥ* are derived with meanings generally intransitive "be seen," "appear." Two instances of a similar process of derivation from the future base of a Sanskrit root are adduced in O. Hindi *naḥ* or *naḥḥ* "destroy," or "throw away," Skr. *naḥṭṭāya* (fut. of *naḥ*); and O. Hindi *krakḥ* "draw," and H. *khech*, *kheich* or *kheich* "draw," Skr. *krakṣya* (fut. of *krīṣ*). The Sanskrit future *naḥṭṭhyati* would be Pr. *naḥṭṭhai* or *naḥṭṭhai*, whence in Hindi *naḥṭṭhai* or *naḥṭṭhai* with a present meaning, while it is to be noted that the sense of the root has become transitive.

The Sanskrit root *prekṣ* "see," becomes *pekḥ* or *peṭṭh* in Prākṛit; the Skr. fut. base *drakṣya* "will see," becomes *daḥḥ* or *daḥḥḥ* in Prākṛit, and similarly the Skr. fut. base *krakṣya* or *karṣya* in Prākṛit would become *kakḥḥ* or *karṣḥḥ*; and the Sanskrit compound future base *āterṣya* (*i* + *krīṣ*) would become *daḥḥ* or *daḥḥḥ*. With the insertion of the usual euphonic *y*, the latter would become *dayaḥḥḥ* or (with the not unusual nasalization instead of the reduplication) *dayaḥḥḥai*; and, on Childers' theory, this might be used as a present, equivalent to Skr. *karṣati*. Hemachandra in his *Grammar* (iv. 187) gives *dayaḥḥḥai*, *ayaḥḥḥai*, *dīḥḥḥai* as equivalents of

karakoti: Hindi has *aiñchāi* or *cāñchāi*. Now the root *kṛish* would yield a Prākṛit from *kachchhāi* or *kāñchhāi*, which, in Hindi, by transferring the lost aspiration of *chā* to *k* and by assimilation to *aiñchāi* and *cāñchāi*, would result in the modern forms *kāñchāi* or *kheñchāi* and *khañchāi* or *kheñchāi*.

The lists of Roots are arranged in two parts, the first contains the primary, and the second consists of secondary roots.

The second paper is on some Coins supplementary to Thomas's *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*, by C. J. Rodgers, and gives an account of about forty previously undescribed coins with two plates.

The third and last paper is a memorandum on Coins of the Sunga dynasty by H. Rivett-Carnac, C.I.E., supplementary to Mr. Carleyle's paper in the previous number, with 3 plates representing 29 of these coins, belonging to Bhānumitra, Agnimitra, Bhāmimitra, Phāgunimitra, Bhadrāghosha, Sāryamitra, and Indramitra. Those of Agnimitra seem to be the most plentiful. Bhadrāghosha, Mr. Rivett-Carnac suggests, may be the Ghoshayasa whom Wilford supposes to be interpolated as the father or predecessor of Vikrama, and the Bhāmimitra of the Paurānik lists of the Kāṇva dynasty may be the same as the king of that name on his coins.

The corresponding part on "Physical Science" is chiefly occupied by a paper on the Water-supplies of Calcutta. We wonder the many students of Physical science in its various branches have not established for themselves a separate journal. Many of them can have as little interest in Hindi roots, and Sanskrit literature, as the Orientalists has in Calcutta Water-supply or *Hibiscus Rostratus*. Were those interested in Geography, and the Natural and Physical sciences all over India to form a Society (it might still continue in connexion with the Bengal Asiatic) with branches in Bombay, Madras, Ceylon, Punjab, and the North-West, each with an energetic Secretary, it might do immense service to science. The branches would help and incite one another to work, and instead of several ill-supported journals, they would be able to publish regularly one really good one, representing the work of all, and forming a medium of communication between them. Each local secretary would be a sort of joint editor under the guidance of the working editor, who would be responsible for the printing and publication. A journal of the kind is needed, and would be supported by numbers who care little for the contents of Part I of the *Journal of the A. S. of Bengal*, and who are not members of that Society. An Indian journal of Physical and Natural Science is a want that might and ought to be supplied.

In the *Journal Asiatique* for August-September 1889, M. Harlez gives his sixth and last article on the sources of Zoroastrianism. The paper, like those that have preceded it, is scholarly, searching, and satisfactory. His conclusions are supported by the most cogent reasoning, while he shows that the early Zoroastrian writings contain no trace of a knowledge of a resurrection of the body,—*frashokereti*, which some authors have translated in that sense, meaning properly 'the act producing immortality,'—he points out that they do speak of immortality itself and the restoration of the world at the end of time; and that, while there are points of apparent resemblance between some Zoroastrian doctrines and certain leading tenets in the Jewish religion, the resemblances only help to show how independent and essentially different were the views of the early Magians and the Hebrews. The real though imperfect monotheism of the Zoroastrians differed in kind and in its place in the system from the absolute monotheism of the Jews, which was the very principle of the constitution of their system; creation *ex nihilo* was the necessary result of the fundamental principle of the Jews, whilst by the Iranians it was attributed to other spirits besides Ahuramazda; and Satan, M. Harlez shews, has a very subordinate place in the one system to that of Anromainyus in the other. The whole paper deserves to be translated into English.

M. Gattegrins gives a translation, from the Armenian, of an Elogy on the sufferings of Armenia and the martyrdom of St. Vahan of Koghthēn. M. Senart follows with a continuation of his study of the inscriptions of Piyadasi, giving the fourth and fifth edicts, accompanied by a copy of General Cunningham's two plates of the Kapur-di-giri inscription. To the miscellany, M. Imbault-Huart contributes translations from the Chinese of apophthegms, anecdotes, bon-mots, tales, maxims, and aphorisms. The part concludes with a notice of the *Annales austères Abu Jafar Mohammed ibn Jarir at-Tabari*, published under the supervision of M. de Goeje.

The *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for Oct. 1889 commences with a long paper (pp. 435-541) on the early history of Tibet by Dr. S. W. Bushell of Peking, being a literal translation from the official histories of the Tang dynasty which was founded in 618 A.D. The annals contained in this paper cover the period from 634 to 866, and give us the names of the Tibetan sovereigns in their Chinese forms, differing considerably from those in the lists of Georgius, Schmidt, Csoma de Koris, and E. Schlagentweit. The following is the list,—

- A.D. 634. Ch'itsunglantsan sent the first mission to China.
 650. Ch'ilipapu, his grandson.
 679. Ch'inushsilung, his son, aged 8.
 705. Ch'ilisetsan, son, aged 7, killed on an expedition against Nepal and India.
 — Ch'ilisulunglichtsan, Khri-rang-ide-tsan.
 755. Sohsilunglichtsan, son.
 — Ch'ilitsan reigning in 780.
 797. Tsuchihchien, eldest son.
 798. — second son of Ch'ilitsan, died 804.
 816. K'olik'otsu, who reigned under the title of Yit'ai.
 838. Tamo (Dharma) brother of K'olik'otsu.
 842. Ch'ilihu, a nephew of the consort of Tamo; civil war.
 849. Shang'kungjê, declared himself tsung'n; killed by the Uighur Turks, 866.

In an appendix, Dr. Bushell gives rubbings and a restoration of an inscription from a stone monument in front of a large temple in Lhasa, dated in the 2nd year of the Ch'ang-k'ing period (822), and engraved both in Tibetan and Chinese.

Mr. G. Le Strange contributes 'Notes' on some unedited coins from a collection he made in Persia in 1877-1879. Among them is a tribolus of Seleukos Nikator, on the reverse of which is a horse drinking or feeding in front of Zeus's feet. A drachm of Seleukos III (he thinks), bears on

the exergue of the reverse the letters ΕΦ; and on the reverse of a drachm of Antiochos III, Great, above the head of the seated Apollo, are the letters ΜΕΝ.

In Khorsan he obtained three copper coins of Sannabares, on which he reads—BACIAEYC CANABAPHC, instead of Σαουβαρος. Among about seventy Parthian drachms, is one, apparently of one of the satraps of Mithridates I; on the obv. is a head to the right (usually to the left), bearded and bound by a tiara; on the rev. is the usual king seated on a stool, and round him is written ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΚΟΥ. On a drachm of Artabanos II. (like pl. ii, No. 13 *Nuonim. Orient. : Parthian Coins*), the inscription reads—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΑΤΡΕΥΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ.

Among dinars and dirhems of the Khalifate he found a much-clipped dinar of Al-Mutawwakel, dated A. H. 237 and minted at Samarra; also a rare dinar of Beni Aghlab of A. H. 296; and a unique dinar of Al-Hasan ben al-Kasem the Alide. At Tehran he bought a dinar which proves to be a well executed forgery, dated A. H. 314, coined at 'Ani, and bearing on the reverse—

ابوالعباس بن المقتدر بالله امير المؤمنين

Among others are three dinars of Nuhibn Nasr, the Samanide Amir, of A. H. 331, 333 and 337, all differing; a beautiful dinar of Majd al-Daulah Buyeh of 393, coined at Muhammadiyah; and a dirhem of A. H. 131 coined at Ash-Shamiyeh.

The third and last paper consists of three Pali suttas on the Buddhist Nirudda and 'the Noble eightfold Path,' by Dr. O. Frankfurter.

BOOK NOTICES.

DIE KIRCHE DER THOMASCHRISTEN. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Orientalischen Kirchen, von Dr. W. Ger-
 mann. (Göttersloh, 1877.)

MEDIEVAL MISSIONS (Duff Missionary Lectures—First Series) by Thomas Smith, D.D. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1880.)

The Syrian Church of Malabar has often attracted attention, and has been the subject of numerous papers and even of separate volumes.¹ In the first of the works named above Dr. Ger-
 mann has done good service by going over the whole ground again, and collecting into a volume of 792 pages all the information available on so interesting a subject, and presenting a detailed history of these Christians from the earliest times till the present day.

The vexed question of the origin of the Church

and the visit of the Apostle Thomas is discussed afresh with all the evidences from Syriac and other sources, some of which will be new to the English reader. For example, from Dr. Land's *Anecdota Syriaca* (vol. I, p. 123) he derives this—
 "In the year 52 of our Lord Jesus Christ the lord Thomas came into India and arrived at Mailapur. Here he preached the gospel to many whom he made disciples and baptized in the name of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit. Thence he set out and travelled in Malabar, where he reached Moljokare.² He preached also to the people of this district and there set up an altar to the Lord, to whom moreover he gave two presbyters. From thence he went to Kutkayot,³ where he founded

¹ E. g. Geddes's *History of the Church of Malabar*, 1894; La Croix, *Hist. du Christianisme des Indes*, 1733; Hough, *Hist. of Christianity in India*, 1839, vols. I and II; Raulinus, *Hist. Eccl. Malab.*, 1745; Lee's *Brief History*; and Whitehouse's *Lingerings of Light*, 1873; J. W. Etheridge, *The Syrian Churches*, London: 1840; see

also *Ind. Ant.*, vol. III, p. 303, vol. IV, pp. 153, 181, 311; *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. I, p. 175; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, Bd. II, S. 1119.

² Elsewhere spelt Maljokare; this is Malankara, a small island in the lagoon S. E. from Kodungalur.—Eu.

³ Evidently Kōtakkayal.

a church, as he also did at Irappali* and Gunkamaglam* and Nernam* and Tirubakut. Next he returned to Mailapur, where he was stabbed with a spear by the unbelievers" (p. 43).

Dr. Smith in the 7th lecture of his popular little volume has made large use of Dr. Germann's work, and gives the following version of another quotation from the same source (vol. I, p. 124):—"Afterwards, when 160 truly Christian families of Malabar Christians were so long without presbyters and lenders, a dissension arose among them, for what cause I know not, but some of them renounced the orthodox faith, and others did not. Those who renounced it were 95 families, and those who retained it were 64. At the same time a vision appeared by night to the metropolitan of Edessa, who arose in the morning and went to the Catholicus of the East, and told him of the vision which he had seen, and when the Catholicus had heard it, he sent messengers to all the churches and monasteries and cities of the diocese, and convoked an assembly. And when many flocks had met, with their bishops, and with merchants belonging to them, he told them what the bishop had seen, and related to them his words. Then one of them arose, viz., a merchant, whose name was Thomas of Jerusalem, who answered, saying, 'I have ere now heard from foreign places and travellers a report about Malabar and India.' When the patriarch heard this answer, he rose from his seat, went to Thomas, embraced him lovingly, and thus addressed him, 'I entreat thee my very dear son, to go to Malabar, to visit the inhabitants of the country, and to bring me back word as to what has befallen them.' Therefore Thomas of Jerusalem set out for Malabar, and coming to Maljomkare he saw the Thomas-Christians; and they were mutually pleased, the Christians telling him of the state of their affairs, which when Thomas had heard, he gave them courage and exhorted them with kind words, and straightway he embarked and returned into his country. On his return he went to the patriarch, and said to him, 'Lo! I have seen with my eyes the Thomas-Christians, and we have spoken together with mutual satisfaction, and I left them hopeful and returned!' The patriarch answered, 'Although I am ready to lay down my life for them, I ask you to be pleased to point out what these my children would have me do for them.' Then he stated to the patriarch what the

Malabarian brethren desired. Therefore, not long after, you in these very days, with the help of the adorable God, and by order of the patriarch of the East, Thomas of Jerusalem, the merchant went forth again, and with him the bishop who had seen the vision, and at the same time presbyters and deacons, and also men and women, young men and maidens, from Jerusalem and Bagdad and Nineveh, and they entered into a ship and set sail for Malabar, and arrived at Maljomkare the year of the Lord 345."

Germann devotes the 2nd chapter of his work to Pantenus and his mission; the 3rd to Theophilus and this Thomas of Jerusalem; the 4th to the Manichæans and their connection with Malabar; the 5th to Kosmas Indicopleustes and his mission in 529 A.D.; another to the Jews in India, &c.;—and the early history is brought down, in the first division of the work, to the close of the middle ages. The second division (pp. 315—770) gives a careful history of the church from 1498 to 1875, and is followed by a useful chronological table, of which we give the first portion:—

- B.C. 159. Hindus visit the valley of the Euphrates.
 " 31. Alexandria taken by the Romans, a centre of communication.
 " 29. Nikolaus of Damascus met with an Indian embassy at Daphne of Antioch.
 " 30 to A.D. 14. Embassies of the Tamil Pāṇḍya of Madurā and of the ruler of Malabar, to Augustus.
 " Hippalus discovers the south-west monsoon.
 " Jewish trading colonies in India. The Black Jews. The Beni-Israel.
 A.D. 40. King Yudopherres in the Indus valley.
 cir. 52. The Apostle Thomas in India.
 55. King Gondopherres or Gondaphorus.
 41—54. Claudius receives an embassy from Ceylon.
 " Brahman pilgrims to the Island of the Whites (śvetadvīpa).
 cir. 69. Emigrant white Jews build Mahādeva-pattanam (Kōḍāṅgāḍr).
 " 200. Pantenus in north-western India.
 " 233. Request of the Edessans for the transfer of the bones of the apostle Thomas from India.
 — Thomas the Manichæan sent to India; he returns back.

* Yerpalli near Eddipalli, N. E. from Cochin.—Ed.
 * Probably the modern Kottayamgallam in Cochin, or possibly Kozhikambalam at Udinjāri.—Ed.

* The modern Nernam S. W. of Cochin called Narnam by Menzies, and Nernam by DuRoi.—Ed.

* Germann, pp. 84, 85, in Smith's *Med. Hist.* pp. 255, 256; Mar. Gabriel in the account given to the Rev. J. C. Vischer, a Dutch chaplain, *Letters from Malabar* (1748) makes a similar statement; see Whitehouse's *Leg.* of

Light, p. 61a.

* This seems to be a mistake; Strabo speaks of only one embassy from one king, Pandion (XV, i. 4); and Florus says it was four years on the road (*Hist. Rom.* IV, 12); see Prinsep's *Apoll. of Tyone*, p. 68.—Ed.

* Probably about A. D. 47; conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII, p. 338.—Ed.

¹⁰ See *Ind. Ant.* vol. III, p. 323.

¹¹ Prinsep (*v. s.* p. 50) indicates 43-47 A.D.

- cir. 302. Controversy on religion between Hindus and Christians in the Euphrates valley.
- " 325. John Bishop of Persia and Greater India at Nisus.
- " 340. Theophilus of Dia visits the congregations of the Indian continent.
- " 345. Thomas of Jerusalem takes a Christian colony to India. The first native Indian bishop Joseph or Italo (Abatalla) of Edessa.
- " 354. Theophilus of Dia banished and employed beyond the Roman territories.
- A.D. 360. Theophilus condemned by the Arians at Constantinople.
- " 361-363. Embassy to Diva and Serendiva under Julian.
- " 364-378. Valens, at the Tomb of Thomas in Edessa.
- In the 4th century, privileges to Rabban Joseph. Rule of the Anjavanam.
- ? 369. Jewish colony to Majorena.
- ? 489. New Jewish emigration to Kodungalūr.
- Quarrel of the White and Black Jews in the 5th century.
- " 498. Synod of Seleucia, the Persian church under Baboeus separates from the orthodox church.
- " 500. Temptation and apostasy through Mānik-jarāchaka.
- " 508. Syriac version of the Bible. The Philoxenian version for the Jacobites.
- Privileges granted to Ravi Kottan. Rule of Manigramam.
- " 520. Kosmas Indikopleustes returns from India.
- " 550. The bones of the apostle Thomas brought to the great church in Edessa.
- " 550. Attempt of the sect to get the Indians to have a Monophysite bishop.
- " 570. Bud Periodontes visits the Indian Christians.
- " 580. Theodorus visits the cloister and church of the Apostle Thomas in India.
- " 636. The Nestorian Patriarch Jesuabius Gadalensis sends missionaries to India and China.
- 650-680. Simeon of Persia sets himself free of Seleucia and neglects the Indians.
- cir. 690. Embassy of the Indian Christians to the Julianist Bishop Theodorus at Alexandria.
- " 750. Persian Christians at Mailapur. The Pahlavi Cross.¹²
- A.D. 778. Before this year the Indians had an independent Metropolitan.
- " 780. Repeated schisms of the Persians of the Patriarchate of Seleucia.
- " 800. The Patriarch Timotheus sends Bishop Thomas to the Indians.
- In the ninth century, Persians at Kottayam. Pahlavi Cross.
- " 823. Separation between the Christians at Kodungalūr.
- " 825. Era of Quilon. Marrān Sapor Išo obtains a grant to the Tarisapalli. Sapor and Peroz.¹³
- " 841. Shortly before this year the Arab merchants (Sulaiman) visit Belt-tuma—House of Thomas.
- " 878. Massacre of foreigners in Kanfu in China.
- " 883. Mission from Alfred the Great to the Thomas Christians.
- " 980. A Nestorian missionary sent through India to China.
- " 1122. John of India (?) at Rome.
- " 1143. The Catholics of Romagiri in India, mentioned by Nilos Doxapatrios.¹⁴
- " 1154. Edrisi mentions Jews, Christians, and Muhammadans in India.
- " 1173. Somewhat before this year, Benjamin of Tudela at Gineala (Kodungalūr).¹⁵
- " 1222. Establishment of the Pilgrim societies.
- " 1274. Kazvini mentions Jews and Christians at Saimur.
- " 1288. The Indian governor occupies the building of the Church of St. Thomas. Mailapur a place of pilgrimage.
- " 1290. Marco Polo's first visit to India.
- " 1291. Theodosius Doria and the brothers Vivaldi seek a sea-route to India.
- 1291-1292. John of Montecorvino in India. Niko-lans of Pistoja killed.
- Marco Polo's return through India.
- cir. 1300. Ilaithe Armenus on the decline of the Indian Christians.
- A.D. 1307. John of Montecorvino, first bishop of Cambalik; seven suffragan bishops appointed.
- " 1308. Andreas of Perugia and Peregrinus pass through India to China.
- " 1310. Menentillus of Spoleto in Upper India and Santo Tumeo.
- " 1320. Four Franciscans martyred at Thāpā.
- 1320-23. Missionary visit of Jordanus to Thāpā, Supārā, and Bharoch.
- 1324-25. Odoricus of Pordenone and James of Ireland in India, Mandaville.

¹² See Burnell's *S. Ind. Palæog.* 2nd ed. p. 57; and *Ind. Ant.* vol. III, p. 311 ff.

¹³ *Land. Anec. Syriaca*, t. I., p. 125. Vischoff, *Letters from Malabar* (Madras, 1862), p. 197.—Ed.

¹⁴ Conf. Weber in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. III, p. 49.—Ed.

¹⁵ Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, vol. II, p. 678; Gülden-ster, *Script. Arab.* p. 195.—Ed.

- A.D. 1328. Jordanus consecrated as Bishop of Columbo, i.e. Quilon.
 „ 1330. Bishop Jordanus a second time in India. Prince of the Nasarines (Nazarites).
 „ 1332. The preaching friars restored by the Pope and organized.
 — In the 14th century Antonius and Thomas in India.
 1348-50. John of Marignola in India.
 cir. 1370. Cessation of the Romish missions to China and India.
 — Bakarnya of Vijayanagar grants land to the Church of St. Thomas at Mailapur.
 „ 1440. Nicolo di Conti at Mailapur.
 „ 1455. Quarrels between the Christians and Muhammadans at Mailapur.
 „ 1464. Pius II. renews the missionary society for India.
 „ 1487. Pedro de Cavillao as Portuguese Ambassador in India.
 „ 1490. George and Joseph of the Thomas Christians sent to the Patriarch. Mar Thomas and John sent to India with Joseph.
 „ 1492. Joseph accompanies Thomas back to Mesopotamia.
 „ 1493. Joseph returns back to India.
 „ 1497. Vasco da Gama sails for India in July.
 „ 1498. In April finds Thomas Christians (?) at Melinda.
 1490-1503. Parushottama of Orissa overruns the Carnatic to Conjeeveram, destroys Mailapur before 1500.

This work is by far the fullest yet written on the subject, and forms a valuable contribution to our knowledge.

The seventh lecture in Dr. Smith's little volume is a popular résumé of the history of the same sect, and of the missions to India in the middle ages, in which he has made use of Dr. Germain's work; his sixth lecture is on the missions to Central Asia and China; the others relate to the more notable missionaries and their work in Europe and Africa. They are addressed to the general reader, and are vigorously written.

CHINESE BUDDHISM: a volume of Sketches, Historical, Descriptive, and Critical, by Rev. Joseph Edkins, D.D. London: Trübner & Co. 1880.

This new volume of Trübner and Co.'s *Oriental Series* is one of considerable value, and, as the author remarks, "there is room for new information on the entrance, progress, and characteristics of Chinese belief in the religion founded by Śakyamuni." It is "the fruit of many years' studies. Some parts of it were written nearly twenty-five years ago; nearly all is the fruit of Chinese reading." And whilst Dr. Ritel of Hongkong and Mr. T. Watters have in this interval written on the same

subject, the author's mode of treatment is different from theirs, and in his revision he has had the advantage of studying their researches, whilst his stock of information has been steadily augmented. Exclusive of the indexes, &c. the body of the work contains 419 pages, and is divided into an introduction and 26 chapters: the first four are devoted to a life of Buddha; the 5th to the Patriarchs of the northern Buddhists; the 6th to the history of Buddhism in China; the 7th and 8th to Schools of Buddhism; the 9th to its moral system; the 10th to the 13th, to the Calendar, Hindu mythology, and Buddhist cosmogony; the 14th to the 16th, to Images, Monasteries, and Ceremonials; the 17th to the 19th, to Buddhist Literature, with specimens; the 20th, to the effect of Buddhism on the Sung philosophy; the 21st, to the Wind and Water superstition; the 22nd, to Buddhist phraseology in relation to Christian teaching; the 23rd, is a notice of the Wu-wei-kiun, a reformed Buddhist sect originated about 270 years ago; the 24th, is on the popular aspects of Buddhism and Taoism; the 25th, on Sanskrit words in Chinese literature; and the 26th, on some of the Books and papers which have been published in Europe on Chinese Buddhism. These subjects are not all treated with equal fulness and accuracy, but on most of them there is more or less of new information drawn from original sources. In the 5th Chapter (pp. 63-86) the information respecting the Patriarchs is much fuller than we have met with elsewhere. As Mr. Beal has given a list (note p. 118), compiled chiefly from Tācānātha, and Mr. Edkins's differs in some names, and gives long details about many of them we extract here, for purposes of comparison, little more than the bare list, completing it from Remusat's and Lassen's (*Ind. Alt. Bd. II.*, 2nd ed. S. 1200ff):—

1. Kāśyapa, a Brahman: to him, the Chinese allege, was entrusted the deposit of esoteric doctrine, the symbol of which, communicated orally without books, is the *śrutiśāstra*. He taught for 20 years.

2. Ānanda, the son of Śaklodana, the uncle of Buddha. According to Tācānātha, he presided 40 years.

3. Śāṅghavāsa, Śāṅghakavāsa, or Śāṅghavāsika of Rājagṛha. Some say he was a Vaiśya born at Mathurā. He went to Manda mountain and thence to Kipin (Kandahar), propagating the doctrines of Buddhism, about 80 years before the conquests of Alexander.

4. Upagupta was a native of the Mathurā country. Some say he was a Śādra.

5. Drikata or Dhṛitika, a native of Central India, was given by his father to Upagupta as a disciple, and received to the vows at 20 years old.

6. Michaka or Kala was born in Southern India. By Elitel he is called Mikaka, and in the *Sau-kián-yi-su*, *Misuehaka*.

7. Vasumitra, who is omitted by Edkins's authority¹ (see *ante*, p. 149 also). He was president of the synod under Kanishka of Kásmir A.C. 153 (?).

8. Buddhānandī, a native of Northern India.

9. Buddhāmītra, converted the king and a Nirgrantha.

10. Pārśva,

11. Punayāja or Punyayāśas—the Pānāya-shi of Wong-poh.

12. Āśvagōṣha or Ma-ming, born at Bāndras, but taught chiefly at Pāṭaliputra. In his time the king of the Getae led an army to besiege Pāṭaliputra, but was bought off, and got Ma-ming, Buddha's rice-bowl, and a cock that would not drink water having insects in it. The king of the Getae was afterwards attacked by the Parthians but defeated them.

13. Kapimāra spread the Buddhist religion in Southern India. Rémusat (*Mé. Asiat.* tom. I, p. 122) calls him Kabimāra.

14. Nāgārjuna or Lung-shu, born of a Brahman family in Southern India (*Ind. Ant.* vol. IV, p. 141), was one of the most prolific writers of the Mahāyāna school.

15. Kanadeva, a native of South India, murdered by the disciple of an opponent. This is the Āryadeva of other lists (*Ind. Ant.* vol. IV, p. 142); Lassen calls him Kanadeva, and a Vaiśya.

16. Rāhulata or Rāgurata, a native of Kapila.

17. Saughanandī of Śrāvastī, the son of a king.

18. Saṅkayasheta or Gayaśāta, a native of northern India. He died A.C. 13; Julien (*Mém. sur les Cont. Occid.* tom. II, p. 346) places this B.C. 74.

19. Kumārada or Kumārata, died A.D. 23.

20. Jayata, born in northern India, died 74 A.D.²

21. Vasubhanda, generally made contemporary with Prāditva the son of Vikramāditya (*Ind. Ant.* vol. IV, p. 112 ff.); he died A.D. 175.³

22. Manura or Manorata, —was well skilled in the analysis of alphabetic sounds, and was recommended by a learned Buddhist, named Yaja, to proceed to Western and Southern India to teach Buddhism; and Dr. Edkins thinks he would aid in giving alphabets to the Tamil and

other languages. He found Western India under the control of king Teda. He afterwards went "to the kingdom of the Indian Getae, who, retreating westward before the Hiung-nu, A.C. 180, conquered the Panjāb and Kásmir in A.D. 126. Manura taught in Western India and Ferghana in the third century A.D. He is the author of the *Vibhakti Sāstra*." Others place his death in 167 A.D.

23. Haklena or Padmaratna of the country of the Getae (Yue-ti—Kandahar?); he went to Central India and died 209 A.D.

24. Singhalaputra, a native of Central India, the Āryasinha of other accounts (Rémusat, *ut. sup.* p. 124; and Lassen; see also *ante* p. 149). He went to Ki-pin (Kābul?) where he was beheaded by the king. Lassen places his death between 240 and 283 A.D. Some terminate the list of great teachers here.

25. Bāsiasita or Nāśāsata, a Brāhman and native of Kandahar; he travelled in Central and Southern India, and died A.D. 328.

26. Patnomita or Punyamitra, a Kshatriya of Southern India. He visited Eastern India, and died A.D. 388.

27. Prajñānara, a native of Central India, who travelled in the south and instructed Bodhidharma the second son of the king. He ascended the funeral pile A.D. 457.

28. Bodhidharma left Southern India for China in A.D. 526, where he died (see *ante* p. 149).

This last was the founder of the contemplative school in which the distinction of virtue and vice is lost. The teaching of this school, so prevalent in China, says Dr. Edkins, "has failed to produce high morality among its votaries. The mass of the people have gained from Buddhism the notion of a future retribution, but what is the use of this when the promised state beyond death consists merely of a clumsy fiction? The metempsychosis, administered by a moral fate, has only provided them with a convenient means for charging their sinfulness and their misfortunes on a former life. What virtue the people have among them is due to the Confucian system. Buddhism has added to it only idolatry, and a false view of the future state, but has not contributed to make the people more virtuous" (p. 200). "Though the Buddhists have good precepts they are very much neglected even in the teaching." Its moral code "is feebleness itself compared with the Confucianist."

The educated Chinese despise the popular development of Buddhism, "as consisting of image worship and procuring for money the protection

¹ The *Fo-tsu-t'ung-ti*, which, to fill up the vacancy, mentions Madhyantika, a disciple of Azanda who converted Kásmir.

² The 20th and 21st are omitted by the *Fo-tsu-t'ung-ti* followed by Dr. Edkins.

of powerful unseen beings." The "Sacred Edict" cites the judgment pronounced by Chu Hi, the philosopher and critic of the Song dynasty, saying, "that the Buddhists care nothing for heaven or earth, or anything that goes on around them, but attend exclusively each to his single mind. They are then condemned for fabricating groundless tales of future happiness and misery. They are charged with doing this only for gain, and encouraging for the same object the large gatherings of the country population at the temples ostensibly to burn incense, but really to practise the worst forms of mischief" (p. 152).

Such being the Chinese opinion of Buddhism, we can easily understand that the intellectual vigour once connected with it is now dead, past all hope of resurrection.

The work of Dr. Edkins will be found replete with information respecting the history and tenets of Buddhism in its northern form of development. It is somewhat defective in parts, from the incompleteness of the author's knowledge of Southern Buddhism; but this will hardly mislead the reader.

LES RELIGIONS ET LES LANGUES DE L'INDE ANGAISE, par Robert Cust (Bibliothèque Orientale Elzévirienne; Paris: F. Leroux, 1880).

A SKETCH OF THE MODERN LANGUAGES OF THE EAST INDIES, accompanied by two language-maps. By Robert N. Cust. (London: Trübner & Co. 1878.)

Mr. Cust is an old Indian of superabundant energy if not of accurate scholarship. The first of the works before us is a tersely written little volume, not very learned, but pleasant reading for any spare hour. The author's long residence in India has given him opportunities, of which he has availed himself, to become acquainted with the present popular religious beliefs of the country, and the first part of the volume contains many remarks and suggestions founded on personal observation that thoroughly deserve the attention even of advanced students of the history of the development of the religious sects in India, while the book as a whole will supply a good deal of information in a popular form. It is not, however, in all cases so accurate as references to the latest authorities might have enabled the author to make it.

The chapter or section on the languages is of the most popular character, and reads like a magazine article. There is no index, and the only two foot-notes in the book, one at the beginning of each part, give an undigested list of books and authors on the subject of each; had these lists been given in more detail they would have been useful to the student in looking for what he might want. Among the authorities on page 2 is "Tree and Serpent Worship, by John Fergusson;"—we do not know "John." References might also have been given either as foot-notes, or at the end of each part to the authorities for important state-

ments, and to fuller discussions on points of interest which there was not room to do more than refer to in so small a volume.

The volume of Trübner's Oriental Series on the Modern Languages has already been some time before the public. It is a much more ambitious performance, but like the other its value is much less than it might have been from the want of references. The subject is much too large to be discussed satisfactorily in a volume of 200 pages, inclusive of seven appendices; and the class of students to which a book on the languages of India would be really useful, want not merely a brief general outline of the various families of languages and their branches and subordinate dialects such as could be compressed into a volume like this, but also full details of the literature of the subject as connected with each branch and dialect. This is all the more needed as many statements in this volume seem much in want of verification or correction.

We can only afford a short specimen of Mr. Cust's style and mode of dealing with the separate languages. After giving the boundaries of the Marāṭhi language, according to the late Dr. John Wilson, he says (p. 58):—"Of this language there is a Dictionary by Molesworth and Candy with a Preface by Wilson. Of ordinary Primers there are many, and in 1868, a Student's Manual has been published by a native of India anonymously, based on scientific principles, and with a Preface of importance. . . . Although it possesses 20,000 words, it has admitted a great many loan-words from Arabic, Persian, as well as Sanskrit. No inscriptions are found in it. The Orthography is unfixed. It is described as copious without order, energetic without rule, and with no fixed standard of classical purity. . . . The dialects of the tableland are opposed to those of the coast below the Ghāts or the Kōṅkan. I have tried in vain to get precision. . . . The tableland round Poona is the centre of the Dōṇi, and to the South is the Dakhīni. The Dialect of Nāgpuri is separate." The Kōṅkanī of the Goa territory, he adds, "known as Godeśi or Gomantaki, is illustrated by a large Literature formed by the Jesuits, consisting of a Grammar in Portuguese, and a Christian religious book called *Purda*, the work of a Jesuit named Estava, said to have been Stephens, an Englishman."

Now this might all be retailed table-talk: the high character of Molesworth and Candy's Dictionaries ought to have been indicated; some of the best of the many Marāṭhi Grammars in English, and Kṛishṇa Śāstri Godbole's excellent scientific one in Marāṭhi, might at least have been named; some of the statements following are incorrect and others sadly want "precision," while the vagueness of the information about Father Thomas Estevaõ (†1619)¹ is hardly creditable to the author.

¹ See *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII, p. 117.

We are glad to see a first attempt at a handbook on so interesting a subject, and hope it may yet be recast and thoroughly corrected so as to be a trustworthy guide to the student, supplying him with a basis of fact, and directing him to the best information on all details, while mapping out clearly the many blanks that have to be filled up by future labourers.

THE COMMENTARIES of the GREAT AFRONSO DALBOQUERQUE, second Viceroy of India, translated from the Portuguese edition of 1774, with Notes and an Introduction by W. de Gray Birch, F.R.S.L., vols. 1-3. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1875-80.

The volumes of the Hakluyt Society, established for the purpose of printing rare or unpublished voyages and travels, are not offered for sale in the usual way, and it may not be out of place here to inform our readers that the volumes issued for the year are only obtainable by subscribers who pay a guinea per annum in advance.¹ Usually two volumes are published annually, so that since 1848, sixty-two have been issued, including such valuable works for Indian readers as the *Marvels described by Friar Jordana*; *Travels of Ludovico di Varthema*; *Yule's Cathay and the Way Thither*; the *Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama*, &c.

The *Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque* were compiled by his natural son, from the despatches forwarded to the king D. Manoel, and were first published in 1557. A second edition corrected and augmented by the author was issued in 1676²; and the third, which is the text here translated, was prepared by Nicolao Puglinirini and published in 1774, containing several original despatches and letters written by the hero himself. It was intended that the translation should have been contained in three volumes, but a fourth will be required to complete it, as the third, which was to have contained Parts III and IV of the Portuguese edition, only brings us down to the end of Part III, which concludes with the departure of Afonso Dalboquerque for the Straits of the Red Sea in pursuance of his intention of conquering Ormuz and establishing Portuguese rule in that part of Persia.

The translator prefaces each volume with lengthy and most valuable introductions on the character of Dalboquerque, the foundation, rise, progress, and decay of the Portuguese empire in India, and bibliographical information in reference to the Indian cycle of Portuguese literature. And the volumes are illustrated with valuable facsimiles of old maps and portraits from MSS. in the British Museum.

"There is no doubt," says Mr. Birch, "that whoever will give some time and attention to the learning of Portuguese will find his labour amply requited by the advantages to be derived from the great mass of literature which the language

possesses." And we heartily join with him in the desire to see more translations of standard Portuguese historical works. "The true position of the English rule in India," he adds, "and the traditions it maintains, the point of view from which it is looked upon by the native races, can never be rightly understood until a better knowledge is acquired concerning the first impressions conveyed to, and made upon, the minds of the inhabitants by the first European nation which effected any extensive settlement among them. This fact alone, one out of many quite as pertinent which might be adduced, ought to convince us of the importance of examining the classical literary productions of a nation justly celebrated at all times for enterprise and military prowess."

We trust the publication of the concluding volume of these most instructive *Commentaries* will not be long delayed. They form a very valuable addition to the history of the Western Coast of India. Any attempt to analyse their contents would occupy more space than we can spare: we must refer readers to the book itself.

KAMMUL-MANORASINA, by Rāmachandra Bhikṣi Gaudikar and Kāśināth Pāṇḍurang Parab. (Parts 1-6.) Bombay, Nirayanasagar Press.

This publication, when complete, is to contain the text of the *Siddhanta-Kammul* with a Marāṭhī commentary by the first named editor; further Pāṇini's *Sūtras* printed continuously, and a second time with the *anuyōgis* (or words supplied from preceding *sūtras*) compiled by the same scholar; the *Gāṇa* and *Pratyaṅgīkās*, the *Paśyatya Sūtras* and the *Upeśāsūtras* ascribed to Śākatāyana (edited, with Ujvaladatta's commentary, by Aufrecht); Śāntarava's *Phitsūtras* (edited by Kielhorn); Kātyāyana's *Vārttikās*; and indexes by Kāśināth. Though all these works are already accessible to scholars in one form or another, it will no doubt be useful to native students to have them combined in a cheap and handy volume. Most of the works mentioned are already finished, and a few more parts will complete the compilation. In the place of the first reprint of Pāṇini's *Sūtras*, the editors would have done better to have given them in alphabetical order, with the *Vārttikās* in smaller type, worked into the same list. In the *Gāṇa-pāṭha*, various readings are given in brackets after the respective words; but the list is apparently a mere reprint of the one contained in Boettlingk's edition of Pāṇini, a semblance of originality being effected by the rather ingenious expedient of an interchange of Boettlingk's various readings with his respective *gaṇa*-words. Though we are far from imputing to the editors any intention to mislead others in this respect, we think it would have been as well if they had explained the nature of this part of their publication.

E.

¹ The Society's agent is Mr. Richards, 37 Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London.

² This was translated into French by J. Marnet, Paris, 1579.

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* Abbreviations :—

Andh.—Andhra dynasty.	Early Chal.—Early Chalukya.	Pall.—Pallava.	t.—town.
c.—city.	g.—god, goddess, or supernatural	q.—queen.	tr.—tribe.
ca.—caste.	k.—king.	[being.	v.—village.
Chd.—Chdā.	l. m.—land-measure.	r.—river.	Va.—Vahā.
co.—country.	m.—mountain.	Rāh.—Rāshtrakūta.	Vi.—Vijayanagara.
d.—district.	Nd.—Nāpā.	s.—sect.	W. Chal.—Western Chalukya
E. Chal.—Eastern Chalukya.	o.—official.	Sil.—Silhāra.	W. Chd.—Western Chdā.
		Sin.—Sind.	

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ADDITIONAL ERRATA.

- p. 218, l. 2, for Alung Goa read Alun Goa.
 p. 218, l. 4, for Begontiei read Begontei.
 p. 315a, l. 12, for Bakkaraya read Bukkarâya.



